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SERGEI MARIEV

WALTER DE GRUYTER
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Munich, October 2008 Sergei Mariev

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PROLEGOMENA

INTRODUCTION

The original text of the historical narrative conventionally ascribed to John from the city of Antioch is lost, with the exception of one short portion found in the Athos manuscript Iviron 812. However, several collections of excerpts composed in the tenth century or later contain a significant amount of material that can with reasonable certainty be identified as deriving from this work. The evidence for the date of composition and the character of the original work depends on the selection and interpretation of the available excerpts.

In the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this material was carefully examined by a number of German and Greek scholars. Their contributions to this subject constitute an impressive body of scholarly writing which evolved around the so-called "Johannine question" (a brief overview follows below). There was never any question that the corpus assembled by Müller (1851) derived from one and the same work: after the publication of studies by Boissevain (1887) and Sotiriadis (1888) it was obvious to all who were involved that this was an impossible assumption. The issue that was most vehemently debated, however, was which of the two parts clearly discernible within Müller's corpus was the authentic John of Antioch and which was spurious.

Although the arguments differ in detail, two general positions clearly emerge. Sotiriadis maintained that the genuine John of Antioch is represented by the main body of the material found in the Constantinian *Excerpta de insidiis* and *de virtutibus* and in the first part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*. This body of material will hereafter be referred to as the 'Constantinian' John of Antioch. He suggested that the second portion of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and the final fragments of the Constantinian *Excerpta de insidiis* and *de virtutibus* are spurious on the grounds of their language and sources. Patzig never questioned the validity of the division proposed by Sotiriadis, but he firmly believed that, on the contrary, the genuine John of Antioch is represented by the second part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and the final fragments of the *Excerpta de insidiis* and *de virtutibus*. This body of material will be referred to as the 'Salmasian' John of Antioch. What Sotiriadis considered to be the genuine John of Antioch was, in Patzig's view, a later compilation. The majority of schol-

ars, with some modifications, supported the view of Sotiriadis, while a few, most significantly Gelzer, shared the opinion of Patzig.

The Johannine Question

For almost thirty years following its publication, the corpus of Müller (1851), which consisted mainly of the Constantinian and Salmasian fragments[1] with additions from other sources like the *Suda*, remained unquestioned. The debate that later came to be known as the "Johannine Question" (*Johanneische Frage*) was initiated in two publications by Boissevain (1887) and Sotiriadis (1888), which appeared almost simultaneously but independently of one another. Both authors pointed out a number of discrepancies between the Constantinian fragments and some of the Salmasian fragments (the dividing line between the two parts of the collection, the marginal note ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία had not yet been discovered). Boissevain made the following observations:[2] (1) the same historical events are described differently in the two collections, e.g. the death of Bagoas in fr. 38 M (= *EI* 10) and fr. 39 M (Salm.) or the fate of the astrologer Larginus in fr. 107 M (= *EI* 44) and fr. 108 M (Salm.);[3] (2) the account of Roman history in fr. 119 – 146 M is based on Herodian, whereas the two Salmasian fragments that fall into the same period follow Cassius Dio;[4] (3) the majority of Constantinian fragments depend on Eutropius for their narrative framework but no traces of this author are discernible in the Salmasian material;[5] (4) the Salmasian fragments contain no information on the Roman Republic, a subject conspicuously prominent in the Constantinian fragments.[6] Sotiriadis (1) investigated differences in the language and style of the Salmasian and Constantinian excerpts;[7] (2) pointed out that Leo Grammaticus, Zonaras and some of

1 Müller marked fr. 1 M as spurious.
2 This list is of course incomplete and is meant only to summarise the logic of his arguments rather than rehearse them in detail.
3 Boissevain 1887, 162.
4 Boissevain 1887, 164.
5 Boissevain 1887, 165.
6 Boissevain 1887, 167.
7 Sotiriadis 1888, 24-26.

the Salmasian excerpts derive from a common source which is different from the source followed by the Constantinian fragments for the same events;[1] and (3) underlined the similarities between the Salmasian collection and the *Chronicle* of John Malalas.[2] Both Boissevain and Sotiriadis concluded that these discrepancies make it very unlikely that the two collections ultimately derive from the same work and, to different degrees, they cast doubt on the authenticity of the Salmasian fragments: Sotiriadis considered spurious all the Salmasian material in Müller's corpus with the exception of fr. 1 M,[3] while Boissevain expressed serious doubts about the genuineness of the Salmasian material from fr. 29 M onwards and was convinced that the Salmasian fragments from fr. 73 M onwards must be spurious.[4] Alternatively, Patzig accepted the presence of the two different traditions in the corpus as pointed out by Sotiriadis and Boissevain,[5] but he disagreed with the opinion that the Salmasian John of Antioch was spurious: for Patzig, the Salmasian excerpts, together with the fragments from Cod. Par. 1630 and the final Constantinian excerpts, represented the original chronicle,[6] while he maintained that the Constantinian fragments are a later compilation.[7] The debate over the correct identification of the genuine and spurious John of Antioch reached its zenith with the discovery of a marginal note in the manuscripts of the Salmasian collection. De Boor (1899) reported that in several manuscripts of the Salmasian excerpts the marginal note ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία had been inserted at the end of the material corresponding

1 Sotiriadis 1888, 7-24.
2 Sotiriadis 1888, 26-28.
3 Sotiriadis 1888, 6.
4 Boissevain 1887, 177f.
5 "Sotiriadis hat sich unstreitig um Johannes Antiochenus in ganz hervorragender Weise verdient gemacht: er hat das bleibende Verdienst die Gesamtmasse der Exzerpte, an deren Zusammengehörigkeit vorher niemand gezweifelt hatte, in byzantinische und hellenistische geschieden zu haben und zwar im ganzen richtig geschieden zu haben, denn diese hauptsächlich mit Hülfe seines Stilkriteriums vorgenommene Scheidung wird durch die Quellen- und Verwandschaftsverhältnisse, die zwischen Johannes und einer großen Zahl byzantinischer Geschichtsschreiber bestehen, im ganzen als richtig bestätigt. Aber ob nun Sotiriadis nach der Scheidung der Exzerpte in zwei Gruppen die richtige von ihnen dem Antiochener zugewiesen hat, ist eine Frage..." (Patzig 1893a, 415).
6 Patzig 1892, 22.
7 Patzig 1892, 13.

to fr. 1 M. He concluded that, had this note been discovered previously, the "Salmasian John of Antioch would never have been born".[1] His interpretation convinced Krumbacher (1899), who echoed de Boor with the words "the ominous Salmasian John can now be buried in peace", concluding that only the Constantinian excerpts remain as evidence for the historical work of John of Antioch. However, Patzig (1900) refused to accept the newly discovered evidence at face value and the controversy flared up again, forcing Krumbacher in 1901 to suspend further discussion in the expectation that some new material would soon supply a solution to this convoluted issue.[2] In writing these words Krumbacher was already aware of a discovery that had been made several years earlier in a manuscript found in the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos. It was not until several years later, however, that Lampros (1904) found time to publish this unabridged fragment of the original chronicle which he had discovered. This publication was of great significance for the development of the "Johannine Question" as it demonstrated that the middle part of the Constantinian excerpts was not, as Patzig believed, a compilation; rather there had existed a full historical narrative from which these excerpts were derived.

It is safe to conclude that not a single scholar of this period, which can without doubt be described as the acme of German *Quellenforschung*, ever admitted the slightest possibility that the Salmasian and the Constantinian John of Antioch might have originated from a common source. It was their unanimous opinion that the two bodies of material clearly represented two distinct traditions.

Interest in John of Antioch and the debate over the composition of the chronicle was slight in the subsequent decades. It was not until 1989 that Sotiroudis published an excellent summary of the entire schol-

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1 de Boor 1899, 301. His conclusions require a brief explanation. The portion of the Salmasian excerpts between the title and the marginal note does not exhibit discrepancies with the Constantinian collection. It was the title that made scholars believe that the following material might originate from John of Antioch. The note discovered by de Boor indicates where the material identified in the title ends and something different begins. Therefore, had scholars known of the note, they would never have attributed the second portion of the Salmasian material to John of Antioch.

2 A note in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10, 1901, p. 53.

arship on the issue, corroborating the view that the chronicle of John of Antioch is preserved in the Constantinian excerpts and related texts. Unfortunately, he was not able to complete an edition of John of Antioch as originally planned.

The publication of an edition by Roberto (2005) represented a significant departure from previous scholarship. This edition assembles a voluminous dossier of texts including the Salmasian and Constantinian fragments, similar to the edition of Müller, augmented with additional material attributed to our author on the basis of parallels with either collection. Roberto tries to justify the virtual annulment of the previous one and a half centuries of philological research by postulating the existence of an anonymous historical work that was historiographically independent from and yet based upon the tradition of John of Antioch ("Si trattava di un'opera autonoma basata sull'uso della tradizione di Giovanni di Antiochia."[1]), of which the *Excerpta Salmasiana* are supposedly an epitome. This genealogy for the Salmasian excerpts is highly convenient as it allows Roberto to account for the few similarities between the Salmasian and Constantinian traditions, as well as, more importantly, the many differences that appeared insoluble to scholars of the late nineteenth century. However, this solution is unacceptable for two reasons. First, there is absolutely no independent evidence that this work ever existed, and so this genealogy must remain a hypothesis of its author.[2] Second, even if the existence of this work could be somehow independently verified, this would only mean that the character and implications of its "autonomy" must be explored in full. It makes much more sense to reconstruct this autonomous work on the basis of the excerpts from it preserved in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and related texts (in other words, to reconstruct what Patzig believed to be the genuine John of Antioch) and then to compare the resulting corpus with the chronicle by John of Antioch or rather what remains of it in the Constantinian collection. A meticulous reconstruction of this Salmasian "John of Antioch" – not an easy task given its numerous echoes in the later Byzantine tradition – would greatly advance Byzantine studies. In any case, merging together

1 Roberto 2005, lxii.

2 A detailed discussion of the basic assumptions underlying Roberto's edition is found in Mariev 2006.

the remnants of two autonomous works so different in language, date of composition and subsequent literary fate cannot serve as a reliable basis for further research. Consequently, any conclusions based upon the use of the entire corpus of Roberto have the potential to be distorting generalisations.

The Corpus

The core of the present corpus is made of excerpts transmitted in the Constantinian *Excerpta de insidiis* and *de virtutibus*. The majority of these excerpts are surprisingly homogenous with respect to their language and style as well as the selection and combination of their sources. However, three fragments from the *EI* must be considered spurious and excluded from the present corpus (3, 32, 33).[1] From the *EV* the following must be rejected for the same reason: 1, 2, 7, 8, 26 (p. 181.14-182.4).[2] The homogenous sequence of fragments in *EI* and *EV* extends to the death of Anastasius I (AD 518). After a gap of about a century a few fragments relate events during the reigns of Maurice und Phocas in language markedly different from the core of the chronicle and these must also be excluded from the corpus (*EI* 104-110 and *EV* 75).[3] In accordance with these observations, the composition of the main part of the historical narrative is dated to the first half of the sixth century AD.

EI *EV*

Iviron 812 In order of importance, second place in the corpus is occupied by the unique unabridged fragment of the original chronicle discovered in the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos. The attribution is secure, as fragments 17 and 18 *EI* correspond to two passages of this text.

Suda The next source that testifies to the work of John of Antioch is the *Suda*. Individual lemmata are attributed to John of Antioch on several considerations. Most importantly, the passages that exhibit textual similarities to fragments in other collections can be confidently attributed to John of Antioch. These lemmata are identified in the table below by the collection name and number. A second group comprises a few glosses

[1] *See* Sotiriadis 1888, 98-103; Sotiroudis 1989, 49 and footnote 3 on p. 16* below.
[2] *See* Sotiriadis 1888, 95-99; Sotiroudis 1989, 50 and footnote 3 on p. 16* below.
[3] The subject is discussed in detail in Mariev 2006, 537-539.

which have either Eutropius or Herodian as their underlying source but show no parallels with the extant excerpts of John of Antioch. As there are quite a number of glosses, however, that ultimately derive from Eutropius or Herodian and correspond to the genuine fragments of John of Antioch, it is safe to attribute this second group of glosses to him as well,[1] especially since it can be demonstrated that the compilators of the *Suda* did not use the original works directly (This group is designated by "Eutropius" or "Herodian").[2] A third group of glosses shows parallels with other entries in the *Suda* (as listed in the table below) that can be safely attributed to John of Antioch. One gloss explicitly names John of Antioch as its source ("Suda expressis verbis"). A few glosses are included in the corpus because they contain language typical of John of Antioch. These are marked by the words "Cf. e.g.", followed by the passage in the corpus that contains similar expressions. In a few special cases (glosses marked "cf. app. ad locum") the status and references to discussion of the attribution in the secondary literature should be sought in the *apparatus locorum parallelorum* and the notes to the translation. The last column of the table below helps to locate the gloss within the corpus (an asterisk next to the passage indicates that this gloss appears in the *apparatus locorum parallelorum*). "Pointers," i.e. empty glosses referring to other lemmata in the lexicon, are included in the table but do not appear elsewhere in the corpus and are not catalogued in the *conspectus fragmentorum* at the end of the volume.

α 527, 55.11-14	Ἀδριανός	*EV* 35	Fr. 138*
α 971	Ἀκραιφνές	Eutropius	Fr. 70
α 1043	Ἀκυληΐα	*EI* 57	Fr. 169.7*
α 1121, 102.26-34	Ἀλέξανδρος	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 25
α 1121, 102.34-103.3	Ἀλέξανδρος	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 27*
α 1121, 103.3-7	Ἀλέξανδρος	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 28
α 1121, 103.7-13	Ἀλέξανδρος	*EI* 12	Fr. 29
α 1124, 103.22-32	Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας	*EV* 45	Fr. 163*
α 1124, 103.32-104.2	Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας	*EV* 44	Fr. 161*

1 *See* Sotiroudis 1989, 57-69 for Eutropius and 69-75 for Herodian.

2 As de Boor (1920, 126f.) demonstrated, the compilators of the lexicon relied on several volumes of the Constantinian excerpta and on the historical work of John of Antioch.

α 1407	Ἄλπειον	*EI* 57	Fr. 169.7*
α 1507	Ἀμάστης	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 145*
α 1528	Ἀμβλύνω	δ 1000	Fr. 69*
α 1685, 150.15-20	Ἀμύσσειν	*EPl* 13	Fr. 47*
α 1874	Ἀνάθεσις	*EI* 57	Fr. 169.1*
α 2077, 187.8-19	Ἀναστάσιος	*EV* 73	Fr. 243*
α 2077, 187.19-27	Ἀναστάσιος	*EV* 74	Fr. 244*
α 2363, 211.14-15	Ἀνέχει	*EV* 40	Fr. 149*
α 2452, 219.14-18	Ἀννίβας	*EPl* 27	Fr. 73
α 2452, 219.18-22	Ἀννίβας	Eutropius	Fr. 74
α 2762, 247.14-248.7	Ἀντωνῖνος	*EV* 42	Fr. 157*
α 2762, 248.18-249.3	Ἀντωνῖνος	*EV* 36	Fr. 140*
α 2900, 262.17-18	Ἀπαντᾶν	*EI* 103,21-22	Fr. 169*
α 3089, 277.4-5	Ἀπετρύετο	*EV* 29	Fr. 124*
α 3199	Ἀππία ὁδός	Eutropius	Fr. 51
α 3375, 301.21-23	Απολαβόντες	*EPl* 16	Fr. 50*
α 3416	Ἀπολλωνιὰς λίμνη	Iviron 812	Fr. 98.1*
α 3566, 322.31-323.7	Ἀποστυγοῦντες	*EPl* 22	Fr. 60*
α 3654, 329.16-18	Ἀποχρησάμενος	*EV* 55	Fr. 196*
α 4316, 399.17-20	Ἄτταλος	Iviron 812	Fr. 98.1*
α 4426, 412.21-26	Αὐθέντης	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 98.9*
α 4458	Αὐρηλιανός	*EV* 50	Fr. 180*
α 4568	Ἀφ' αἵματος	cf. e.g. *EV* 25	Fr. 115*
α 4648	Ἀφρικανός	Eutropius	Fr. 85
β 246, 468.15-21	Βεσπασιανός	*EV* 30	Fr. 126*
β 246, 468.21-31	Βεσπασιανός	Eutropius	Fr. 127
β 309	Βιτέλλιος	*EV* 29	Fr. 124*
β 396	Βορίανθος	*EI* 22	Fr. 91*
β 451	Βουολοῦσκοι	*EPl* 6	Fr. 21
β 536	Βρῆννον	φ 184	Fr. 41*
β 593, 501.4-5	Βυρσαίετος	pointer to α 4648	—
γ 12, 503.27-504.4	Γάϊος	*EV* 23	Fr. 111*
γ 212	Γεφυρίζων	Iviron 812	Fr. 98.11*
γ 422, 538.22-23	Γραμματιστής	*EV* 58	Fr. 199*
γ 427, 539.9-15	Γρατιανός	*EV* 66	Fr. 210*
δ 23	Δακία χώρα	Eutropius	Fr. 182
δ 74, 7.12-15	Δαρεῖος	α 1121	Fr. 25*
δ 74, 7.15-17	Δαρεῖος	Ps.-Symeon	Fr. 26
δ 95, 10.14-18	Δαυίδ	*EV* 5	Fr. 4*
δ 193	Δέκιος	*EV* 49	Fr. 173*
δ 397	Δηλάτωρ	*EI* 100	Fr. 239*
δ 729	Διαρρήδην	Eutropius	Fr. 49
δ 1000	Διῆγε	Suda expressis verbis	Fr. 69
δ 1112, 99.1-6	Δικτάτωρ	*EI* 14	Fr. 32*

δ 1112, 99.6-12	Δικτάτωρ	*EPl* 5	Fr. 32
δ 1156, 104.18-30	Διοκλητιανός	*EV* 52	Fr. 191*
δ 1156, 104.31-105.2	Διοκλητιανός	Eutropius	Fr. 193
δ 1351	Δομετιανός	*EV* 33	Fr. 133*
δ 1352, 127.10-13	Δομετιανός	Eutropius	Fr. 139
δ 1352, 127.13-18	Δομετιανός	*EI* 44	Fr. 134*
αι 87	Αἰδοῖ εἴκων	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 71
αι 200	Αἰμίλιος	*EV* 16	Fr. 82*
αι 291, 177.30-32	Αἱρετόν	*EV* 50	Fr. 180*
ε 281	Ἐζημίωσεν	*EV* 50	Fr. 180*
ε 395, 216.13-14	Ἐκδιαίτησις	*EV* 28	Fr. 122*
ε 805, 244.11-12	Ἐλευθεριότης	β 246, 468.21-31	Fr. 127*
ε 1471	Ἐντείναντες	*EI* 87, 12-13	Fr. 226*
ε 1756	Ἐξητασμένον	cf. Mariev (2005)	Fr. 127*
ε 1915, 326.13	Ἐπαγγέλλει	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 170
ε 2241, 350.14-17	Ἐπίβολος. Ἐπιβολή	*EI* 22	Fr. 91*
ε 2351, 358.24-26	Ἐπικαλῶν	*EV* 26	Fr. 117*
ε 2683	Ἐπιτήδευσις	*EI* 22, 28-29	Fr. 91*
ε 3018	Ἑρκούλιος	*EV* 53	Fr. 192*
ε 3777, 476.7-20	Εὐτρόπιος	*EV* 68	Fr. 214*
ζ 191	Ζυγῷ	*EPl* 16	Fr. 50*
η 500	Ἡιρεῖτο	*EV* 29	Fr. 124*
ι 38	Ἴανος	*EI* 58	Fr. 171*
ι 401, 638.16-639.18	Ἰοβιανός	*EV* 64	Fr. 206*
ι 438	Ἰουλιανός	*EV* 39	Fr. 147*
ι 522	Ἵππαρχος	Eutropius	Fr. 33
θ 517	Θρυΐνῃ ψιάθῳ	φ 184	Fr. 41*
κ 119	Καθοσιούμενος	*EI* 57	Fr. 169.4*
κ 122, 11.10-13	Καθοσίωσις	*EI* 78	Fr. 211*
κ 391, 33.24-30	Καρῖνος	*EV* 51	Fr. 188*
κ 1201	Καισάρεια	τ 551	Fr. 109*
κ 1307, 93.10-23	Κελτοί	*EPl* 13	Fr. 47
κ 1524	Κήνσωρ	τ 615	Fr. 52*
κ 1594	Κικέρων	pointer to φ 567	—
κ 1708, 125.23-34	Κλαύδιος	*EV* 24	Fr. 113*
κ 1708, 125.34-126.2 et 5-6	Κλαύδιος	Herodian	Fr. 119
κ 1885	Κνώσσω	λ 688	Fr. 100*
κ 2007	Κόμοδος	*EV* 38	Fr. 144*
κ 2051	Κονσούλους	υ 169	Fr. 20*
κ 2070	Κορβῖνος	*EPl* 13	Fr. 47*
κ 2541	Κοιλία. Κοῖλον	*EV* 54	Fr. 194*
κ 2624	Κυηρῖνος	*EI* 6	Fr. 11*

κ 2732	Κύντιος Κικιννάτος δικτάτωρ	*EV* 13	Fr. 37*
λ 491	Λίβερνος	*EPl* 12	Fr. 22
λ 520	Λιθομυλία	α 3199	Fr. 51*
λ 686	Λούκιος Σέργιος Κατιλῖνος	*EV* 19	Fr. 102*
λ 688	Λούκουλλος	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 100
λ 834, 299.25-26	Λύματα	*ELR*	Fr. 56*
λ 846, 300.18-23	Λυπρά	*EV* 13	Fr. 37*
μ 4, 305.10-11	Μαγγανεία	*EI* 91	Fr. 230*
μ 105	Μάλλιος	*EPl* 15	Fr. 46
μ 172, 321.13-21	Μαξιμῖνος	*EV* 46	Fr. 165*
μ 211	Μάρκιος *νέος*	pointer to β 451	—
μ 215	Μάρκος	*EV* 37	Fr. 141*
μ 664	Μεσοβασιλεύς	*EI* 6	Fr. 11*
μ 751	Μέταιτος	*EV* 12	Fr. 30*
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ο 82	Ὄθων	*EV* 28	Fr. 122*
ο 404	Ὀνωρία	*EI* 84	Fr. 223*
ο 596	Ὁρμαθός	*EV* 23	Fr. 111*
ο 762	Οὐαλεντινιανός	*EV* 65	Fr. 207*
ω 246, 627.14-18	Ὠστία	Eutropius	Fr. 14
π 278	Παραβαλλόμενος	*EV* 55	Fr. 196*
π 394	Παραλύσας	cf. e.g. *EI* 95	Fr. 234.4*
π 401	Παρανάλωμα	*EV* 51	Fr. 188*
π 815	Παῦπερ	*EV* 54	Fr. 194*
π 1130	Περιέσεσθαι	Eutropius	Fr. 72
π 1207	Περινθίοις	σ 181	Fr. 151*
π 1371, 115.5-7	Περσεὺς Μακεδών	*EPl* 33	Fr. 83
π 2024	Πομπήϊος	*EI* 29	Fr. 101
π 2025	Πομπήϊος	*EV* 54	Fr. 108*
π 2047	Ποντίφιξ	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 13
π 2056	Πόπλιος Σκιπίων Ἀφρικανός	cf. e.g. Iviron 812	Fr. 84
π 2239	Πραίτωρ	Eutropius	Fr. 44
ρ 126	Ῥήγουλος	*EPl* 25	Fr. 64

ρ 247	Ῥωμαίων πόλις	Eutropius	Fr. 61
ρ 248	Ῥώμη	cf. ρ 247	Fr. 61*
σ 87	Σαμψών	*EV* 3	Fr. 2*
σ 96	Σαούλ	*EV* 4	Fr. 3*
σ 181, 334.18-23	Σεβῆρος	Herodian	Fr. 151
σ 181, 334.23-25	Σεβῆρος	Herodian	Fr. 153
σ 182, 335.20-23	Σεβῆρος	*EV* 40	Fr. 149*
σ 182, 335.23-28	Σεβῆρος	*EV* 41	Fr. 154*
σ 231, 341.5-9	Σεννάτορες	Eutropius	Fr. 10
σ 577, 377.1-6	Σκηπίων	Eutropius	Fr. 74*
σ 773, 396.10-19	Σολομῶν	*EV* 6	Fr. 5*
σ 798, 399.9-10	Σούπερβος	*EV* 10	Fr. 17
σ 798, 399.10-17	Σούπερβος	*EV* 10	Fr. 18*
σ 1056, 429.21-22	Στέρξω	*EV* 21	Fr. 108*
σ 1077	Στειλάμενος	*EI* 6	Fr. 11*
σ 1337, 455.24-456.8	Σύλλας	Iviron 812	Fr. 98.7*
σ 1404	Συμφέρεται	Eutropius	Fr. 68
τ 106	Τὰ πλείστου	*EV* 21	Fr. 108*
τ 125	Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος	*EV* 31	Fr. 18*
τ 464	Τήβεννος	*ELR*	Fr. 56*
τ 551	Τιβέριος	*EV* 22	Fr. 109
τ 552	Τιβέριος	*EV* 22	Fr. 110*
τ 615	Τιμητής	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 52
τ 691, 564.1-6	Τῖτος	*EV* 31	Fr. 129*
τ 691, 564.6-11	Τῖτος	*EV* 32	Fr. 130*
τ 791	Τορκουᾶτος	*EPl* 11	Fr. 45
τ 902, 582.24-31	Τραϊανός	*EV* 3	Fr. 136*
οι 4	Οἱ	cf. app. ad locum	Fr. 104
υ 169, 646.9-24	Ὕπατοι	*EI* 9	Fr. 20
υ 169, 646.24-647.2	Ὕπατοι	*EV* 68	Fr. 214*
υ 340, 658.28-29	Ὑπερόριον	Eutropius	Fr. 61*
υ 592	Ὑποστησάμενος	*EV* 37	Fr. 141*
υ 734	Ὑφιστάμενος	φ 5	Fr. 60*
φ 3	Φάβιος	Eutropius	Fr. 53
φ 5	Φαβρίκιος	*EPl* 22	Fr. 60
φ 184	Φεβρουάριος	*EPl* 10	Fr. 41
φ 567	Φολουΐα	*EV* 20	Fr. 106*
φ 627	Φούριος Κάμιλλος	Eutropius	Fr. 39
χ 280	Χημεία	*EV* 52	Fr. 191*
χ 305	Χιλίαρχος	Eutropius	Fr. 43

EPl The collection of material known as the *Excerpta planudea* was the subject of a prolonged debate. Parts of it were first published by Mai (1827, 527ff.),[1] who attributed the excerpts to Cassius Dio. His attribution remained undisputed for some time, and Bekker (1849) and Dindorf (1863-65) included them in their editions. It was Mommsen (1872a, 82ff.) who demonstrated that these excerpts must have been derived from a historian of a much later date, and supposed that their author might have been John of Antioch. A number of scholars[2] who investigated the question in detail confirmed Mommsen's conclusion that the author of the text is different from Cassius Dio, and established that from about 335 fragments in the collection, the first 44 could have been derived from John of Antioch, while from the remaining 296, 291 belong to Xiphilinus and the rest are partly derived from Paeanius and partly from an unknown source which Haupt (1879b, 291ff.) identified as Constantine Manasses. In Boissevain's edition of Cassius Dio, only a portion of the fragments (1-44) appear on pp. cxi-cxxiii; he attributed only four of them (32, 35, 41 and 44) to John of Antioch. The Athos fragment published by Lampros (1904) helped to attribute this material to John of Antioch on more secure grounds: Kugéas (1909) identified the fragments from the *Excerpta planudea* that correspond to the newly published text from the Athos manuscript (*EPl* 37-43) and was able to reach some definite conclusions concerning their authenticity:

> Exzerpt 1-2, von der ersten Erbauung Roms handelnd, sind dem Kompendium [i.e. Manasses] entnommen; 3-4, sich auf den Anfang der römischen Geschichte beziehend, stammen aus Paeanios; das 5. ist teils aus Jo. Antiochenus gewonnen, teils von Planudes selbst hergestellt; 6-44, die Geschichte der freien Republik bis auf die Expedition des Lukullus nach Armenien betreffend, sind regelmäßig aus Jo. Antiochenus entnommen...[3]

ELR For a long time the short fragment in the Constantinian *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* was not recognised as belonging to John of Antioch, in spite of the attribution in the manuscripts, owing

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1 Mai published only those fragments he considered to be previously unknown.

2 Haupt 1879b; Haupt 1879a; Haupt 1880; Piccolomini 1874, 105-116; Boissevain 1884; Sotiriadis 1888, 50ff.

3 Kugéas (1909, 145f).

to an erroneous theory put forward by Schweighäuser (1793, 124). It was de Boor (1884, 123-129) who convincingly demonstrated that this short text rightly bears the name of John of Antioch, and this attribution is followed in the present edition.

Cod. Par. 1630

To determine what, if any, role the material from the Cod. Par. 1630 should play in the corpus of John of Antioch is not an easy task, since it requires minute comparison of this text with the *Excerpta Salmasiana,* the tradition of John Malalas represented in Cod. Paris. 1336, Cod. Paris. suppl. 682 and Cod. Vatop. 290, and with numerous lemmata in the *Suda*. However, the following considerations are essential:[1] Cod. Par. 1630 is a composite work, put together by a compilator who used two sources. From the beginning to approximately f. 237^{r}, line 7, he excerpted John Malalas directly. From that point on, the excerptor switched to a secondary Malalas tradition, of which we have traces in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and in a number of *Suda* glosses. (This tradition is identical to Patzig's genuine John of Antioch and Sotiriadis' spurious John of Antioch.) It is quite likely that two passages (f. 239^{r}, lines 15-16, and f. 239^{r}, line 26 to f. 239^{v}, line 1) were directly borrowed from the work of John of Antioch and are included in the present edition in the *apparatus locorum parallelorum* to Fr. 2 and Fr. 5. Another two passages in Cod. Par. 1630 which bear some similarity to the Constantinian excerpts (1. Heracles episode: f. 236^{r}, 2-13 corresponds to *EV* 1, and 2. Seruch episode: f. 237^{v}, 14-20 to *EV* 2, 164, 14-18; f. 237^{v}, 25-28 to *EV* 2, 164,18-165, 7; f. 238^{r}, 4-5 to *EV* 2, 165, 11-13)[2] must have been borrowed by the excerptor of Cod. Par. 1630 directly from Malalas and from the secondary Malalas tradition of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, respectively, and are not included in the present corpus.[3]

1 *See* my detailed analysis of the question in Mariev (2009).

2 It is not possible within the scope of this introduction to examine all the evidence relevant to this issue, *see* Mariev (2009).

3 The corresponding passages in the Constantinian excerpts are also excluded from the corpus, mainly on the grounds of language and sources (*see* footnotes 1 and 2 on p. 8* above). In doing so I follow the judgement of Sotiriadis corroborated by Sotiroudis. Given the marked difference between these excerpts and the rest of the chronicle and the provenance of the corresponding passages in Cod. Par. 1630, they cannot be used to demonstrate the identity of the secondary Malalas tradition in the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and the Constantinian *de insidiis* and *de virtutibus*. On the contrary, their similarity with the tradition of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and Malalas

Salm. The material entitled Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων in the manuscripts and known as the *Excerpta Salmasiana* consists of two parts. The division is clearly indicated in the majority of manuscripts by the marginal note ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία. This note is absent from Cod. Par. 1763, from which Cramer (1841, ii, 383ff.) published the text for the first time. Nevertheless, clear differences in the content of the two parts did not escape the attention of scholars prior to the discovery of the marginal note: even though Müller (1851) was unaware of its existence, he printed all the material preceding this note as fr. (1) M, considering it to be spurious, while he integrated the subsequent material at appropriate locations within his corpus. The entire debate over the "Johannine Question" centred around the attribution of the material found in the two parts of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and related texts and cannot be discussed in detail here.[1] In the present corpus preference is given to the Constantinian over the Salmasian John of Antioch. Accordingly, the first portion of the Salmasian material (before the marginal note ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία) is considered genuine. In contrast, all other material that exhibits an affinity with the second part of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* and the text in Cod. Par. gr. 1630, i.e. the "Vienna Troica,"[2] "Hypothesis to the Odyssey,"[3] and glosses in the *Suda* that correspond to them, are not included in the present corpus. The material from the *Excerpta de sententiis* which Mommsen sought to attribute to John of Antioch is not included in the corpus either, since the text is attributed to Peter the Patrician.[4]

provides additional reasons for firmly excluding these Constantinian passages from the corpus.

1 *See* p. 4*f. above for a general overview and Mariev (2006, 544-548) for additional information.

2 *See* Patzig 1895.

3 *See* Patzig 1893a.

4 Mommsen (1872a, 89-91) attributed these excerpts to John of Antioch on the grounds that one passage in this collection, no. 204 in Mai (1827), corresponds to fr. 83 M, derived from the *Excerpta Salmasiana*. The attribution to Peter the Patrician is undisputed at present, *see* Krumbacher (1897, 237-239); Colonna (1956, 98-99); Nagl (1938, 1301f).

Manuscript tradition

Excerpta de insidiis

The fragments from this collection are transmitted in Codex Scorialensis ω I 11 (= S) and Codex Parisinus gr. 1666 (= P).[1]

Codex Scorialensis ω I 11 (= S). Olim I Z 2 / I K 3. Chartac. ff. IX S + 353 (+ 175a; -213), 354 × 235 mm, scr. 240 × 140 mm, ll. 31 (ff. 1-196; 326-353 ll. 30). Saec. XVI med (ff. 1-f. 72^{v} an. 1543, *see* f. 72^{v}). Described in: Andrés (1967, 131-133) and Sotiroudis (1989, 174-178).

This codex contains the following: f. 1-f. 67^{v}: Aeliani variae historiae; f. 67^{v}-f. 72^{v}: Excerpta ex Aristotelis Politeia ab Heraclide Lembo facta; in fine Τέλος τῆς Αἰλιανοῦ ποικιλίας (sic) ἱστορίας; f. 74^{r}-f. 196^{v}: Excerpta de insidiis: f. 74^{r}-f. 105^{r}: Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ. Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν; f. 107^{r}-f. 154^{v}: Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν. Β. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως; f. 155^{r}-f. 168^{v}: <Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπίκλην Μαλέλα Γ. Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν>; f. 169^{r}-f. 175^{v}: Περὶ ἐπιβουλῆς κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυίας. Δ. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Γεωργίου Μοναχοῦ; f. 176^{r}-f. 187^{v}: Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν. Ε. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου; f. 188^{r}-f. 188^{v}.15 + f. 190^{v}.7-f. 196^{v}: Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διονυσίου Ἀλικαρνησσέως; f. 188^{v}.15-f. 190^{v}.7: Excerptum e Polybio, initio et fine mutilo; f. 198^{r}-f. 324^{v}: Polyaeni Strategica; f. 326^{r}-f. 334^{r}: Leonis VI imp. Constitutio militaris XIX de navali proelio; f. 334^{v}-f. 337^{v}: Agathameri geographica informatio; f. 337^{v}-f. 340^{v}: Anonymi ratio geographiae in sphaera intelligendae; f. 341^{r}-f. 348^{r}: Anonymi geographia compendiaria; f. 349^{r}-f. 353^{v}: S. Justini Philosophi confutatio quorundam Aristotelis dogmatum.

The fragments of John of Antioch do not have a subscription; however, the hand can be identified as belonging to a *librarius* Johannes

[1] Literature on John of Antioch occasionally mentions Codex Berolinensis gr. 382. This manuscript contains a copy of f. 148^{r}-f. 168^{v} of Codex Scorialensis ω I 11 and was completed in 1872 by Immanuel Geppert for Theodor Mommsen. It disappeared from Berlin during the Second World War and its present location is unknown, though there is a slight possibility that it is still preserved in a library in Cracow. *See* Sotiroudis (1989, 173, n. 34).

S^{1-3} Mauromates.[1] Some of the mistakes were subsequently corrected by the scribe himself, probably *in scribendo*. These corrections are indicated by S^1. A second hand (S^2) belongs to Arnoldus Arlenius Peraxylus (1510 - 1574), who corrected several mistakes, probably from the same exemplar as the scribe of the manuscript had used, and added a number of corrections in the margin, some of them bearing the addition *puto* or ἴσως to indicate his own conjecture. A third hand (S^3) belongs to the seventeenth century. Its corrections are few in number.

P Codex Parisinus graecus 1666 (= P). Olim Fontebl.-Reg. 2540. Chartac. ff. III + 146 (immo 148), 289 × 213 mm, scr. 210 × 143 mm (ff. 97-146 scr. 225 × 128 mm), ll. 34 (ff. 97-146 ll. 30). Saec. XV-XVI. Described in: Omont (1886-1898, ii, 118) and Sotiroudis (1989, 178-181). This codex contains: f. 1^{r}-f. 96^{v}: Diodori Siculi historiarum libri XV-XIX; f. 97^{r}-f. 146^{r}: Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν. ᾿Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας ᾿Ιωάννου Ἀντιοχέως. Fine mutilo (*EI* 98, 138.21: ὑπο-
P^1 μιμνήσκων αὐτόν). Corrections are marked with P^1.

The text of S is of primary importance for the *constitutio textus*, mainly but not exclusively on account of the invaluable corrections provided by S^2. The text of P is also important, however, as there are a number of lacunae and other textual problems in S that were not solved by Arnoldus Arlenius.[2]

Excerpta de virtutibus

John of Antioch's fragments in the *Excerpta de virtutibus* are transmitted in a single manuscript, Codex Turonensis (Peirescianus) C 980.

T Codex Turonensis (Peirescianus) C 980 (= T). Olim 955. Membranac. ff. II + 334 (immo 333), 360 × 270 mm, scr. 270 × 190 mm, ll. 32. Saec. XI. Described in: Omont (1886, 63ff.); Büttner-Wobst (1893); Sotiroudis (1989, 165-171).

This manuscript contains the following excerpts *de virtutibus:* f. 3^{r}-f. 64^{v}: ᾿Εκ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ᾿Ιωσήπου περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 65^{r}-f. 81^{v}: ᾿Εκ τῆς χρονικῆς ἱστορίας Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ. Β Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 81^{v}-f. 85^{r}: ᾿Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας ᾿Ιωάννου τοῦ Μαλέλα. Γ Περὶ

1 *See* Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 177f.; Canart 1963, 65; Meyier 1964, 260; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1981, 98f.

2 *See* de Boor 1905, xiii.

ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 85^{r}-f. 102^{v}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας ᾽Ιωάννου Ἀντιοχέως χρονικῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ. Δ Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 103^{r}-f. 105^{v} + f. 208^{r}-f. 223^{v} + f. 324^{r}-f. 331^{v} + f. 176^{r}-f. 183^{v} + f. 277^{r}-f. 284^{v} + f. 245^{r}-f. 252^{v} + f. 261^{r}-f. 268^{v}: ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου. Ε περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 224^{r}-f. 229^{v} + f. 154^{r}-f. 163^{v}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ. ΣΤ Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 164^{r}-f. 167^{v} + f. 184^{r}-f. 190^{v}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας ῾Ηροδότου ῾Αλικαρνησσέως. Ζ Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 190^{v}-f. 191^{v} + f. 230^{r}: ᾽Εκ τοῦ Μαρκελλίνου εἰς τὸν Θουκυδίδου βίον. Η Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 230^{r}-f. 235^{r}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας Θουκυδίδου Ἀθηναίου. f. 235^{v}-f. 244^{v}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ξενοφῶντος· Κύρου παιδείας. Θ Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 253^{r}-f. 257^{v}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διονυσίου ῾Αλικαρνησσέως. Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. ΙΑ. f. 257^{v}-f. 260^{v} + f. 106^{r}-f. 121^{v} + f. 316^{r}-f. 323^{v} + f. 300^{r}-f. 315^{v} + f. 293^{r}-f. 299^{v} + f. 269^{r}-f. 273^{r}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας Πολυβίου Μεγαλοπολίτου. Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. ΙΒ f. 273^{r}-f. 276^{v} + f. 285^{r}-f. 288^{r}: ᾽Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἀππιανοῦ τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης βασιλεικῆς[*sic*]. ΙΓ Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας. f. 288^{v}-f. 292^{v} + f. 168^{r}-f. 175^{v} + f. 192^{r}-f. 207^{v} + f. 145^{r} + f. 150^{r} + f. 151^{r} + f. 149^{r} + f. 147^{r} + f. 152^{r} + f. 153^{r} + f. 146^{r} + f. 122^{r}-f. 124^{v} + f. 148^{r} + f. 125^{r}-f. 128^{v} + f. 131^{r}-f. 133^{v} + f. 129^{r} + f. 130^{r} + f. 134^{r}-f. 144^{v} + f. 332^{r}-f. 334^{v}: ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος Κοκκιανοῦ ῾Ρωμαϊκῆς. ΙΔ Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας.

It is obvious that from f. 106 the folios are misplaced. Sotiroudis (1989, 167) points out that the old folio numbers in this manuscript demonstrate that the codex was already bound incorrectly at this stage.

The entire codex is written in one hand in brown ink. Another hand has corrected the spelling of some words, but did so by way of conjecture, not by comparison with another manuscript. These corrections do not appear in the *apparatus criticus*.

The history of this codex can be traced back to 1627. In this year it was purchased by the French humanist Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc through his agents on Cyprus, who paid an impressive sum of 200 pounds for it because he believed that he was buying the very copy that had been used by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus.[1] Between the 8th and 18th December 1627 the codex was brought to Aix and handed over to Peiresc, who on 18th November 1629 sent it to Puteanus in Paris, commissioning him with its publication. In 1631 it

1 *See* Büttner-Wobst 1893, 261.

was entrusted to Salmasius.[1] In November 1632 the codex was given to Henri de Valois, who finally published it two years later.[2] After publication the codex was sent to a certain M. Petit (otherwise unknown) who handed it to a family in Toulouse, who in turn sold it to a monastery near Tours in 1716. During the French Revolution, the manuscript became the property of the city of Tours, but was kept in unfavourable conditions with the result that several folios were rendered almost illegible. In the nineteenth century the codex was used by Gros, who was working on an edition of Cassius Dio. After his death on 22nd July 1856 the codex was not returned to the library of Tours but disappeared for some time, only to be handed back at a later date. Parts of the manuscript were collated by Wollenberg (1861), and the entire codex was examined and collated by Büttner-Wobst at the end of the nineteenth century.

Codex Iviron 812

I Codex Athous Iviron 812 (= I). Bombyc. ff. 301, 253 × 165 mm, scr. 210 × 120 mm, ll. 32-35 (e f. 34sqq. 23-25) (Paeanius); 255 × 170 mm, scr. 196 × 120 mm, ll. 30 (Iohannes Antiochenus); 225 × 175 mm, scr. 208 × 120 mm, ll. 24-28 (Dio). Saec. XIV. Described in: Lampros (1900, ii, 382-390); Sotiroudis (1989, 159-164). *See also* Lampros (1897); Lampros (1904); Kugéas (1903).

The codex contains: f. 1^{r}-f. 2^{v} + f. 7^{r}-f. 10^{v} + f. 15^{r}-f. 92^{r}: Παιανίου μετάφρασις τῆς Εὐτροπίου Ῥωμαικῆς ἱστορίας. Ἑρμηνεία τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς ἱστορίας ἣν ἔγραψεν Εὐτρόπιος, ἡ δὲ φράσις Παιανίου; f. 3^{r}-f. 6^{v} + f. 11^{r}-f. 14^{v}: Athos fragment; f. 92^{r}-f. 98^{v}: A fragment, mutilated at the beginning, from Περὶ τοῦ καισαρείου γένους; f. 99^{r}-f. 301^{v}: <Xiphilini> Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς Δίωνος Ῥωμαικῆς ἱστορίας.

The codex exhibits four different hands. In one hand we have the text of Paeanius and Περὶ τοῦ καισαρείου γένους ; in another, the text of John of Antioch; another, Xiphilinus; the fourth hand wrote folios 208 and 215 (respectively the beginning and the end of the 26th quire). Lampros dated the codex to the fourteenth century; his conclusions were confirmed by Sotiroudis (1989, 162).

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1 Büttner-Wobst 1905, 756ff.

2 Valois 1634.

The relationship between the Athos manuscript and the other fragments of John of Antioch was investigated by Kugéas (1909, 138-146), who established its correspondence to the *Excerpta Planudea*. More information on this subject follows, *see* p. 24*.

The codex was discovered by Lampros and first examined in detail by two of his students, Georganta and Kugéas.[1] The condition of the codex has significantly deteriorated since the beginning of the twentieth century. Where Lampros' students were able to see whole words, it is now hardly possible to discern a stroke. For this reason, the textual evidence that appeared in the first publication by Lampros (1904) has acquired great significance. The readings and emendations proposed by Georganta and Kugéas are signified by I_{GK} in the *apparatus criticus*. I_{GK}

Suda

The present edition cites the critical text by Adler (1928), which should be consulted for the information on the manuscripts and editorial conventions. The sigla in the apparatus criticus also follow the edition of Adler.

Excerpta Planudea

The fragments of John of Antioch from the *Excerpta planudea* are transmitted mainly in the following five manuscripts: Codex Laurentianus graecus 59, 30 (= L); Codex Neapolitanus graecus 165 [II F 9] (= H); Codex Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 141 (= K); Codex Vaticanus graecus 951 (= M); Codex Parisinus graecus 1409 (= R). A sixth, Codex Heidelbergensis Palatinus graecus 129 (= G), contains only a small selection of excerpts and is described below on p. 29* in connection with the *Excerpta Salmasiana*. The two other codices mentioned by Diller (1937) that transmit the Συναγωγή of Planudes, namely Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus 345 and Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 209, do not contain any excerpts derived from John of Antioch and are not discussed here.

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1 *See also* several notes and emendations that appeared in: Chatzidakis 1904, Dragoumis 1904, Vogiatzidis 1905, and Vasis 1906. It is not apparent from the short notices if these authors had access to the manuscript.

L Codex Laurentianus graecus 59, 30 (= L). Bombyc. (ff. 1-103) et chartac. (ff. 104-346). Saec. XIII-XIV.[1] Description in: Bandini (1768, 549-553); Bühler (1987, 127-130); Sotiroudis (1989, 202f.).

The codex contains works by Planudes, Libanius, Philostratus and two collections of proverbs, one of them (f. 142v-f. 146v) by Planudes. The Συναγωγή of Planudes is found on f. 1-f. 103v and contains excerpts from: Strabo (f. 1-f. 19v), Pausanias (f. 19v-f. 30r), historical excerpts pertaining to the Roman history (f. 30r-f. 47v), ps.-Aristotle *De mundo* (f. 47v-f. 48r), Constantine Manasses (f. 48r-f. 50v), Synesius (f. 50v-f. 52v), John Lydus *De mensibus* (f. 52v-f. 59r), Christian texts (f. 59r-f. 74v), Plato (f. 74v-f. 95r) and again some Christian texts (f. 95r-f. 103v). The excerpts from John of Antioch are found on f. 30r-f. 32r.

Folios 1-f. 103v are written in a single hand that can be dated to the end of the thirteenth century. Diller (1937), who investigated the relationships between the manuscripts of the Συναγωγή, placed this codex at the top of the stemma.

H Codex Neapolitanus graecus 165 [II F 9] (= H). Chartac., ff. 238, 308 × 233 mm, ll. 42. An. ± 1330.[2] Described in: Cirillo (1832, 146ff.); Sotiroudis (1989, 203-205). *See also* Turyn (1957, 54-56, 135f., 368); Turyn (1949, 114f, 114 n. 58); Turyn (1952, 17, 28); Aubreton (1949, 72-79).

The codex contains: f. 1r: Excerpts from Theophrastus Περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας; f. 1v: Τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου Θεμιστίῳ. Two letters. f. 2: Γρηγορίου Νύσσης ἀδελφοῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου περὶ τῶν ἀπιόντων εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. f. 3r-f. 4v: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη. Ἡ τοῦ παρόντος εἴδους ὑπόθεσις. f. 5r-f. 85r: Planudes' Συναγωγή without title. f. 85r-f. 85v: Ἐκ τῆς θεοσοφίας. f. 86r-f. 92r: blank. f. 93r-f. 140v: Euripidis tragoediae (f. 93 Ἑκάβη, f. 104 Ὀρέστης, f. 118 Φοίνισσαι, f. 133 Τρῳάδες). f. 141r-f. 196v: Sophoclis tragoediae (f. 141 Βίος Σοφοκλέους, f. 142 Αἴας, f. 167 Ἠλέκτρα, f. 184 Οἰδίπους τύραννος). f. 197r-f. 214v: Hesiod. f. 215r-f. 236v: Theocritus. f. 237: Πινδάρου λυρικοῦ γένος. f. 238v: Anonymi tractatio Περὶ τοῦ πῶς κρεῖττον καὶ ἐπικρατέστερον τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν τριῶν

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1 *See* Bühler (1987, 129), the watermarks on folios 104-159 can be dated to 1310-1320.

2 Tuilier 1968, 275 n. 4, based on watermarks and the handwriting.

στοιχείων, ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔχουσιν τὴν γένεσιν. The codex is written in a calligraphic hand from the fourteenth century.

Codex Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 141 (= K). Chartac., ff. 378, 210 × 145 mm, ll. 35-37. Saec. XIV-XV. Described in: Stevenson (1885, 71-73); Canart and Peri (1970, 248); Sotiroudis (1989, 205f). K

The codex mostly contains the works of Planudes. f. 1-f. 149v contain hymns, letters, epigrams, encomia and some other writings. The Συναγωγή is found on f. 150-f. 284v. It is the only manuscript which transmits the complete title of the collection: Συναγωγή συλλεγεῖσα ἀπὸ διαφόρων βιβλίων παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου καὶ τιμιωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη πάνυ ὠφέλιμος. The historical excerpts are found on f. 188-f. 210v, the fragments of John of Antioch on f. 188-f. 190v.

Codex Vaticanus graecus 951 (= M). Chartac., ff. 260, ll. 29-30. Saec. XV.[1] Described in: Canart and Peri (1970, 516); Sotiroudis (1989, 206f.). The codex contains: f. 1: Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ ἀλληγορίαι εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου περὶ θεῶν εἰρημένα. f. 9v-f. 152v: Planudes' Συναγωγή. f. 152v: Τοῦ Ψελλοῦ ἐξήγησις χαλδαικῶν ῥητῶν. f. 169v: Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ τρισμεγίστου Ποιμάνδρης. f. 214-f. 219v: blank. f. 220v: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ πρόλογος τῶν περὶ ἀγάπης τελείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐκτεθέντων πρὸς Ἐλπίδιον πρεσβύτερον. The excerpts of Planudes from John of Antioch are found on f. 56v-f. 59. M

Codex Parisinus graecus 1409 (= R). Olim Fontebl.-Reg. 3367. Chartac., ff. A-D + 161, 210 × 140 mm, ll. 22-38. Saec XIV-XV. Described in: Omont (1886-1898, ii, 39); Sotiroudis (1989, 207ff.). R

The codex contains: f. 1-f. 129v: Planudes' Συναγωγή. f. 130: Anonymous collection of sayings, riddles, oracles and verses. f. 146: Πλουτάρχου Τὰ γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα. f. 158v: Anonymous text. f. 159v: A short text on ecclesiatical matters. f. 161v: Τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ὀφφίκια.

The codex is written in four hands, among which hand A (from the fourteenth century) wrote the greater part (f. 1-f. 134v, f. 137-f. 137-f. 143v, f. 146-f. 158v). The excerpts from John of Antioch are found on f. 44-f. 47.

[1] Lindstam (1924, vii).

G Codex Heidelbergensis Palatinus graecus 129 (= G). This codex is described below on p. 29* among the manuscripts related to the *Excerpta Salmasiana*. It contains the following excerpts: *EPl* 3, 5, 10, 29, 43 and the last sentence of *EPl* 22.

The *Excerpta Planudea* and the Athos fragment

Kugéas (1909, 138-146) investigated the relationship between the *Excerpta Planudea* and the text of the Athos fragment. He noticed that the works found in the Codex Iviron 812 (*see* p. 20*) are the same as those assembled in the *Excerpta Planudea*: John of Antioch, Paeanius and Xiphilinus. Having compared the readings in the *Excerpta Planudea* with both the text of the Athos manuscript and the same texts preserved in other sources, he was able to reach the conclusion that the material found in the *Excerpta Planudea* does not necessarily come from the Athos manuscript but must have been excerpted from a manuscript of the same family:

> Wenn aber hiernach die Planudischen Exzerpte nicht unmittelbar aus dem Athous abgeschrieben sind, so ist doch offenbar, daß sie aus einer Hs geflossen sind, welche mit dem Athous einer und derselben Familie angehört haben, vielleicht also aus dem Bruder oder dem Vater des Athous.[1]

On the basis of this evidence, Kugéas (1909, 145) postulates the existence of a "Corpus historiae Romanae", which contained excerpts from the same authors as are preserved in the Athos manuscript.

This hypothesis was reinvestigated by Sotiroudis (1989, 15f., 162-164), who had studied Codex Iviron 812 in detail and was able to evaluate Kugéas' hypothesis on the basis of his own palaeographical and codicological knowledge. Sotiroudis showed that the manuscript contains several sections which were compiled independently of one another. However, the paper and the ink admit the possibility that, even though the manuscript is written in several hands, the different sections could have originated in the same scriptorium. In addition, even if the different portions of the manuscript were created at different stages, they could have been copied from the same exemplar. Sotiroudis (1989, 163f.) thus corroborated the conclusions of Kugéas (1909).

[1] Kugéas 1909, 142.

Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum

The single fragment in this collection that belongs to John of Antioch is only a few lines long. It is preserved in the following manuscripts: JQUWXZ
Codex Bruxellensis 11301-16, f. 8^{rv} (= J [B]);[1] Codex Scorialensis R III 14, f. 11^{rv} (= Q [E]); Codex Monacensis graecus 267, f. 11^{v} (= U [M]); Codex Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 413, f. 7^{v} (= W [P]); Codex Parisinus graecus 2463, f. 113^{rv} (= X [R]); Codex Vaticanus graecus 1418, f. 181^{r} (= Z [V]). All codices were written in the second half of the sixteenth century. Q, U and W were copied by Andreas Darmarios.[2] It is highly probable that J and Z were copied by Antonios Kalosynas.[3] It is the opinion of de Boor (1903, xiv) that X was also copied by Kalosynas. The relationships between the different manuscripts were investigated by de Boor.[4] The archetype of the collection was kept in the Escorial and had the catalogue number B I 4.[5] Darmarios made several copies from it during his period of residence in Spain, Q is one of them. The archetype of these manuscripts and a copy γ were destroyed in the fire of 1671.[6] The collation and *apparatus criticus* of de Boor (1903) indicate that X also descends from a lost β.

Codex Parisinus 1630

This manuscript preserves a number of fragments, of which two belong to the genuine corpus of John of Antioch. This collection is transmitted principally in two manuscripts: Codex Parisinus graecus 1630 and Codex Parisinus français 9467, an apograph of the former. Another codex, Vossianus graecus O 15, contains only a small portion of the fragments but none of them belong to John of Antioch.

Codex Parisinus graecus 1630 Olim Fontebl.-Reg. 3502 Bombyc., ff. XXVII + 278 (immo 270), 157 × 113 mm, scr. 140 × 100 mm,

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1 The sigla in square brackets are those of de Boor 1903.
2 Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 16-27; Canart 1963, 60f., 75f.; Meyier 1964, 259, 264; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1981, 29-32; Kresten 1967.
3 Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 37f.; Canart 1963, 63; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1981, 40f.; Kresten 1967, 87-90.
4 de Boor 1902.
5 Andrés 1968, 43 (77).
6 de Boor 1903, viiif.; Boissevain 1895-1901, i, xxi-xxiv.

ll. 27-32. Saec. XIV. Described in: Omont (1886-1898, ii, 109-112); Fabricius and Harless (1796, x, 478-488); Diller (1965, 91f); Weierholt (1965, 21-22); Sotiroudis (1989, 213f.); Thurn (2000, 6*-8*).

A miscellaneous codex, it contains more than one hundred different *opuscula.*[1] From a remark on the verso of prefixed folio J we know that the codex belonged to Antonios Eparchos of Corfu (1491-1571),[2] who brought it to Venice together with other manuscripts and later presented it to King Francis I (1515-1547) of France.

Codex Parisinus français 9467. Olim Suppl. français 1202. Chartac., ff. 58, 225 × 172 mm, scr. 205 × 152 mm, ll. 27-34. Saec. XV-XVII. Described in: Omont (1894); Sotiroudis (1989, 215).

This codex belonged to the French scholar Du Cange and in all likelihood was copied by him. On f. 33v, at the end of the group of excerpts that are relevant to the text of John of Antioch, there is a note by the scribe: *Hactenus cod. Reg. 3502, fol. 234.* This codex is a direct copy of Parisinus 1630 and is therefore irrelevant for the purposes of *constitutio textus.*

Excerpta Salmasiana

The text of the *Excerpta Salmasiana* is transmitted in the following manuscripts: Codex Vaticanus graecus 96 (= V); Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 93 (= A); Codex Parisinus graecus 1763 (= D); Codex Neapolitanus graecus 166 [II D 4] (= N); Codex Parisinus graecus 3026 (= B); Codex Heidelbergensis Palatinus graecus (= G). Three of them preserve the entire text, two others are mutilated at the beginning and end, and one has only a small number of excerpts.

V Codex Vaticanus graecus 96 (= V). Olim 103. Bombyc., ff. IV + 229, 244 × 175 mm, scr. var. 180 × 105, 187 × 112, 195 × 97 mm, ll. 28-35. Saec. XII med. The codex is described in detail in: Biedl (1955, 52-60); Mercati and Franchi de'Cavalieri (1923, 108f.); Canart and Peri (1970, 370); Sotiroudis (1989, 187f).

The codex contains works by Flavius Philostratus, Polemon, ps.-Hesychius, excerpts from Diogenes Laertius, Agathias, Heracleides Ponti-

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1 The contents are listed in Thurn (2000, 6*-8*).

2 Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 35; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1981, 38f.; Giotopoulou-Sisilianou 1978, 97, n. 2.

cus, Claudius Aelianus and some anonymous excerpts. f. 99^{r}-f. 100^{v} contain Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως, ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων. f. 100^{v}-f. 102^{v} + f. 106^{r}-f. 111^{v} + f. 103^{rv} contain ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία.

The codex is written in one hand. According to Biedl (1955, 53) no fewer than 26 sheets are missing at the beginning. The date of the codex is disputed. Wilson (1977) dates it to the middle of the thirteenth century. Biedl (1955) places it around the year 1300. Sotiroudis (1989, 188) follows Wilson's suggestion, which is based on the form of beta and gamma in the text and places the manuscript between 1250 and 1280.

The codex was kept in Constantinople until the end of the fifteenth century and was in the possession of several Byzantine scholars, including Nicephorus Gregoras and Matthew Camariotes.[1] Since 1518 it has been held in the Biblioteca Vaticana.[2]

A

Codex Vaticanus Palatinus 93 (= A). Bombyc., ff. II + 191 (immo 192), 278 × 199 mm, scr. 246 × 163 mm, ll. 29-42. Saec. XII med. Described in detail in: Biedl (1955, 60-70); Stevenson (1885, 46f.); Canart and Peri (1970, 242); Sotiroudis (1989, 188-191).

A miscellaneous codex. f. 47^{rv} contains Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως, f. 47^{v}-f. 52^{v} contain ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία. The marginal note ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία is missing: this fact initiated the debate over the *Excerpta Salmasiana*.

The codex is written in one hand.[3] Several later hands introduced various corrections.

The date of the manuscript is disputed. Biedl (1955, 95-99) based his conclusion on the evidence of a short chronicle which is preserved on f. 191b^{v} and dated the manuscript to the year 1338. Wilson (1977) used palaeographical evidence to date the manuscript before 1152.[4]

It was demonstrated by Biedl (1955, 95-99) that A is a direct copy of V. This verdict was re-examined by Sotiroudis (1989, 190f.), who was able to corroborate it.

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1 Vogel and Gardthausen 1909, 295; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger 1981, 146.

2 Devreesse 1965, 221.

3 But *see* Wilson (1977, 237), "The hand is indeed odd (there may be in fact two, since I am far from convinced that folios 2-62 are written by the same person as the rest of the book)…"

4 This opinion had been previously expressed in Gianelli (1939, 463, n. 1).

The manuscript must have been in Constantinople in the mid fourteenth century, as the chronicle on f. 191b^{v} proves. From 1584 it was kept in the Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg; in 1623 it was brought to Rome.[1]

Codex Parisinus graecus 1763 (= D). Olim Delamare.-Reg. 3005, 3. Chartac. pp. 24, 206 × 155 mm, scr. 190 × 135 mm, ll. 23-30. An. ± 1606 exaratus. Described in: Omont (1886-1898, ii, 137); Sotiroudis (1989, 191ff.).

The *Excerpta Salmasiana* were published by Cramer (1841) from this manuscript. The codex was copied by Salmasius in Heidelberg in 1606.[2] The critical debate that arose on account of the missing marginal note ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία was not due to Salmasius' mistake, as these words are also missing in A, of which D is a direct copy. This codex contains only the Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως (pp. 1-3) and the ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία (pp. 4-23). It is of no significance for the *constitutio textus* as we possess the original A.

N Codex Neapolitanus graecus 166 [II D 4] (= N). Cart.; saec. XIII, 273 × 166, cc. I + 242 + I (cc. 115-237, 283-242 belonged to a different codex); several hands, marginal and interlinear glosses. The codex is described in: Cirillo (1832, 43f., 155-157); Fabricius and Harless (1796, 791); Ludwich (1896); Sotiroudis (1989, 193-197).

The codex contains: f. 1: Προλεγόμενα Ἰσαακίου Τζέτζη. f. 3^{v}: Lycophronis Alexandra cum titulo Λυκόφρων Μονῳδός. f. 54: Hesiodi Scutum praeposito triplici argumento. f. 60^{v}: Διονυσίου οἰκουμένης περιήγησις. f. ?:[3] Sententiarum collectio. f. ?: Ἆθλον Ἡρακλέους. f. 81^{r}: Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως Ἀρχαιολογία, ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων. f. 82^{v}: ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία. f. 86: Ἐκ τῶν Παλαιφάτου θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων. f. 88^{v}: Carmina nonnulla versibus politicis scripta a Theodoro Prodromo. f. 98: Christophori Mitylenaei (sub nomine Th. Prodromi) carmen 73. f. 99^{v}: Ὠδάριον τοῦ κυροῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ κατανυκτικόν. f. 102: Exiguus tractatus de pedibus. f. 108: Φωκυλλίδου ποίησις. f. 110: Μουσαίου γραμματικοῦ τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον. f. 113^{v}: Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani onirocritica. f. 115:

[1] Biedl 1955, 69.

[2] *See* Biedl 1955, 69 and n. 4.

[3] This information is lacking in the catalogues and Sotiroudis (1989, 194).

Προσῳδία Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως ἀπὸ φωνῆς διαφόρων ἐξηγητῶν. f. 230v: Θεοδοσίου γραμματική, sive potius Choerobosci expositio in canones nominum. f. 238: Fragmentum carminis Oppiani de re piscatoria a versu 253 ad 487 primi libri.

According to Eleuteri (1981, 17f.) there are twelve hands in this manuscript.

According to de Boor (1899, 304) N is a descendant of A. However, the research carried out by Sotiroudis (1989, 195f.) demonstrated that N descends directly from V.

Codex Parisinus graecus 3026 (= B). Olim Memmiano-Bigot.-Reg. 3248, 2. Chartac., ff. 79 (immo 81), 222 × 144 mm, scr. var. 140 × 80, 155 × 85 mm, ll. 17-26. Saec. XV med. Described in: Omont (1886-1898, iii, 95); Vitelli (1895); Sotiroudis (1989, 197-200). B

A detailed description of the contents can be found in Sotiroudis (1989, 197-199). The Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως Ἀρχαιολογία is found on f. 23, ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία on f. 25.

The codex shows signs of five different hands which are difficult to distinguish from one another on account of close similarities; all of them belong to the fifteenth century. As Sotiroudis (1989, 200) convincingly demonstrated, B is a copy of V. It is therefore irrelevant for the *constitutio textus* of the genuine Salamsian fragment.

Codex Heidelbergensis Palatinus graecus 129 (= G). Chartac. ff. IV + 141 (immo 142; f. 44 bis) + II, 226 × 150 mm, ll. 28-41. Saec XIV in. A description is found in: Stevenson (1885, 61f.); Biedl (1948); *see also* Biedl (1955, 83-85); Canart and Peri (1970, 246); Bühler (1987, 79-88). Sotiroudis (1989, 200f.). G

Biedl (1948) rightly considered this codex to be a compendium of notes made by a Byzantine scholar, whom he identified as Nicephorus Gregoras. This codex is his autograph.[1]

The short excerpts from the *Excerpta Salmasiana* are found on f. 73r. 1- f. 73v.4; they correspond to the following passages in Cramer (1841): 384.1-4; 384.5-11 (partially); 384.14-17; 384.20-22; 384.29-385.1; 385.6-9; 386.3-4; 389.21-27; 390.6-13; 391.13-14; 391.5-13. According to Sotiroudis (1989, 201) it is highly probable that G is a direct copy of V; it does not therefore play any role in the *constitutio textus*.

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1 Diller 1965, 92f.

All the extant manuscripts appear to depend on V. Therefore, the *constitutio textus* must ultimately be based on this prototype. However, this stemma does not seem beyond reasonable doubt in the case of N: there is a chance that both V and N are collateral descendants of a common *Vorlage*.[1] For this reason, readings from N are given second priority in the present edition. A few readings of intrinsic interest from the remaining manuscripts are reported in the *apparatus criticus* but do not constitute the text, except in one instance where an obviously corrupt numeral in the VN tradition (indicated with the words *aperte corruptum*) was corrected in the dependent branches.

Editorial principles

Editing a text containing a large proportion of compiled material extracted from other authors and known through a series of excerpt-collections presents the editor with a serious problem. The original text must have been a compilation that in most cases reflected the wording and probably also the spelling of whatever versions of the sources John of Antioch had at his disposal. Even if we are able to identify his sources, we are not informed of the exact spelling and wording of the versions he had in front of him and we do not know if questions of textual criticism, even in the most rudimentary form, were of any importance to him. Furthermore, the role of the excerptors and scribes is known only in general terms.[2] Therefore, every time we encounter an incongruence or a mistake in the extant manuscripts, we are unable to identify with certainty the stage at which this reading entered the tradition: (1) it was present in the version John had in front of him and thence uncritically integrated into his text or John of Antioch was himself responsible for the corruption; (2) the text was corrupted by the excerptors of his work or subsequent scribes. Correcting the text is often an impossible task for almost every emendation runs the risk of becoming philological pedantry leading to a scholarly fiction. An absolutely "correct" text of John of Antioch may never have existed.

1 *See* Sotiroudis 1989, 197.
2 *See* Wäschke (1882), Büttner-Wobst (1906a), de Boor (1912) and de Boor (1920).

Given the nature of the original text and the circumstances of its transmission, the present edition strives to present the available evidence rather than a "correct" or a corrected text. Secondly, it tries to mediate between the manuscript tradition and the modern reader.

To serve the second objective, the variant spellings found in the manuscripts that can be explained as reflecting phonetic changes in post-classical and Byzantine Greek (ει for η, ι, οι; η for ι, ει, οι; ι for η, ει, οι; ο for ω; ε for αι, etc) have been brought into accordance with what a modern reader would find in *LSJ* and Lampe. These variant spellings are not reported in the *apparatus criticus*, except for a few special cases,[1] because this would only significantly increase its size, reduce its legibility and provide readers with very little substantial information about the text. The treatment of these variants in proper names is discussed below. Breathing- and accent marks that are occasionally omitted in the manuscripts have been tacitly supplied. Where punctuation indicates a deliberate preference for a specific interpretation of the text, this has been indicated in the apparatus with the words *virgula distinxi* or *virgula distinxit* (*see* the much-debated case in Fr. 232).

The implications of the first objective are multifarious. It affects all cases where the editor may feel tempted to correct or supply the most lucid readings from modern editions of the sources used by John of Antioch, especially in the treatment of corrupted passages and words, the filling of lacunae and the spelling of proper names. The present edition generally tends to leave the corrupted text as transmitted, indicates the problem in the *apparatus criticus* and lists the evidence discovered by modern scholarship. In a few special cases, a note in the translation provides additional information on the textual difficulty. Emending the transmitted text from John's sources is normally avoided. This is particularly important for the treatment of proper names: these are given in the spelling provided by the manuscripts, unless it can be explained as an obvious case of misspelling on the part of the scribe.[2] The phonetic vari-

[1] If such differences in spelling may imply a different morphological form, they are mentioned in the apparatus (e.g. ἄγεται and ἄγετε).

[2] The judgement on what constitutes a clear mistake on the part of a scribe is of course subjective to some degree. E.g. θήκας for θήβας (the city of Thebes) is considered an obvious scribal error resulting from the particular shapes of the graphemes κ and β, and emended accordingly. However, I refrained from emending

ants suppressed in the apparatus in the case of regular words (*see* above) are always listed for proper names. The peculiarities of accentuation and breathing of proper names are also indicated throughout.

Each fragment is accompanied by a maximum of four critical apparatus. The first apparatus is separated into two parts by a vertical line (|). The first part provides information about the correspondence of the given fragment to the other collections and lists the most important publications where this text has been printed; the second part lists the manuscripts upon which the text is based. In addition to this information, a marginal note beside each fragment identifies the collection of material from which each fragment originates. Second, the *apparatus fontium* provides references to the immediate sources upon which the given passage is based. Additional information about the principles behind this apparatus is found on p. 32* below. The third place is occupied by the *apparatus criticus*. The *apparatus criticus* for the *Suda* fragments differs significantly from the *apparatus* for all the other texts, as it is a quotation from the edition by Adler (1928). Finally, the *apparatus locorum parallelorum* contains all other extant versions of the text.

Sources

John of Antioch's work was for the most part a compilation. In most cases, the fragments preserve the wording of the sources John of Antioch used and thus make them clearly identifiable. This has immediate implications for the composition of the *apparatus fontium* in the present edition. It does not contain references to all the primary sources that transmit the same historical information found in the fragment. In-

Καλαβιστίου transmitted in both P and S into a historically correct Καλπουρνίου Βεστίου, as the edition of Roberto (2005) does (fr. 142.1 R). I concede that it is not always easy to find the golden mean between these two clear extremes. By way of example: I decided to leave Ἀρεστίλλης (for the Roman name Orestilla) in Fr. 102, because it is attested in the tradition (the *Suda* version of the same text reads Ἀριστίλλης) – Roberto (2005) emends to ᾿Ορεστίλλης – and we cannot be sure when this reading entered the tradition. However, with Müller (1851), I emended θεσσαλωνίκης to Θεσσαλικῆς in Fr. 103, the adjective describing the city of Pharsalus.

stead, it identifies those sources of which traces are clearly discernible in the wording of the fragment, sufficient to suppose with a reasonable degree of certainty that a particular source was indeed used in the process of compilation. Thus the note "fontem non inveni" that accompanies a number of fragments should not be understood as implying that the historical data in the fragment is otherwise unknown; rather it means that I have not been able to identify the direct source with a reasonable degree of certainty. In a few cases where the wording is further removed from the fragment but a connection is feasible, the reference is preceded by the word "cf.". The problems and limitations of the assumption that particular sources must have been used by John of Antioch are discussed below. A special note is required for what may be called the "ultimate source". If the text of the chronicle contains quotations from Homer, early historians or some other material that was not used by John of Antioch directly, but was already an integral part of his immediate source, such passages are identified in the footnotes to the English translation and do not appear in the *apparatus fontium*.

Eutropius

The source to which John of Antioch owes the greatest debt is the *Breviarium ab urbe condita* of Eutropius. Passages from all ten books of the *Breviarium* are identifiable in the extant genuine fragments. John of Antioch used the narrative of Eutropius as a general framework for his text and supplemented it with additional information. The *Breviarium* was composed in Latin, however, and we do not possess any conclusive evidence with regard to which text John of Antioch used while composing his work in Greek. The extant translation of the *Breviarium* by Paeanius was definitely not consulted by John of Antioch. From the *Suda* article κ 342 we know of another translator of the *Breviarium,* named Capito. This entry in the *Suda*, together with a three-line note in Stephanus of Byzantium,[1] supplies all the information we have on this translation and its author. Valois (1634) was the first to point out the possibility that John of Antioch could have used this translation, but there is no inde-

[1] *See* the edition of Meineke (1849, 702).

pendent evidence of Capito's text that would permit a comparison with John of Antioch.

Accordingly, the following hypotheses have been put forward. (1.) Eutropius and John of Antioch used a common source. The argument against this speculation was formulated by Köcher (1871, 20), who observed that since the correspondence between John of Antioch and Eutropius covers the entire *Breviarium*, including the reign of Jovian, this hypothesis would imply that Eutropius, who composed his work for the Emperor Valens, plagiarized some work of a contemporary writer and presented it to the emperor as his own. (2.) Another scenario is that John of Antioch used a Greek translation of the *Breviarium* that contained more material than the Latin original. This fuller version of the *Breviarium* may or may not have been identical to the translation of Capito, of which we have no independent evidence. (3.) It is equally possible that John of Antioch took a Greek translation of Eutropius and expanded it himself.[1] (4.) Finally, we have to consider the possibility that John of Antioch could have used the Latin original. Walton (1965, 237 n. 7) first raised this proposition ("The possibility that John of Antioch made his own translation seems not to have been even considered."). He was contradicted by Sotiroudis (1989, 110, n. 55): "Eine direkte Benutzung des Eutropius durch Johannes ist mithin auszuschließen", though Sotiroudis did not substantiate his refutation with any additional evidence or considerations. His negative conclusion was corroborated by Schreiner (1991, 549): "… Eutropius (bei dem m.E. ein zwingender Beweis fehlt, daß ihn Johannes selbst aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt hat)… "[2]

Herodian

The next source that John of Antioch used extensively is Herodian. He relied on this source for his coverage of Roman history from Commodus to Gordian III (180-238 A.D.) The fragments drawn from Herodian form a single block inserted among fragments of Eutropian origin: Fr. 11 to Fr. 141 are from Eutropius, then Fr. 143 to Fr. 169 are from Herodian, then John of Antioch uses Eutropius again from Fr. 171 to

[1] Wollenberg 1861, 24.

[2] An extensive summary of evidence is found in Trivolis (1941). *See also* Burgess (2005).

Fr. 206. Not only does John of Antioch use the material from Herodian to form a compact uninterrupted narrative; in some cases he also adheres very closely to the original text. Other fragments, however, furnish an abridged version of Herodian. In several instances the text of John of Antioch contains additional factual information which is not derived from Herodian. *See* e.g. Herod. 6.9.4 and Fr. 164, where the sentence "Παπιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ νομοθέτης" could have been inserted by a scribe from a marginal gloss, as Müller (1851, 594 n.) thought, or, as Sotiroudis (1989, 91) supposed, could have been added by John of Antioch from a different source.

Cassius Dio

Cassius Dio is used most frequently to amplify a narrative based on John's main source or as a reservoir of additional details and anecdotes. The first traces of Cassius Dio appear in Fr. 103; the last fragment that shows similarities with Cassius Dio is Fr. 142. In other words, the text of Cassius Dio was used to augment the narrative based on Eutropius up to the point where Herodian becomes John's main source (Fr. 143 is the first fragment based on Herodian). As Cassius Dio served as a supplementary source, we find almost no long continuous passages which derive from his work, as in the case of Eutropius or Herodian. In many instances the text of Cassius Dio has been integrated as separate sentences or even words that emerge from the surrounding narrative. *See* e.g. Cass. D. 60.3.4 and Fr. 114. In other cases, John of Antioch assembles his text from a large number of sentences which did not form a continuous narrative in Cassius Dio but are spread over several dozen printed pages of his text in a modern edition. A good example of this practice is Fr. 110: this text has been assembled from more than 16 consecutive but not necessarily continuous passages of Cassius Dio. The penultimate sentence of this fragment is taken from Eutropius; the very last is either composed by John of Antioch or by the excerptors of Constantine Porphyrogennetus.

Plutarch

Several genuine fragments show correspondences with the *Lives* of Plutarch.[1] The direct use of Plutarch was disputed by Köcher (1871, 15), however, who argued that those passages that show literal correspondence with Plutarch were excerpted from an interpolated version of Cassius Dio; this version had not made use of the text of Plutarch but drew on the same sources. When Köcher expressed this view, he was of the opinion that there had been two historical works that continued Dio's text. According to him, one of these continuations was later used by Xiphilinus and Zonaras; the other by Peter the Patrician and John of Antioch. It was this second continuation, he believed, that was contaminated by additions from Plutarch's sources. Some of the evidence in favour of the existence of this second continuation of Dio is provided (according to Köcher) by the *Excerpta planudea.* In order to vindicate the existence of the two different continuations of Dio, Köcher indicated three sections of the corpus of Müller which show discrepancies with the corresponding text offered in the *Excerpta planudea*. The conjectural second continuation of Dio, hypothesised on the basis of the information in Müller's corpus, can be dismissed, however, since we know from the Athos manuscript that the *Excerpta planudea* do belong to John of Antioch, and that the *Excerpta Salmasiana* do not.

A slightly different approach to this question and a more detailed recapitulation of the main arguments of Köcher is found in Sotiroudis (1989, 101-109), together with a detailed examination of the texts of John of Antioch and Plutarch's *Lives.* On the basis of numerous similarities between the two textual corpora Sotiroudis (1989) reached the following conclusion:

> ...glaube ich behaupten zu dürfen, daß aus den vorhandenen Resten des Johannes eine direkte Benutzung der Viten des Plutarchos (nicht nur der Sulla-Vita) angenommen werden muß.[2]

The first fragment in the chronicle where similarities with Plutarch are detectable is Fr. 11. If this text is indeed of Plutarchean origin,[3] the method John of Antioch pursued in composing the text differs signific-

1 The complete list is found in the *Index fontium.*
2 Sotiroudis 1989, 108.
3 *See* the references cited in the *apparatus fontium* of this fragment.

antly from the practices so far described. This text is a summary of a continuous passage of Plutarch, which shows almost no similarities in language, but accurately reproduces the content of the text.

All the remaining passages that exhibit parallels with Plutarch occur in the "Eutropian" section of the chronicle. Several lines appear in Fr. 102 and Fr. 103. Throughout the "Fourth Book of Consuls" Plutarch's *Sulla* was used as a secondary source to supplement the narrative of Eutropius. There are no traces of Plutarch after the end of the Athos fragment.

Socrates

John of Antioch's use of Socrates Scholasticus can be detected between Fr. 201 and Fr. 221. Among these fragments, three (Fr. 202, 205, 206) continue to show traces of Eutropius before the exclusive use of Socrates begins. Fr. 206 (the last Eutropian fragment) combines three sources: Eutropius, Socrates and Zosimus. It seems, therefore, that John of Antioch referred to Socrates at the end of the section which derives almost exclusively from Eutropius. However, John of Antioch does not simply switch from one main source to another; rather a number of fragments indicate that there was a transitional section in the chronicle where several sources were amalgamated to form a new narrative.

Two observations can be made. (1.) The material that John of Antioch collects and integrates into his narrative is spread across a much longer section of Socrates' text than, for example, was the case with Eutropius or Herodian. John's use of this source is similar to the method he followed in excerpting Cassius Dio. (2) John of Antioch does not excerpt this material in a linear fashion, i.e. he does not follow the chronological sequence of his source, but selects facts and expressions which he integrates into his narrative here and there wherever they suit his purpose.

Zosimus

John of Antioch appears also to have turned to Zosimus at the end of the block of text constituted by the material drawn from Eutropius. The relationship between Zosimus and one of his principal sources, Eunapius, complicates the investigation at this point. While the common opinion

is that Zosimus made ample use of Eunapius,[1] different views have been expressed regarding whether John of Antioch made use of Zosimus *and* his source Eunapius, or just Eunapius alone? Investigation of this question is further complicated by the fact that we have only fragments of both John of Antioch and Eunapius.

Köcher (1871, 31ff.) observed that, on the one hand, several fragments of John of Antioch correspond verbatim to the text of Zosimus;[2] while on the other, the text of John of Antioch exhibits some discrepancies with Zosimus which cannot be explained as a simple consequence of John copying from Zosimus.[3] Köcher concluded that the literal correspondences between John of Antioch and Zosimus could be explained as passages where both authors make direct quotations from Eunapius, while discrepant passages must reflect the different ways in which the two authors handled this common source.

In this edition I follow the arguments of Sotiroudis (1989, 126-129) and, in cases of literal correspondences between John of Antioch and Zosimus, indicate Zosimus as the source.

Eunapius

The following fragments have been identified as deriving from Eunapius' *History* and are marked as such in the *apparatus fontium*:

1. Fr. 206 (= fr. 181 M, *EV* 63, 64). This fragment corresponds to *Suda* ι 401 and Zos. 3.30.2-35. The attribution is relatively secure. *See* de Boor (1885, 330). Blockley (1983, i, 99) is more cautious, "Fr 181 could be Eunapian if the Suda article I 401 is also Eunapian, but that is not clear." Nevertheless, he admits the gloss from the *Suda* into his edition, as Eun. 29.1.

[1] The relationship between Zosimus and Eunapius has been the subject of a number of studies. *See* Paschoud 1971-1989, i, xl-lxii; Paschoud 1975; Barnes 1978, 121-23; Ridley 1969-70, 585-91; Goffart 1971, 412-41; Cracco Ruggini 1972, 279-82; Cracco Ruggini 1973, 169.

[2] *See*, e.g. Zos. 1.63 and Fr. 184.

[3] In support of this thesis Köcher (1871) cites the following passages: Zos. 1.39 and Fr. 176, where the name Gallienus could not have been an addition by John of Antioch, and where there are differences in wording; Zos. 4.53 and Fr. 212, where John of Antioch's text contains a digression on the daughter of Justus and Galla, a passage which is found elsewhere in Zosimus (4.43) and differently worded.

2. Fr. 212 (= fr. 187 M, *EI* 79). This text appears in Blockley (1983) as Eun. 58.2 and 60.1. The narrative finds ample parallels in Zos. 4.53-58 and, more briefly, in *Suda* α 81. It was largely this fragment that lead Köcher (1871, 32f.) to believe that John of Antioch did not use Zosimus directly. The text was analysed in detail by Sotiroudis (1989, 130ff.), who concluded that it could not have been derived from Zosimus and corroborated the attribution to Eunapius.[1] *See also* the considerations offered in Blockley (1983, ii, 142f.).[2]

3. Fr. 213 (= fr. 188 M, *EV* 67). This text corresponds to *Suda* ρ 240, 300.29-301.15 and Zos. 5.1. The article in the *Suda* explicitly names its source: τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ Ῥουφίνου εὕροις ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σαρδιανοῦ Εὐναπίου Χρονογραφίᾳ. The attribution is secure.

4. Fr. 215 (= fr. 190 M, *EI* 80). A parallel text is found in Zos. 5.3-8. It appears as Eun. 64.1 in Blockley (1983). A short analysis is offered in Köcher (1871, 33).[3] In conclusion, Sotiroudis (1989, 134) states that it is not certain whether this fragment is derived from Eunapius, but the attribution is quite probable.

Owing to the nature of the evidence little can be said about the way John of Antioch used Eunapius, as most of the Eunapian material is attested through the medium of John of Antioch's text and comparison with the *Suda* and Zosimus offers few reliable results.

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1 Sotiroudis 1989, 132: "Der entsprechende Text des Eunapios hat sich zwar leider nicht erhalten, da aber das johanneische Fr. 187 M auf keinen Fall dem Zosimos entnommen sein kann, wäre folgerichtig an Eunapios zu denken."

2 "The first paragraph of this fragment, as is clear from the style and contents, is not from Eunapius. The condemnation of Valentinian's second marriage indicates that it came from a Christian writer... In fact, the whole of the fragment (which I have divided into two parts following the ordering of Zosimus) probably came to John via an intermediary who used a Christian writer in addition to Eunapius. This writer (or the intermediary) wrote in a simpler, more colloquial style than that of Eunapius, inserted chronological computations and was less favourable to Arbogast (as comparison with Zosimus shows)."

3 "Denique confer ea, quae uterque de Rufini et Stilichonis administratione scribit, videbis nostrum in Eunapii verbis haesitare, Zosimum auctori liberius retractando studere."

Priscus

For the later period of his chronicle John of Antioch used Priscus. The textual relationship between the extant fragments of John of Antioch and Priscus was first thoroughly investigated by Köcher (1871, 34-37) and reexamined by Blockley (1983), whose results were corroborated by Sotiroudis (1989, 135-139). I quote here the excellent summary offered by Blockley (1983, i, 114), to which I have added in brackets the numeration of the fragments in the present edition for easy reference:

> Material from Priscus also appears in the fragments attributed to John of Antioch. Koecher derives from the History *Frr.* 191 [=217]; 194 [=220]; 198 [=222]; 199 [=223]; 201 [=224]-04 [= 227]; 207 [=230]-09 [=232], and of these the Priscan origin of 198 [=222]; 199 [=223]; 203 [=226]; 204 [=227] is assured by verbal parallels and other points of contact with the passages from the *Excerpta* [i.e. *Excerpta de legationibus* where most of the material that survives from Priscus' history is preserved]. In 194 [=220] and 201 [=224] the treatment of the subject and the attitudes expressed, especially the hatred of eunuchs and the censure of Theodosius' reliance upon tribute rather than upon fighting the enemies of the Empire, look Priscan. There is no reason why 202 [=225] and 205 [=228]-09,1 [=232.1] should not have come from Priscus, although the condensed and chronographical form, especially of 205 [=228]; 206,2 [=229.2]; 209,1 [=232.1], indicates that they came through an intermediary. If, as is usually held, Priscus ended his history with the death of Leo in 474, then 209,2 [=232.2] could also be from him, since it closes with the accession of Nepos to the western throne in that year. *Fr.* 191 [=217] is probably not from Priscus, since it deals with Theodosius II in his extreme youth (τὴν ἄγαν τῆς ἡλικίας νεότητα), whereas Priscus began his history in 433 or 434 when the Emperor was thirty-two years old.

Candidus

This historian is known through Photius (Bibl. Cod. 79) and is mentioned in *Suda* χ 245. The attribution of several fragments of John

of Antioch[1] to Candidus ultimately goes back to Köcher (1871, 40ff.). The arguments of Köcher were reviewed and corroborated by Sotiroudis (1989, 141f.). In the present edition the fragments relating to this source are marked as "Candidus?" The question mark is not necessarily intended to cast doubt on the attribution but merely recognises that the attribution is unproven. Accordingly, the *apparatus fontium* refers the reader to a lost source. These five fragments do not appear in the *Index fontium* for the same reason.[2]

Sextus Julius Africanus

The original source of Fr. 1, the only genuine fragment in the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, is undoubtedly Sextus Julius Africanus. It seems unlikely, however, that John of Antioch excerpted Julius Africanus directly; rather this fragment reflects an intermediary stage in the reception of this author.[3]

1 Fr. 233 (= fr. 210 M, *EI* 94); Fr. 234 (= fr. 211 M, *EI* 95); Fr. 235 (= fr. 212 M, *EI* 96); Fr. 236 (= fr. 213 M, *EI* 97); Fr. 237 (= fr. 214 M, *EI* 98).

2 Discussion of a possible relationship between John of Antioch and Eustathius of Epiphaneia remains outside the scope of the present introduction, as this hypothesis has no immediate bearing on the presentation of the text. The reader is referred to the interesting contribution of Treadgold (2007, 370ff.)

3 For further information the reader is referred to Wallraff (2006).

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Adler. *Suidae Lexicon*, volumes 1-5. Lipsiae, 1928-1938. [= *Suda*]

I. Bekker, editor. *Georgii Cedreni Compendium Historiarum*. Bonn, 1838. [= Cedr.]

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ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΣ

ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΑ ΑΠΟΣΠΑΣΜΑΤΑ

TABULA NOTARUM IN APPARATU CRITICO ADHIBITARUM

Codices

I	Cod. Athous, Iviron 812 (s. XIV)
I_K	lectio Kougeae
I_G	lectio Georgantae
I^1	manus altera in margine
T	Cod. Turonensis (Peirescianus) C 980 (s. XI)
S	Cod. Scorialensis Ω I 11 (s. XVI med.)
S^1	manus Mauromatis
S^2	manus Arlenii
S^3	correctiones s. XVII factae
P	Cod. Parisinus 1666 (s. XV-XVI)
P^1	manus correctoris
J	Cod. Bruxellensis 11301-16 (s. XVI)
Q	Cod. Scorialensis R III 14(s. XVI)
U	Cod. Monacensis 267(s. XVI)
W	Cod. Vatic. Palat. 413(s. XVI)
X	Cod. Parisinus 2463(s. XVI)
Z	Cod. Vaticanus 1418(s. XVI)
V	Cod. Vaticanus 96 (s. XII med.)
A	Cod. Vaticanus Palat. 93 (s. XII med.)
D	Cod. Parisinus 1763 (anno 1606)
N	Cod. Neapolitanus 166 [II D 4] (s. XIII)
B	Cod. Parisinus 3026 (s. XV med.)
G	Cod. Heidelbergensis Palatinus 129 (s. IVX)
L	Cod. Laurentianus 59,30 (s. XIII-XIV)
H	Cod. Neapolitanus 165 [II F 9] (anno 1330)
K	Cod. Vaticanus Palatinus 141 (s. XIV-XV)
M	Cod. Vaticanus 951 (s. XV)
R	Cod. Parisinus 1409 (s. XIV-XV)

notae quae in fragmentis e *Suda* allatis occurrunt in Adae Adler editione hic adhibita quaerendae sunt

Editores et emendatores

in apparatu critico:
Kambylis A. Kambylis

in apparatu codicum et editionum:
M C. Mueller
R H. Robertus

Cetera

⟨∗ ∗ ∗⟩	lacuna	corr.	correxit
[. . .]	litterae in codicibus deperditae	edd.	editiones
[.$_n$.]	*n* litterae deperditae	in app.	in apparatu
⟨⟩	litterae additae	in mg.	in margine
{}	litterae deletae	incl.	inclusit
†	loci corrupti	om.	omittit, omittunt
add.	addit, addidit	rep.	repetit
cet.	cetera (-ae, -i)	s. acc.	sine accentu
cf.	confer	suppl.	supplevit
cod.	codex	supr. vers.	supra versum
codd.	codices	ut vid.	ut videtur
coni.	coniecit	vers.	versus

1

Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων

Salm. **1** Ὁ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀρχαῖος Ὤγυγος καὶ Φορωνεὺς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰνάχου κατὰ τὴν διὰ Μωσέως ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τοῦ λαοῦ ἔξοδον ἦσαν. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Ὠγύγου μέχρι ⟨τῆς⟩ νε' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἤγουν μέχρι τῆς Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου βασιλείας ἔτη ,ασλε', καὶ ἀπὸ Μωσέως πάλιν μέχρι τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτη ,ασλε'. **2** Ὅτε τὸ Πάσχα καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔξοδος ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐγίνετο, ὁ ἐπὶ Ὠγύγου γέγονε κατακλυσμός. Καὶ εἰκότως· τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων ὀργῇ Θεοῦ χαλάζαις καὶ χειμῶνι μαστιζομένων, εἰκὸς ἦν μέρη τινὰ συμπάσχειν τῆς γῆς· ἔτι τε Ἀθηναίους τῶν αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίοις ἀπολαύειν εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀποίκους ἐκείνων ὑπονοουμένους, ὥς φασιν. **3** Ὅτι δὲ Ὠγύγῳ συνήκμαζε Μωσῆς, Πολέμων ἐν πρώτῃ Ἱστοριῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· «Ἐπὶ Ἄπιδος τοῦ Φορωνέως μοῖρα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων στρατοῦ ἐξέπεσεν Αἰγύπτου, οἳ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καλουμένῃ Συρίᾳ οὐ πόρρω Ἀρραβίας ᾤκησαν.» Δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τούτους φησὶ τοὺς μετὰ Μωσέως ἐξελθόντας ἐκεῖθεν Ἑβραίους. **4** Οἱ Ἀναξαγόρειοι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εἰς τὴν τέχνην ἀλληγοροῦσιν, ὅθεν καὶ τό· «Ὀλλυμένων χειρῶν ἔρρει πολύμητις Ἀθήνη.» **5** Ὁ Ἀιδωνεὺς βασιλεὺς ἦν Μολοττῶν, παμμεγέθη κύνα ἔχων Κέρβερον, ὃς διεχρήσατο Πειρίθουν· τὸν δὲ Θησέα Ἡρακλῆς ἐρρύσατο. Διὰ δὲ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ προὖπτον ἐξ Ἅιδου ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς ἐμυθεύθη. **6** Ἀπὸ Ἀτθίδος τῆς Κραναοῦ τοῦ αὐτόχθονος θυγατρὸς ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐκλήθη. **7** Τριπτόλεμος μακρῷ πλοίῳ προσβάλλων

Fr. 1 = fr. (1) M = fr. 1*-37* R; Cramer 1841, ii, 383-388 | VN (et ADB; partim in G)

Fr. 1.1: cf. Iul. Afr. F34,43 Fr. 1.2: cf. Iul. Afr. F34, 97-101 Fr. 1.3: cf. Iul.Afr. F34, 77-80 Fr. 1.4: cf. Sync. 174.25-175.2 Fr. 1.5: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 49l; Sync. 185.17-22 Fr. 1.6: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 44b; Sync. 184.8-9 Fr. 1.7: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 49g; Sync. 185.23-26

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3 ἀρχαιολογία ἰωάννου ἀντιοχέως ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων VAD : ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀντιοχέως ἀρχαιολογία ἔχουσα καὶ διασάφησιν τῶν μυθευομένων N : deest in GB **6** τοῦ λαοῦ ἔξοδον V : ἔξοδον τοῦ λαοῦ D **7** ante νε' verbum τῆς suppl. Müller 1851 ἤγουν V : ἤως N τῆς Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου βασιλείας V : τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως D **8** ab καὶ ἀπὸ usque ad ,ασλε' om. AD propter homoioteleuton **10** ἐγίνετο V : ἐγένετο AD **12** τινὰ συμπάσχειν τῆς γῆς V : τῆς γῆς συμπάσχειν τινὰ N **14** ἐν πρώτῃ V : ἐν πρώτῳ AD : ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν e Jul. Afr. (cf. Sync. 72.4) suppl. Roberto 2005 **15** μαρτυρεῖ VA : ἱστορεῖ D **17** Ἀρραβίας V : Ἀραβίας AD

1

John of Antioch's archeology containing the explanation of the mythical tales.

1 Among the Greeks, ancient Ogygus and Phoroneus, the son of Inachus, lived at the time of Exodus of the people [of Israel] from Egypt under Moses. From Ogygus to the 55th Olympiad, that is to say to Cyrus, the king of Persia, there are 1235 years; and from Moses once more to the reign of Cyrus, 1235 years. **2** The Passover and Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt happened at the same time as the flood in the time of Ogygus. And as might be expected, when the Egyptians were being smitten by hail and storm on account of the wrath of God, it was likely that some other parts of the earth should suffer as well. It was also likely that the Athenians whould share in the fate of the Egyptians, for supposedly they were settlers of the Egyptians, as some say. **3** That Ogygus lived at the same time as Moses is recorded by Polemon in the first book of his *Greek History*:[1] "In the time of Apis, son of Phoroneus, a division of the army of the Egyptians left Egypt and settled in Palestine which is called Syria, not far from Arabia." It is obvious that he means the Hebrews who had departed from there with Moses. **4** The followers of Anaxagoras allegorically interpret Athena as 'craft'; whence comes the saying "With the loss of your hands bid farewell to resourceful Athena." **5** Aïdoneus was the king of the Molossi. He owned a huge dog Cerberus which killed Peirithous. Heracles rescued Theseus. Because of the obvious danger a mythical tale was told that Heracles had brought him up from Hades.[2] **6** Attica was named after Atthis, the daughter of the indigenous Cranaus. **7** Triptolemus approached the cities in a large ship

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1 fr. 13 Mü., *FHG* III 119.

2 The passage in Synkellos makes reference to Philochorus, *see FGrHist* 328 F 18.

ταῖς πόλεσι, καὶ τὸν σῖτον διαδιδούς, πτερωτὸς ὄφις ἐμυθεύθη· εἰκὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ τὴν ναῦν τοιούτου σχήματος εἶναι. **8** Τὴν ᾿Ωρείθυιαν ὁ Ἀστρέου Βορέας ὁ Θρᾲξ ἥρπασεν, οὐχ ὁ ἄνεμος. **9** Ὁ Φρίξου μυθώδης κριὸς πλοῖον ἦν οὕτω καλούμενον, ἢ ὁ διασώσας αὐτὸν τροφεύς. **10** Ἡ Γοργὼν ἑταίρα ἦν εὔμορφος διὰ κάλλος ἐξιστῶσα τοὺς θεατάς, ὡς ἀπολιθοῦσθαι δοκεῖν· καὶ ὁ Πήγασος αὐτῆς ἦν κτῆμα, ἵππος ὀξὺς ὤν· Παλαίφατος δὲ Βελλεροφόντου τοῦτό φησι πλοῖον. **11** Ὅτε Κάδμος ἔκτιζε Θήβας, οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐπέπεσον ἐξαίφνης αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν συρρεῖν, Σπαρτοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν. **12** Οἱ παρ' Ἀμφίονος θελγόμενοι λίθοι ἠλίθιοί τινες ἦσαν ἀκροαταί. **13** Δαίδαλος ἔδοξεν ἀγάλματα κινούμενα ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ πρῶτον διαστῆσαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, τῶν ἄλλων συμπεφυκότας ποιούντων· ὃς φεύγων Μίνωα, διὰ τὸ ἀνεύρετον ἔδοξεν ἀποπτῆναι, πλοίου τυχὼν ἅμα τῷ υἱῷ ᾿Ικάρῳ. **14** Ἡ Σφὶγξ γυνὴ οὖσα Κάδμου διὰ ζῆλον Ἁρμονίας ἀπέστη, καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμει· Οἰδίπους δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσας, εἷλεν αὐτήν. **15** Ὅτε Σαμψὼν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ λαοῦ, Ἡρακλῆς ἐτέλει τοὺς ἄθλους· ἰσχυρὸς δὲ ὤν, ἄτεχνος ἦν παλαιστής· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταῖος ἔμπειρος τῶν παρὰ τοῖς παλαισταῖς χαμαὶ καλουμένων, ὡς ὑπὸ γῆς τῆς μητρὸς βοηθεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. Ταῦτα φεύγων ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ζώσας αὐτὸν τοῖς ἅμμασι, καὶ μετέωρον ἄρας ἀπέκτεινε. **16** Λέγει Πλάτων καὶ τὴν ὕδραν σοφίστριαν εἶναι δεινήν. **17** Οἱ Κένταυροι Θεσσαλῶν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι. **18** Τὸν Μινόταυρον θηρίον μυθεύονται καταθοινώμενον παῖδας Ἀττικούς· στρατηγὸς δὲ ἦν τοῦ Μίνωος, Ταῦρος καλούμενος διὰ τὸ θυ-

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Fr. 1.8: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 50b; Sync. 188.25-26; Iul. Afr. F54a,14-19 Fr. 1.9: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 50d; Sync. 189.8-11 Fr. 1.10: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 52c-d; Sync. 189.29-190.4 Fr. 1.11: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 53g; Sync. 190.12-15; cf. etiam Iul. Afr. T61 Fr. 1.12: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 53c; Sync. 183.20-21 Fr. 1.13: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 55h; Sync. 190.27-191.3 Fr. 1.14: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 56f; Sync. 183.25-27; cf. etiam Iul. Afr. T61 Fr. 1.15: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 57c; Sync. 191.8-12; 191.32-192.6 Fr. 1.16: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 57c; Sync. 191.13-14 Fr. 1.17: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 57d; Sync. 191.16-17 Fr. 1.18: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 58a; Sync. 191.19-27

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2 Ἀστρέου V : Ἀστραίου corr. Müller 1851 e Sync. 188.25 **5** κάλλος V : τὸ κάλλος N **8** ἐπέπεσον – αὐτῷ V : ἐνέπεσον – αὐτῷ D : ἐξέπαισον – αὐτόν N ἐξαίφνης VD : αἴφνης A πανταχόθεν – ὠνομάσθησαν codd. : πανταχόθεν ὡς ἀπὸ γῆς συρρεῖν, κατ' αὐτοῦ Σπαρτοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν ὡς Παλαίφατος ἐν πρώτῳ φησίν Müller 1851 e Sync. 190.12-15 **10** κινούμενα ποιεῖν V : ποιεῖν κινούμενα N **17** post καλουμένων verbum τρόπων in app. coni. Müller 1851 γῆς τῆς μητρὸς V : τῆς γῆς μητρὸς N **22** τοῦ Μίνωος scripsi, cf. Sync. 191,21 : ὁ Μίνωος Roberto 2005 : ὁ Μίνως codd.

and delivered corn; in mythical tales he was a winged snake: it is likely that his ship had this shape.[1] **8** Boreas the Thracian, son of Astraeus, and not the wind, abducted Orithuia.[2] **9** The mythical ram of Phrixus was a boat with this name or a steward who saved him. **10** The Gorgon was a finely-formed courtesan, whose beauty so utterly transfixed those who set eyes on her that they appeared to turn to stone. Pegasus, a swift horse, belonged to her as well. Palaephatus says, however, that Pegasus was a ship of Bellerophon. **11** When Cadmus founded Thebes, the inhabitants of the bordering regions suddenly attacked him and were called 'Spartoi', because they had streamed from all sides. **12** The stones that were charmed by Amphion were in fact certain foolish[3] listeners. **13** Daedalus was believed to have created moving statues, because he separated the feet of his statues for the first time, whereas everyone else sculptured the feet together. Escaping from Minos, he seemed to have flown away because it was impossible to locate him; in fact he chanced upon a ship with his son Icarus. **14** The Sphinx was Cadmus' wife, who departed because of jealousy towards Harmonia and went to war against the Thebans. Oedipus marched against her and killed her. **15** When Samson ruled over the people [of Israel], Heracles was accomplishing his feats. Although Heracles was strong, he was unskilled in wrestling. Antaeus was skilled in what wrestlers call the 'on the ground' method and as a result created the impression that he was drawing strength from the mother earth. To escape this, Heracles seized him in his clutches, lifted him up and slew him. **16** Plato[4] calls the Hydra a fearful female sophist. **17** The Centaurs were high-born riders of the Thessalians. **18** According to mythical tales, the wild beast Minotaur used to devour Attic children. However, he was Minos' military governor, who was called 'Tauros' (i.e.

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1 The passage in Synkellos makes reference to Philochorus, *see FGrHist* 328 F 104.

2 The passage in Synkellos makes reference to Philochorus, *see FGrHist* 328 F 11.

3 The explanation is based on the word-play λίθοι ('stones') and ἠλίθιοι ('foolish').

4 Plato *Euthyd.* 297bc.

μοειδὲς καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἄγριον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ⟨Μίνως⟩ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθει ἐπ' Ἀνδρόγεῳ, ὃν ἀπέκτειναν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐδίδου αὐτῷ ἔπαθλα παῖδας Ἀττικούς, ὡς νικῶντι πάντας· ἰσχυρὸς γὰρ ἦν. Ὡς δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος μετείληφε καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ ἐνίκησε Ταῦρον, ἐπαύθη τὸ κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας. **19** Ἡρακλῆς εἰς λοιμὸν ἐμπεσὼν εἰς πυρὰν ἥλατο. **20** Ἡ μυθευομένη Σκύλλη τριήρης ἦν Τυρρηνῶν ληιζομένων τοὺς παραπλέοντας· αἱ δὲ Σειρῆνες ἑταῖραι ἐπιβουλεύουσαι τοῖς παραπλέουσι. **21** Φασί τινες Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον Δαυὶδ συνακμάσαι, οἱ δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον, οἱ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα γενέσθαι. **22** Ξανθίππου τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ Θυμοίτην εἰς μονομαχίαν προκαλεσαμένου, μὴ ὑπακούσαντος αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀνδροπόμπου υἱὸς Μέλανθος Πύλιος τὸ ἐκείνου σχῆμα ἀναλαβών, ἐμονομάχησε καὶ νενίκηκεν· ὅθεν ἡ τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἑορτή. **23** Ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρῳ τὰ Νέμεα πρὸς τῶν Ἀργείων ἄγεται· ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων τὰ Ἴσθμια· ὑπὸ Δελφῶν τὰ Πύθια ἐπὶ Δελφύνῃ τῷ δράκοντι· οἱ δέ φασιν ἐπὶ Δελφύνῃ ἀρχαίᾳ ἡρωΐδι. **24** Ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμίλλης τῶν Ἀεθλίου παίδων ἀθληταὶ ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἀγωνισταί. **25** Αἰγύπτιοί φασιν ὡς Ἥφαιστος αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπείρους τινὰς χρόνους· μετὰ τοῦτον Ἥλιος ὁ Ἡφαίστου ἔτη ͵ζψοζʹ· μετ' αὐτὸν Σῶς, ἤτοι Ἄρης, μεθ' ὃν Κὴβ τοῦ Ἡλίου, ἤτοι Κρόνος. **26** Ὁ ἀπὸ Χὰμ τοῦ υἱοῦ Νῶε Μεστρὲμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῳκίσθη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκλήθη ἡ χώρα· τὸ γὰρ Μεστρὲμ Ἑβραϊστὶ Αἴγυπτον δηλοῖ. **27** Ἐπὶ Βινώριος βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἐκρίθη τὰς γυναῖκας γέρα ἔχειν βασίλεια. **28** Ἐπὶ Νεφερχέρου βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου φασὶ τὸν Νεῖλον μέλιτι κεκραμένον ἡμέρας ιαʹ ῥυῆναι. **29** Ψίωφ ἑξαέτης ἀρξάμενος βασιλεύων διεγένετο μέχρις ἐτῶν ρʹ. **30** Σεμίραμις ἡ περιβόητος πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἤγειρε χώματα,

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Fr. 1.19: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 60d; Sync. 191.32-192.5 Fr. 1.20: Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 62h Fr. 1.21: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 66a; 71b; 67a; Sync. 206.9; 208.28-29 Fr. 1.22: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 65d; Sync. 208.9-13 Fr. 1.23: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 101d, e, h; Sync. 286.14; 286.24 Fr. 1.24: cf. Eus. *chron. (armen.)* 89.19-22; Sync. 231.10-11; Iul. Afr. F65,8-10 Fr. 1.25: Iul. Afr. F43b Fr. 1.26: Iul. Afr. F44 Fr. 1.27: cf. Iul. Afr. F46,22s Fr. 1.28: cf. Iul. Afr. F46,27s Fr. 1.29: cf. Iul. Afr. F46,80 Fr. 1.30: cf. Iul. Afr. F34,51-53

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1 Μίνως suppl. Müller 1851 **2** ἐδίδου corr. Müller 1851 : ἐδίδουν codd. **4** Ταῦρον corr. Müller 1851 e Sync. : Μίνωα codd. **6** Τυρρηνῶν corr. Müller 1851 : τυράννων codd. ληιζομένων codd. : ληιζομένη Roberto **9** Ξανθίππου VD : Ξάνθου corr. Cramer 1841 **11** Πύλιος τὸ V : ποδίως τε D Cramer 1841 **17** ζψοζ A : ξψοζ VND aperte corruptum **18** τοῦ Ἡλίου N : Ἡλίου V **23** Ψίωφ V : Ψίωψ D : Φίοψ corr. Roberto 2005 e Sync. 64.26 μέχρις V : ἄχρι N

the Bull) because he was hot-tempered and wild in character. When Minos established a contest in honour of Androgeus (whom the Athenians had killed), he gave the Attic children to Tauros as a prize, because he had overcome everyone of them on account of his strength. But when Theseus joined the contest and defeated Tauros, the decision about the children was revoked.[1] **19** Heracles fell victim to the plague and hurled himself onto a pyre. **20** The legendary Scylla was a trireme of the Tyrrenians, who used to rob those who sailed past them. The Syrens were a sisterhood who used to plot against those who sailed by. **21** Some people say that Homer and Hesiod lived at the same time as David, others, a short time before, yet others, after him. **22** When Xanthippus the Boeotian challenged Thymoetes to a duel, and the latter refused, Andropompus' son Melanthus the Pylian put on Thymoetes' clothes, fought and won. Whence originated the festival of the Apatouria. **23** Under Archemorus the Nemean games were celebrated by the Argives; under Melicertes the Isthmian games [were celebrated] by the Corinthians; under Delphis the dragon the Pythian games [were celebrated] by the inhabitants of Delphi; some say, however, under Delphine, an ancient heroine. **24** On the occasion of the contest of Aethlius' children the competitors came to be called 'athletes.' **25** The Egyptians say that Hephaestus ruled over them for countless years; after him, Helius, the son of Hephaestus for 7777; after him Sos, i.e. Ares; after him Keb, the son of Helius, i.e. Cronus. **26** Mestrem, a descendant of Ham, the son of Noah, came to live in Egypt, and the country received its name from him: for Mestrem in Hebrew means Egypt. **27** Under Binorius, the king of Egypt, women were granted royal privileges. **28** Under Nephercherus, the king of Egypt, they say that the Nile flowed mixed with honey for eleven days. **29** Psioph [Phiops] became king at the age of six and ruled until one hundred years of age. **30** The famous Semiramis erected earth mounds, seemingly because of the floods; but these mounds were in rea-

[1] The passage in Synkellos makes reference to Philochorus, *see FGrHist* 328 F 17.

προφάσει μὲν διὰ τοὺς κατακλυσμούς· τάδ' ἦσαν ἄρα τῶν ἐρωμένων ζώντων κατορυσσομένων οἱ τάφοι, ⟨ὡς⟩ Κτησίας ἱστορεῖ. **31** Σέσωστρις ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου θ′ ἔτεσι τὴν ἅπασαν Ἀσίαν ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θρᾴκης· καὶ μνημόσυνα πεποίηκε τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἁλώσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγεννέσι γυναικῶν ⟨ταῖς στήλαις⟩ ἐγχαράσσων μόρια. **32** Ἐπὶ Βοκχόρεως βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἀρνίον ἐλάλησεν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ, ὃν Σαβάκων ὁ Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς αἰχμάλωτον λαβών, ζῶντα κατέκαυσεν· οἱ δέ φασιν ὡς ἐξέδειρεν. **33** Σέλευκός τις ψευδόμενος ἐκ γένους εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλου Σελεύκου τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Βερενίκῃ συνεβασίλευεν· ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθεὶς ἰδιώτης εἶναι, ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀνῃρέθη. **34** Ἀπὸ Αἰγιαλέως βασιλέως Σικυῶνος Αἰγιάλεια ἡ νῦν Πελοπόννησος. **35** Λεωνίδης μόνος καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τέσσαρας Ὀλυμπιάδας στεφάνους ἔσχε δώδεκα. **36** Χιόνου τοῦ Λάκωνος τὸ ἅλμα ποδῶν ἦν νβ′. **37** Πολυμήστωρ ὁ Μιλήσιος λαγὼν ἐκ ποδῶν κατέλαβε. Καὶ Ἰουδαῖός τις ἱστορεῖται ταχίων δορκάδος γενέσθαι. **38** Μίλων ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησεν Ὀλύμπια ἑξάκις, Ἴσθμια δεκάκις, Νέμεα ἐννάκις. **39** Ὁ Ὁλοφέρνης τοῦ δευτέρου Ναβουχοδονόσορ, ὃν Ἕλληνες Καμβύσην καλοῦσιν, ἦν στρατηγός.

Fr. 1.31: cf. Iul. Afr. F46,104-107 Fr. 1.32: cf. Iul. Afr. F46,192-194; Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 86i; 90e Fr. 1.33: fontem non inveni, cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 141 n. 110) Fr. 1.34: cf. Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 20e; Eus. *chron. (armen.)* 81.25-26; Sync. 109.26-28 Fr. 1.35: cf. Iul. Afr. F65,269s; Eus. *chron. (armen.)* 99.6-12 Fr. 1.36: cf. Iul. Afr. F65,86; Eus. *chron. (armen.)* 92.25-27 Fr. 1.37: cf. Eus. *chron. (armen.)* 93.3-7 Fr. 1.38: cf. Iul. Afr. F65,142s; Eus.-Hier. *chron. (armen.)* 94.21-29 Fr. 1.39: cf. Iul. Afr. T75a; Sync. 282.19-20; Eus.-Hier. *chron.* 104c

2 ὡς suppl. Müller 1851 **3** ἐχειρώσατο V : ἐκληρώσατο N **6** ταῖς στήλαις suppl. Müller 1851 e Sync. 67.15 ἐγχαράσσων V : χάρασσον D : ἐχάρασσον A **7** Σαβάκων V : Σαβα N **13** ab Χιόνου usque ad νβ′ (l. 14) om. N **14** Πολυμήστωρ V : Πολυμνήστωρ D **17** Καμβύσην V : Καταμβύσην N

lity tombs of her lovers buried alive, as Ctesias[1] records. **31** Sesostris, the King of Egypt, subjugated all Asia in nine years, and the regions of Europe as far as Thrace; and he made monuments of his conquest of nations. For the heroic nations, he engraved on pillars male genitalia; for the ignoble nations, female genitalia. **32** During the reign of Bocchoris, the King of Egypt, a lamb spoke with a human voice;[2] Sabacon, the King of the Ethiopians, took Bocchoris captive and burned him alive, others say that he skinned him. **33** A certain Seleucus pretended that he was from the family of Seleucus the Great and reigned together with the Queen Berenice; later, when it became known that he was of common extraction, she put him to death.[3] **34** Aegialeia, now the Peloponnese, was named after Aegialeus, King of the Sicyonians. **35** Leonides was the first and the only one to have received twelve crowns in four Olympiads. **36** The leap of Chionis the Spartan was fity-two feet long. **37** Polymnestor from Miletus was able to overtake hares on foot. And a certain Jew is reported to have been faster than a deer. **38** Milo of Croton won the Olympic Games six times, the Isthmian ten times and the Nemean nine times. **39** Holofernes was a general of Nebuchadnezzar [II], whom the Greeks call Cambyses.

1 *FGrHist* 688 F 1
2 *See* Aelian *NA* 12.3
3 *See* Sotiroudis (1989, 141, n. 110).

2

EV 3 Ὅτι Σαμψὼν παῖς Μανωὲ κριτὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἰσχυρός· ἄχρι μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκράτει τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, τῶν πολεμίων κατεδυνάστευσεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὸ Δαλιδᾶ τῆς πόρνης ὑπεκλάπη τὸν νοῦν, ἅμα καὶ ⟨τῆς⟩ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐξέπεσεν· ὑπό τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἁλοὺς δέσμιος εἰς Γάζαν ἀπήχθη καὶ τῶν ὄψεων στερηθεὶς ἐδόθη ἀλήθειν ἐν μυλῶνι. Διὸ δὴ συμπεσὼν τοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ κίοσι συναπώλετο τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰπών· «ἀπελθέτω δὴ Σαμψὼν μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων». Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διεφθάρη κρίνας τὸν λαὸν ἔτη κʹ.

3

EV 4 Ὅτι Σαοὺλ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπὸ δαίμονος κατείχετο καὶ οὔτε ἐκάθευδεν οὔτε ἐκοιμᾶτο. Ὅντινα ὁ Δαβὶδ ταῖς μελῳδίαις κατέθαλπεν.

Fr. 2 = fr. 16 M = fr. 29 R; Valois 1634, 781 | T (f. 85ᵛ) Fr. 3 = fr. 18.1 M = fr. 31 R; Valois 1634, 781 | T (f. 85ᵛ)

Fr. 2: fontem non inveni Fr. 3: fontem non inveni

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3 κατεδυνάστευεν *Suda* **4** ἐπειδὰν Müller 1851 ante σωφροσύνης verbum τῆς e *Suda* add. Roberto 2005

Fr. 2: *Suda* σ 87 Σαμψών παῖς Μανωέ, κριτὴς Ἑβραίων, ἀνὴρ ἰσχυρός. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκράτει τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, τῶν πολεμίων κατεδυνάστευεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὸ Δαλιδᾶ τῆς πόρνης ὑπεκλάπη τὸν νοῦν, ἅμα καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐξέπεσεν· ὑπό τε τῶν ἐναντίων ἁλοὺς δέσμιος ἐς Γάζαν ἀπήχθη καὶ τῶν ὄψεων στερηθεὶς ἐδόθη ἀλήθειν ἐν μυλῶνι. διὸ δὴ συμπεσὼν τοῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ κίοσι συναπώλετο τοῖς ἐναντίοις, εἰπών, ἀπελθέτω δὴ Σαμψὼν μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διεφθάρη, κρίνας τὸν λαὸν ἔτη κʹ. | 4 ὑπὸ – 6 μυλῶνι Cod. Paris. 1630, f. 239*r*, 15-16 = fr. 15.5 M partim Σαμψών, παῖς Μανωέ, ὃς ὑπὸ Δαλίλας πορνῆς ὑπεκλάπη τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος ἐξέπεσεν· καὶ ἐδόθη ἀλήθειν ἐν μύλῳ, δέσμιος εἰς Γάζαν ἀχθείς. Fr. 3: *Suda* σ 96 Σαούλ, βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃς ὑπὸ δαίμονος κατείχετο καὶ οὔτε ἐκάθευδεν οὔτε ἐκοιμᾶτο· ὅντινα ὁ Δαβὶδ ταῖς μελῳδίαις κατέθελγε.

2

Samson, son of Manoah, a judge and a strong man: as long as he had control over the pleasures of the body, he prevailed over his enemies, but after his mind was beguiled by the whore Delilah, he lost his wisdom together with his strength. Taken prisoner by his adversaries he was brought to Gaza in bonds, and deprived of his sight he was condemned to grind at the mill. Wherefore he pushed down the pillars of the temple and perished together with his adversaries, saying "Let Samson die with the Philistines."[1] And he died in this way, after judging the people for twenty years.[2]

3

Saul, king of the Jews, was possessed by an evil spirit and would neither sleep nor go to bed. David used to comfort him with his songs.

[1] *See Jud.* 16.30.

[2] For a different treatment of this episode in the Byzantine sources *see Chron. Pasch.* 152,21-154,2; *Georg. Mon.* 151,19-153,11; *Cedr.* 106,2-21. This fragment is discussed in Sotiriadis (1888, 95f.); Boissevain (1887, 177); Patzig (1893a, 417f) and Patzig (1892, 3). *See* also Roberto (2005, XC n. 108 and 69 n. 2).

4

EV 5 Ὅτι ὁ Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἄριστος ἦν καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀκριβὴς φύλαξ καὶ πάντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχειρώσατο. Ὀλίγοις τέ τισι πταίσμασι τοῦ σώματος πιεσθεὶς θείαις ἐπαιδεύετο μάστιξι. Πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν γέλως τε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπεδείχθη. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μετανοίᾳ καὶ δάκρυσιν ἐθεράπευσεν.

5

EV 6 Ὅτι Σολομῶν ὁ υἱὸς Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων φρονήσει τε καὶ δυνάμει καὶ πλούτῳ ⟨δυνατὸς καὶ⟩ περιφανὴς ἦν. Δικάζων τε τῷ λαῷ ἐν ⟨φρονήσει καὶ⟩ σοφίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος οὐ διέλειπεν ἤσκει τε πᾶσαν σοφίαν

Fr. 4 = fr. 18.2 M = fr. 33 R; Valois 1634, 781 | T (f. 85^{v}) Fr. 5 = fr. 18.3 M = fr. 35 R; Valois 1634, 781f. | T (f. 85^{v}-f. 86^{r})

Fr. 4: fontem non inveni Fr. 5: fontem non inveni

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2 ἀκριβὴς e *Suda* Müller 1851 : ἄριστος ἦν ex antecedentibus repetit T **4** τὸ σῶμα Müller 1851 e *Suda* **6** μετανοίαις Müller 1851 e *Suda* **9** δυνατὸς καὶ e *Suda* add. Büttner-Wobst 1906b **10** φρονήσει καὶ e *Suda* add. Büttner-Wobst 1906b

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Fr. 4: *Suda* δ 95, 10.14-18 οὗτος ἐν πολέμοις ἄριστος ἦν καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀκριβὴς φύλαξ καὶ πάντας πολεμίους ἐχειρώσατο ὀλίγοις τέ τισι πταίσμασι τὸ σῶμα πιεσθεὶς θείαις ἐπαιδεύετο μάστιξι. πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσε γέλως τε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ ταῦτα μετανοίαις καὶ δάκρυσιν ἐθεράπευσεν. | *EI* 1 Ὅτι Δαβὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἕως μὲν ἦν τῶν νόμων φύλαξ, πάντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχειρώσατο, ὀλίγοις δέ τισι πταίσμασι τοῦ σώματος πιεσθεὶς θείαις ἐπαιδεύετο μάστιξι. Πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων μικροῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν. Fr. 5: *Suda* σ 773, 396.10-19 Σολομῶν, υἱὸς Δαβίδ, βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων, φρονήσει καὶ δυνάμει καὶ πλούτῳ δυνατὸς καὶ περιφανής, δικάζων τε τὸν λαὸν ἐν φρονήσει καὶ σοφίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος οὐ διέλειπεν ἤσκει τε πᾶσαν σοφίαν θείας χάριτος γέμουσαν καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀκροατὰς πλείστους ἐποιεῖτο. ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπραττόμενος, τῷ τῆς φύσεως εὐαλώτῳ περὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονὰς ὑπαγόμενος ἄγεται μὲν γυναῖκας χιλίας τὸν ἀριθμόν, πείθεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰδωλολάτρης γενέσθαι. διὸ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς μερισθῆναι τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ, διὰ μνήμην Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν. | 16.3 ἄγεται – 16.5 βασιλείαν Cod. Paris. 1630, f. 239r^{r}, 26–239^{v}, 1 = fr. 17 M partim Γυναῖκας δὲ χιλίας ἀγαγόμενος πείθεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰδωλολάτρης γίνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ Θεὸς διαμερισθῆναι τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν.

4

King David excelled in wars, was a strict guardian of the laws and prevailed over all his enemies. He was afflicted by a few bodily defects and educated by the scourge of God. For he was almost expelled from his kingdom by his children and mocked by his enemies. And he faced these [adversities] with repentance and tears.

5

Solomon, son of David, king of the Jews, was powerful and well-known for his intelligence, might, and wealth. He did not leave off judging the people in the intelligence and wisdom of the superior; he practised all

θείας χάριτος γέμουσαν καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀκροατὰς πλείστους τῆς ἰδίας ἐποιεῖτο. Ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπραττόμενος τῷ τῆς φύσεως εὐαλώτῳ περὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονὰς ὑπαγόμενος ἄγεται μὲν γυναῖκας χιλίας τὸν ἀριθμόν, πείθεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰδωλολάτρης γενέσθαι. Διὸ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς μερισθῆναι τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ μνήμην Δαβὶδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν.

6

EI 2 Ὅτι Σεναχειρὶμ ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου παιδὸς ἀνῃρέθη πρὸς Αἰθίοπας διαγωνιζόμενος.

7

EV 9 Ὅτι Μανασσῆς ὁ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ βασιλεὺς ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τὸν νοῦν ἐπλανήθη, τὰ τῶν καλουμένων Ἑλλήνων ἀποδεχόμενος δόγματα· διεπολέμει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, τόν τε Ἡσαΐαν ξυλίνῳ πρίονι διελὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας φυγάδας καταστήσας τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Διὸ παρεδόθη εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ βασανισθεὶς ἐν πέδαις σιδηραῖς ἐπέγνωσε τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ προσελθὼν οὐ παρώφθη. Βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη εʹ καὶ νʹ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον.

Fr. 6 = fr. 19 M = fr. 36 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 4 | P (f. 97r) S (f. 107r) Fr. 7 = fr. 26 M = fr. 50 R; Valois 1634, 786 | T (f. 86v-f. 87r)

Fr. 6: fontem non inveni Fr. 7: fontem non inveni

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3 ἄγεται edd. : ἄγετε T **4** γίνεσθαι Müller 1851

wisdom that was full of divine grace and converted many to become disciples of his teaching. Doing these and suchlike things, he was led astray by the [human] nature tending towards bodily pleasures, married one thousand women, and was persuaded by them to become an idolater. Wherefore God commanded that his kingdom be divided, not in his lifetime because of His remembrance of David his father, but after his death.

6

Sennacherib, the king of the Assyrians, was murdered by his son, while he was waging war agianst the Ethiopians.

7

Manasses, the king of Jerusalem, turned away from the path of God and let his mind stray towards the [worship of] the idols, accepting the beliefs of the so-called Greeks; he also fought against the chosen people of God, killed Isaiah with a wooden saw and exiled the other prophets from Jerusalem. Therefore he was delivered into the hands of his enemies. After being tortured with iron fetters he acknowledged God of heaven and earth and, having turned to God, he was not abandoned. He died after having reigned for fifty-five years.

8

EI 4 Ὅτι Καμβύσης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς καθεῖλε τὰς Αἰγυπτίας Θήβας καὶ ταύτας εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν, Ἄμασίς τε ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἅμα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστρεψεν, τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τελεῖν ὑπὸ Πέρσας ὁμολογήσαντος. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέραν ἐλαύνειν προθυμούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἐκωλύθη, δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν μάγων, βασιλεύσας ἔτη η′. Οὗτοι γὰρ μετὰ τὸν Καμβύσου θάνατον τῇ ἀρχῇ προσπηδήσαντες μῆνας ζ′ κατετρύφησαν, ἄχρις οἱ τῶν Περσῶν ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλῆς κατεχρήσαντο, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας προστάτην ἀπέδειξαν Δαρεῖον.

9

EI 5 Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευε Νεκταναβώ. Καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀργείων βασιλεὺς Δαναὸς διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ ν′ θυγατέρων τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Αἰγύπτου παισὶ ν′ οὖσιν ἐμηχανήσατο θάνατον, πλὴν Λυγκέως.

10

Suda σ 231 Σεννάτορες· ὁ Ῥωμύλος μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ῥώμου ἀναίρεσιν ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν ἐφειλκύσατο καὶ τούτων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐχέφρονας ρ′ ἐπιλεξάμενος προβούλους τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προέδρους τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέφηνε πραγμάτων, σεννάτοράς τε καὶ βουλευτὰς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὀνομάσας.

Fr. 8 = fr. 27 M = fr. 51 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 5 | P (f. 97v-f. 98r) S (f. 107v) Fr. 9 = fr. 28 M = fr. 52 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 5 | P (f. 98r) S (f. 107v-f. 108r) Fr. 10 = Adler 1928, iv, 341.5-9 = fr. 56, 1-4 R; Droysen 1879, 9

Fr. 8: fontem non inveni Fr. 9: fontem non inveni Fr. 10: Eutr. 1.2.1.

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2 Θήβας Cramer 1841 : θήκας PS **14** παισὶ ν′ οὖσιν Müller 1851 : πεσιν οὖσιν P : παισὶν οὖσιν S **17** Ῥώμου om. F^{Suda} : Ῥήμου Bas^{Suda} **19** προβόλους G^{Suda} τε om. V^{Suda}

8

Cambyses, the king of Persians, took Egyptian Thebes and razed it to the ground, and Amasis, the king of the Egyptians, put an end both to his life and his kingdom, while the Egyptian people agreed to become subjects of the Persians. However, when he wanted to advance on the territories lying further inland, he was prevented by his fate: he was treacherously killed by the magi in his retinue, having reigned for eight years. These [i.e. the magi] took power after Cambyses' death and spent seven months making merry until the Persian magistrates slew them at court and appointed Darius the ruler of the kingdom.

9

Nectanebo was ruling over the Egyptians at the time when Alexander of Macedon was proclaimed [king]. And Danaus, the king of Argos, through his fifty daughters contrived the death of the fifty sons of his brother Aegyptus, with the exception of Lynceus.

10

Senators: after the murder of his brother Remus, Romulus recruited a number of men from the neighbouring cities, picked out the hundred most senior and intelligent of these, and appointed them to deliberate and oversee public business; and he named the men senators and councillors on account of their age.[1]

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1 *See* Plut. *Rom.* 13.2.

11

EI 6 Ὅτι Ῥωμύλος βασιλεύσας Ῥωμαίων διετέλει εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολέμους διαπρέπων, εἰς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ὑπερφρονῶν, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέχοντας. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ στρατευομένοις προσφιλὴς ἦν, καὶ χώρας αὐτοῖς νέμων, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων διδούς· πρὸς δὲ τὴν γερουσίαν οὐχ ὁμοίως διέκειτο· ὅθεν μισήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ περιέχοντες ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δημηγοροῦντα διεσπάραξάν τε καὶ διέφθειραν. Συνήρατο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν ζάλη μεγίστη τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἔκλειψις ἡλίου· ὅπερ ποῦ καὶ ὡς ἐγεννᾶτο γέγονεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥωμύλος αὐταρχήσας ζʹ καὶ λʹ ἔτη τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος· ἀφανισθέντος τε οὕτως αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται μάλιστα ἐκεῖνον ἐζήτουν. Αὐτοί δ᾽ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦσαν μήτε ἐξειπεῖν τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχοντες, μήτε βασιλέα καταστῆσαι δυνάμενοι. Ταρασσομένων οὖν αὐτῶν καί τι παρασκευαζομένων δράσαι, Ἰούλιός τις Πρόκλος, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, στειλάμενος ὡς καὶ ἑτέρωθέν ποθεν ἥκων εἰσεπήδησεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ ἔφη· «μὴ λυπεῖσθε Κυιρῖται· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς τὸν Ῥωμύλον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνιόντα εἶδον. Καί μοι ἔφη εἰπεῖν τε ὑμῖν ὅτι θεὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ ὅτι Κυιρῖνος ὀνομάζεται, καὶ προσπαραινέσαι ὑμῖν βασιλέα τε πάντως εὐθὺς ἑλέσθαι τινά, καὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύματι κεχρῆσθαι». Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων, ἅπαντες ἐπίστευσαν καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ἀπεπαύσαντο, εὐθέως τε ναὸν Κυιρίνῳ ᾠκοδόμησαν, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν ἐδόκει βασιλεύεσθαι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοφρόνουν· οἵ τε γὰρ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς Ῥωμαῖοι

Fr. 11 = fr. 32 M = fr. 59 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 5f., Droysen 1879, 11 | P (f. 98^rv) S (f. 108^r)

Fr. 11: Cf. Plut. *Rom.* 26.1-28.3 et Sotiroudis 1989, 102f. et Köcher 1871, 15 et Boissevain 1895-1901, i, cxii, n. 5; 22.2 ἐνιαυτὸν – 22.5 ὠνόμασεν Eutr. 1.2.2

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17 Κυιρῖνος de Boor 1905 Müller 1851 : κυίρινος Cramer 1841 : κυίριος PS προσπαραινέσαι S : προσπαραινέσθαι P **19** δὲ deest in P **20** Κυιρίνῳ corr. Müller 1851 : κυιρινῷ PS

Fr. 11: 13 Ἰούλιός τις Πρόκλος et 17 καὶ ὅτι – 17 ὀνομάζεται *Suda* κ 2624 Κυηρῖνος· οὕτως Ἰούλιός τις Πρόκλος ἐπλάσατο κεκλῆσθαι ἀκηκοέναι Ῥωμύλον. | 22.2 ἐνιαυτὸν – 22.5 ὠνόμασεν *Suda* μ 664 Μεσοβασιλεύς· μετὰ θάνατον Ῥωμύλου, ἀναρχίας οὔσης ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἡ σύγκλητος τὸ κῦρος τῶν κοινῶν εἶχε πραγμάτων πενθήμερον ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστέροις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατανέμουσα· οὓς μεσοβασιλεῖς ὠνόμασεν. cf. de Boor (1912, 398) | 14 στειλάμενος: cf. *Suda* σ 1077 Στειλάμενος· εὐσταλῶς ἐπελθών.

11

While he ruled over the Romans, Romulus always excelled at war, but disdained the citizens, especially the prominent members of the senate. He was well-disposed to the soldiers, providing them with land and giving them a share of the booty, but he did not have the same attitude toward the senate. Since they hated him on this account, they surrounded him when he was making a speech in the senate house and killed him by tearing him to pieces. They were aided in concealing the deed by a heavy storm and an eclipse of the sun (this event had also happened at the time of his birth). And Romulus met this end after a sole rule of thirty-seven years. After he disappeared in this way, the people and the soldiers were intent on finding him. The senators were at loss, because they could not disclose what had been done and were unable to appoint a king. While they were in confusion and making preparations for some action, Iulius Proclus, a knight, who gave himself the aspect of a person who had arrived from elsewhere, appeared in their midst and proclaimed, "Do not be concerned, Quirites: I myself have seen Romulus ascending to heaven. And he told me to say to you that he had become a god and was now called Quirinus and to advise you also to elect a king as soon as possible and to use this form of government." After these words were pronounced, everybody believed them and the agitation ceased; immediately they built a temple to Quirinus and decided to be ruled by kings, but did not agree among themselves: the original Romans and the Sabi-

καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Σαβίνων προσοικισθέντες ἑκάτεροι ἐξ ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα γενέσθαι ἠξίουν, ἐκ τούτου τε ἀναρχία συνέβαινεν· ἐνιαυτὸν γοῦν ὅλον ἡ σύγκλητος τὸ κῦρος τῶν κοινῶν εἶχε πραγμάτων πενθήμερον ἀρχὴν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατανέμουσα, οὓς μεσοβασιλεῖς ὠνόμασεν.

12

Suda ν 515 Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος· τοῦτον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιδήμιον ὄντα προεβάλοντο μετὰ τοὺς μεσοβασιλεῖς καὶ αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ προβουλεύματος ἔδοσαν. Καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἔθη οὗτος διῳκήσατο ἐνιαυτόν τε πρῶτος εὕρατο εἰς ιβʹ μῆνας τὴν ἡλιακὴν κατανείμας περίοδον, χύδην τε καὶ ἀκατανοήτως παντάπασι πρὸ αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις φερομένην· ἱερά τε καὶ τεμένη ἱδρύσατο καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Ποντίφικας καὶ Φλαμινίους τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπέστησε Σαλίους τε τοὺς τὴν ὄρχησιν ἀσκήσαντας· τάς τε Ἑστιάδας παρθένους τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ἐπέτρεψεν· αἳ τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τιμὴν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἶχον, διὰ βίου δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν ἐφύλαττον· κἂν τις αὐτῶν ἠνδρώθη, κατεχώννυτο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μύρῳ οὐκ ἄνθεσιν οὐχ ἱματίῳ χρῆσθαι συνεχωροῦντο, πλὴν λευκοῦ.

13 Dubium

Suda π 2047 Ποντίφιξ· ὁ μέγας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἱερεύς, ὃν Νομᾶς ὁ Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης κατέστησεν, ἡνίκα βιαίῳ ῥεύματι φερόμενος ὁ Θύβρις τὸ πρεσβύτατον ζεῦγμα ἐλάμβανεν. Εὐχὰς οὗτος πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ μειλικτηρίους

Fr. 12 = Adler 1928, iii, 480.26-481.9 = fr. 60.1 R; Droysen 1879, 11 Fr. 13 = Adler 1928, iv, 172.18-23 = fr. 60.2 R; cf. Roberto (2005, xcix n. 185)

Fr. 12: Eutr. 1.3.2. Fr. 13: fontem non inveni

5 ὠνόμασεν Müller 1851 : ὀνόμασεν S : ὀνόμασθεν P **13** ἀσκήσοντας Bhd.[Suda] **16** παρθένον V[Suda] **22** μειλικτηρίους post οὗτος transp. GVM[Suda]

Fr. 13: cf. *Suda* ν 456 Νομᾶς· ὄνομα κύριον. ὁ Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης.

nes who had come to live with them each demanded the appointment of a king from their midst, which led to anarchy. Thereupon, for one entire year the senate carried out the administration of public affairs by appointing the most prominent senators for a five-day period of rule who were called the interreges.[1]

12

Numa Pompilius: after the *interreges* the Romans proposed him for office even in his absence and invested him with unlimited power by a decree of the senate. This man established the civic customs, was the first to introduce the year by dividing the sun cycle into twelve months,[2] whereas before him the year had been reckoned among the Romans without any system and completely irrationally; he set up sanctuaries and temples, put the so-called Pontifices and Flamines in charge of the sacred rites, as well as the Salii, who practised the dances; he entrusted to the Vestal Virgins the care of the fire and water; they enjoyed the supreme honour among the Romans and had to remain virgins throughout their whole life; and if any one of them had sexual intercourse with a man, she was buried alive; for this reason they were not allowed to use any unguent, flowers or dress unless they were white.[3]

13

Pontifex: a high-priest among the Romans, established by Numa, the lawgiver of the Romans, at the time when the Tiber, flowing in a violent stream, overflowed the oldest bridge. He [the pontifex] addressed the ri-

1 *See* Plut. *Numa* 2; Plut. *Rom.* 27-28.
2 The original of Eutropius speaks of the year divided into ten months.
3 *See* Gelzer (1898, i, 231-233; ii, 379-380); Sotiroudis (1989, 59, 68).

ποιησάμενος, μὴ διαξῆναι τὴν γέφυραν, ἔπεισε τὸν ποταμὸν ἡσυχῆ καὶ εὐτάκτως ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. Καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Ποντίφικας καὶ Φλαμινίους τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐπέστησε.

14

Suda ω 246 Ἄγκος Μάρκος βασιλεύσας Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ Τιβέριδος ποταμοῦ ἐτείχισε τόπον. Ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ῥαχίας ἀνίστησι πόλιν, ἣν Ὠστίαν ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως προσηγόρευσεν· ὡς ἂν εἴποιεν Ἕλληνες θύραν· ἑκκαίδεκά που σημείοις ἀφεστῶσαν τῆς Ῥώμης οἶμαι.

15

EI 7 Ὅτι Πρίσκος Ταρκύνιος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης βασιλεὺς τριακοστῷ καὶ ὀγδόῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτει ὑπὸ τῶν Μαρκίου παίδων, τοῦ πρότερον δυναστεύσαντος τῆς Ῥώμης, ἀναιρεθεὶς ὁμοῦ τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ βίου παύεται.

16

EI 8 Ὅτι Σέρβιος Ταρκύνιος ἐπὶ βιωφελεστάταις πράξεσι κοσμούμενος τετάρτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει διαφθείρεται, δολοφονηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου Σουπέρβου, συνοικοῦντος μὲν τῇ αὐτοῦ Σερβίου θυγατρὶ

Fr. 14 = Adler 1928, iii, 627.14-18 = fr. 64 R; Droysen 1879, 13 Fr. 15 = fr. 34 M = fr. 65 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 6, Droysen 1879, 13 | P (f. 98v) S (f. 108rv) Fr. 16 = fr. 35 M = fr. 66 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 6, Droysen 1879, 13 | P (f. 98v) S (f. 108v)

Fr. 14: Eutr. 1.5.1. Fr. 15: Eutr. 1.6.2. Fr. 16: Eutr. 1.7.2

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1 διανοῖξαι V*Suda* **2** ζεύγματος ed. pr.*Suda* **3** ἐπέστησαν AV*Suda* **5** Μάρκος Adler 1928 : Μάρκιος Roberto 2005 **6** Τιβερίαδος τοῦ S*Suda* Ἐπ' AS*Suda* : και ἐπ' GM*Suda* **8** σημείων Mac*Suda* **11** πρίσκος S : περίσκος P **16** Ταρκύνιος PS : Τούλλιος corr. Müller 1851

ver with soothing prayers not to tear away the bridge and persuaded it to abide in a peaceful and passive condition. He [Numa] also put the so-called Pontifices and Flamines in charge of the sacred rites.

14

When Ancus Marcius was king of the Romans, he fortified the place towards the mouth of the river Tiber and in some other directions. He built a town directly on the seacoast, which was called Ostia after its location: as Greeks would say, "the Door"; I believe it is located sixteen miles away from the city of Rome.

15

The Roman king Tarquinius Priscus was killed by the sons of [Ancus] Marcius, who had ruled before him, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, losing the power and his life at the same time.

16

Servius Tarquinius [i.e. Tullius] who was held in honour for his laudable deeds, was treacherously murdered in the fourty-forth year of his rule by Tarquinius Superbus, who was married to Servius' daughter Tullia and

Τουλλίᾳ, ἕλκοντος δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Ταρκυνίου Πρίσκου τοῦ πρὸ Σερβίου βασιλεύσαντος, συνεφαψαμένης, ὥς φασι, τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ μιάσματος καὶ χεῖρας ἐναγεῖς τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς προσενεγκούσης φόνῳ.

17

Suda σ 798 Σούπερβος· παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ ὑπερήφανος. οὕτως ἐκλήθη Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος, ἕβδομος καὶ ἔσχατος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων.

18

EV 10 Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαβόμενος μετεκαίνισεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον καὶ βαρυτέραν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπέφηνεν, οἷα δὴ ἐκ τοιούτων παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν δραμάτων· τούς τε νόμους μεταθεὶς καὶ ἄρχοντας παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες προβαλλόμενος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν δῆμον αἰκιζόμενος, δεσμά τε καὶ μάστιγας, κλοιοὺς ξυλίνους καὶ σιδηροῦς, πέδας, ἁλύσεις, μέταλλα καὶ ἐξορίας ἐφευρών· φιλοπόλεμός τε εἰ καί τις ἄλλος πώποτε γέγονεν, ὑπερόπτης τε καὶ ἀλαζών· ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἀπηνέγκατο. Σουπέρβους γὰρ τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους ὠνόμαζον Ῥωμαῖοι.

Fr. 17 = Adler 1928, iv, 399.9-10 = fr. 67.1 R; Droysen 1879, 15 Fr. 18 = fr. 36 M = fr. 67.2 R; Valois 1634, 786 | T (f. 87r)

Fr. 17: Eutr. 1.8 Fr. 18: fontem non inveni

Fr. 18: *Suda* τ 125 Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος· οὗτος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετεκαίνισεν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον καὶ βαρυτέραν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπέφηνεν, οἷα δὴ ἐκ τοιούτων παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν δραμάτων, τούς τε νόμους μεταθεὶς καὶ ἄρχοντας παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες προβαλλόμενος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν δῆμον αἰκιζόμενος· φιλοπόλεμός τε, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, γεγονὼς ὑπερόπτης τε καὶ ἀλαζών. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ἀπηνέγκατο· σουπέρβους γὰρ τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους ὠνόμαζον Ῥωμαῖοι. | *Suda* σ 798, 399.10-17 ὃς πᾶσαν μετεκίνησε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον καὶ βαρυτέραν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀπέφηνεν, οἷα δὴ ἐκ τοιούτων παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγημονίαν δραμάτων· τούς τε νόμους μεταθεὶς καὶ ἄρχοντας παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες προβαλλόμενος καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν δῆμον αἰκιζόμενος, δεσμά τε καὶ μάστιγας, κλοιοὺς ξυλίνους καὶ σιδηροῦς, πέδας, ἁλύσεις, μέταλλα, ἐξορίας ἐφευρών· ὑπερόπτης τε καὶ ἀλαζών. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε. λέγεται οὖν ὁ ἀλαζὼν καὶ σοῦπερ εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων θέλων· σοῦπερ γὰρ τὸ ἐπάνω δηλοῖ.

derived his origin from Tarquinius Priscus, Servius' predecessor on the throne. His wife, so they say, was his accomplice in the wicked deed and set her accursed hands to the murder of her father.

17

Superbus: among the Romans, "arrogant." Tarquinius Superbus was so called, the seventh and last king of the Romans.

18

Having seized power, Tarquinius Superbus made the regime more despotic and oppressive, inasmuch as he had attained hegemony by means of such deeds. He changed the laws and proposed magistrates contrary to custom and through them mistreated the people, making use of bonds and scourges, wooden and iron stocks, fetters, chains, mines and banishments. He was fond of war as no other, suspicious and boastful; for this reason he was given this nickname, because the Romans call arrogant people *superbi*.

19

EI 9 Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σούπερβος ἤδη γέρων ὢν ἐκπίπτει τῆς δυναστείας, πάλαι μὲν ἀδήλως διὰ τὸν τρόπον μισούμενος, τότε δὴ καὶ κινήσαντος τοῦ πλήθους ἐς φανερὰν ἀπόστασιν τῇ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου παιδὸς ἀκολασίᾳ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔτυχεν τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν περικαθήμενος πόλιν κʹ πρὸς τοῖς ρʹ σταδίοις τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῳκισμένην. Ταρκύνιος δέ, ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμώνυμος, Λουκρητίαν γυναῖκα, γένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις γνωριμωτάτου, Κολλατίνῳ συνοικοῦσαν, ἐμίανεν. Ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῇ τε λοιπῇ κατεμήνυσε συγγενείᾳ τῷ τε ἀνδρί, ἐπαρασαμένη τε πολλὰ τοῖς ἀφ᾽ αἵματος, εἰ τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῆς καταλείποιεν ἀτιμώρητον, σπασαμένη τὸ ξίφος, ὅπερ ὑπὸ τοῖς κόλποις ἀφανῶς ἔφερεν, ἑαυτὴν ἐν ὄψει τῶν παρόντων κατειργάσατο. Τοῦτο δὲ τούς τε ἄλλους εἰς ὀργὴν ἀνῆψεν ἐλέῳ τῆς ἀνθρώπου (παρῆσαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγοι Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ θέαν τοῦ πάθους), καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Βροῦτον, προσήκοντα μὲν κατὰ γένος ἐκείνῃ, ἄνδρα δὲ δημοτικόν τε καὶ μισοτύραννον, ὃς μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἤγειρεν ἀπόστασιν, ἀφείλετό τε τῆς ἐξουσίας παντελῶς τὸν Ταρκύνιον. Ἅμα γὰρ τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπαναστάσει καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν Ἄρδεαν οὖσα στρατιὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπολιποῦσα τὸν τύραννον ᾤχετο, οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀνακαλοῦντος οὐδὲ μένειν δεομένου πεφροντικυῖα. Ταρκύνιος δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀμηχανῶν ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὡς παύσων τῇ παρόδῳ τὴν ταραχήν, καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν μετὰ πειθοῦς ἀναληψόμενος. Ἀπεωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπεχώρει σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δʹ πρὸς τοῖς κʹ. Καθ᾽ ὃν δὴ χρόνον ἡ πόλις ἀπελύθη τῆς τυραννίδος, ἑπτὰ μὲν δυναστῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀνασχομένη, τρία δὲ καὶ μʹ καὶ σʹ κατὰ μοναρχίαν ἔτη πολιτευσαμένη, συνεσταλμένων αὐτῇ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ-

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Fr. 19 = fr. 37 M = fr. 69 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 7, Droysen 1879, 15 | P (f. 98v-f. 99v) S (f. 108v-f. 109r)

Fr. 19: Eutr. 1.8-9.1

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3 κινήσαντος τοῦ πλήθους Roberto 2005 : *νεύσαντος τοῦ πλήθους* Müller 1851 ex falsa Crameri lectione κινεύσαντος τὸ πλῆθος : κινήσαντος τὸ πλῆθος PS de Boor 1905 **8** Ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ de Boor 1905 ex Cedr. 1.262.10 : Ἐπανελθούσης PS **10** καταλίποιεν Kambylis **15** τῶν βασιλέων PS : τοῦ βασιλέως Roberto 2005 e Cedr. **17** τὴν Ἄρδεαν Cramer 1841 et Müller 1851 e Cedr. 1.262.19 : τὸν ἄνδρα PS **22** Ἀπεωσθεὶς corr. Cramer 1841 et Müller 1851 e Cedr. 1.262.23 : ἀπεσωσθεὶς PS **24** ἀναχομένη S τρία Müller 1851 : τρεῖς PS **25** συνεσταμένων S

19

Tarquinius Superbus was expelled from power when he was already an old man: he had been secretly hated on account of his character for a long time, but at this time the multitude was stirred to open rebellion by the licentiousness of his son of the same name. While Tarquinius Superbus was besieging Ardea, a city situated one hundred and twenty miles away from Rome, his son of the same name violated Lucretia, a most noble woman among the Romans, who was married to Collatinus. She complained to her father, the rest of the relatives, and to her husband, who had all arrived on the spot, imprecating curses on her blood relatives should they leave her misfortune unavenged; then she drew out the dagger which she had been hiding in the folds of her garment and slew herself in the sight of everyone. Pity for the poor woman kindled the wrath of all present (for many Romans were present to witness this sad scene of suffering) and especially of Brutus, a relative of hers, who was on the side of the people and a tyrant-hater. It was he in the first place who incited the people to the rebellion against the kings and deprived Tarquinius of power altogether. At the same time as the rebellion in the city, the Roman army which was besieging the city of Ardea deserted the tyrant as well and withdrew, disregarding his appeals and his orders to remain. Finding himself at a loss under these circumstances, Tarquinius hastened to Rome to put an end to the uprising by making an appearance there and to regain his power by means of persuasion. The citizens refused to accept him, however, and so he departed with his family, after a reign of twenty-four years. By the time the city of Rome had shaken off the tyranny, it had been ruled by seven kings in succession and had been a monarchy for two hundred and forty-three years, while its dominions

ρων ἔτι, οὐ πέρα τε σταδίων ρʹ, ἔνθα δὴ μήκιστον, ἐκτισμένων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐγένοντο βʹ κονσοῦλοι, οὓς οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπάτους διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐκάλεσαν.

20

Suda υ 169 Ἀποσεισαμένη γὰρ τὴν δουλείαν ἡ πολιτεία μετὰ θάνατον Ταρκυνίου δύο στρατηγοῖς ἐνιαυσιαίαν ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπέτρεψε· τῷ μὲν ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν τῆς μοναρχίας διωθουμένη φόβον, τῷ δὲ συνεσταλμένῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας μετρίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεργαζομένη. Ὁ γὰρ νῦν ὑπὸ πελέκεσί τε καὶ ῥάβδοις δορυφορούμενος καὶ στρατοπέδων ἐξηγούμενος, τῆς μετ᾽ ὀλίγον μεταβολῆς εἰς ἔννοιαν καθεσταμένος, μέτριόν τε καὶ δημοτικὸν παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις. Εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα τις βαρέως τε καὶ ἀλαζονικῶς χρῷτο τῇ δυναστείᾳ, ῥᾳδίως οὗτος ὑπὸ θατέρου τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἰσοπαλῆ δύναμιν ἔχοντος, γυμνοῦται τοῦ φρονήματος. Τούτῳ δὴ οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας φυγούσης τυραννίδος βαρύτητα καὶ δημοκρατίας ἀκολασίαν, προχειρίζεται πρώτους στρατηγοὺς αὐτοκράτορας ἄνδρας δύο, κονσούλας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσασα, οἷα δὴ προβούλους καὶ προηγόρους τινάς· οὓς Ἕλληνες μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπάτους προσηγορεύκασι.

Fr. 20 = Adler 1928, iv, 646.9-24 = app. ad fr. 37 M = fr. 70 R; Droysen 1879, 17

Fr. 20: Eutr. 1.8-9.1

1 ἔτι Müller 1851 : ἔτη PS **6** ἐνιαυσαίοις V*Suda* **8** μετρίως G*Suda* **11** καθεσταμένος Kambylis : καθεστάμενος Adler 1928 : καθιστάμενος V*Suda* **12** τε om. G*Suda* **13** οὕτως M*Suda* **14** ἐγυμνοῦτο Parabasil.*Suda* **16** κονσούλους G*Suda* **17** προβούλους G*Suda* : προβόλους Adler 1928 cum. cet. mss. **18** προσηγόρευσι M*Suda* : προσαγορεύουσι G*Suda*

Fr. 20: 17 οὓς Ἕλληνες – 18 προσηγορεύκασι *Suda* κ 2051 Κονσούλους· αὐτοκράτορας αὐτοὺς οἱ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν διοικοῦντες ὠνόμασαν οἷα δὴ προβούλους καὶ προηγόρους τινάς· οὓς Ἕλληνες μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπάτους προσηγορεύκασι. et → Fr. 19 p. 2

had never extended beyond the maximum of one hundred stades. Thereafter there were two consuls. They are called *hypatoi* [i.e. supreme magistrates] by the Greeks on account of their *hyperochē* [i.e. superiority].

20

Having thrown off slavery after Tarquinius' death, the body of citizens turned the state over to two magistrates who held office for a period of one year: by the number of magistrates they curbed the fear of monarchy, and by shortening their magistracy they rendered those in charge of public affairs more moderate. Even though he was escorted with axes and rods and placed in charge of the army, the consul bore in mind the imminent transfer of power and behaved towards his subjects moderately and in a democratic way. If a consul used his power oppressively and arrogantly, his presumption was easily restrained by his colleague who had equal power. Having avoided in his way the oppressiveness of tyranny and the intemperance of democracy, the body of citizens appointed these two men supreme magistrates endowed with absolute power and named them consuls, because they were deliberating and speaking on behalf of others; thereafter the Greeks called them *hypatoi* on account of the *hyperochē* [i.e. superiority] of their power.

21

Suda β 451 Βουολοῦσκοι· ὅτι Βουολοῦσκοι πόλεμον κατὰ ῾Ρωμαίων ἐξήγειραν καὶ πολλοῖς ζημιοῦνται σώμασι καὶ πόλεις ἐπιφανεστάτας τοῦ σφετέρου γένους ἀποβάλλουσι, Μαρκίου νέου παρὰ ῾Ρωμαίοις ἐπιφανοῦς ὠσαμένου ἐς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους, συνεισπεσόντος δὲ πυλῶν ἐντὸς τοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ ἀναπετάσαντος τοῖς οἰκείοις τὴν εἴσοδον. ᾿Εφ' οἷς πολλοῖς μὲν χρήμασι, πολλοῖς δὲ σώμασιν αἰχμαλώτοις πρὸς τοῦ μονάρχου τιμώμενος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διωθήσατο, ἠρκέσθη δὲ στεφάνῳ τε ἀριστείῳ καὶ ἵππῳ πολεμιστηρίῳ· καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἕνα τὸν αὑτοῦ φίλον αἰτήσας ἀφῆκεν ἐλεύθερον.

22

Suda λ 491 Λίβερνος· ὄνομα τόπου· ἀπό τινος ἱστορίας. ᾿Εν γὰρ τῇ ῾Ρώμῃ ὑπατεύοντος Κοΐντου τοῦ Σερβιλίου χάσμα κατὰ μέσην ἀγορὰν διαστάσης τῆς γῆς γέγονε. Γνόντες δὲ οἱ ῾Ρωμαῖοι ἐκ τῶν Σιβύλλης λογίων, ὅτι συνελεύσεται ἡ γῆ, ἣν τὸ τιμιώτατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐμβληθείη τῷ χάσματι, ἐπέφερον οἱ μὲν χρυσόν, οἱ δὲ ἄργυρον, οἱ δὲ καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα τιμι-

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Fr. 21 = Adler 1928, i, 487.1-9 = fr. 82 R Fr. 22 = Adler 1928, iii, 267.31-268.14 = fr. 94 R

Fr. 21: fontem non inveni Fr. 22: fontem non inveni

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3 περιφανεστάτας GIT^{Suda} **9** τὸν AV^{Suda} : τῶν GITM^{Suda} φίλον AV^{Suda} : φίλων GIT cp. M^{Suda} **13** τοῦ ex A^{Suda} solo **16** ὅτι Adler 1928 : ὅ τι susp. est Kambylis

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Fr. 21: 6 ᾿Εφ' οἷς – 10 ἐλεύθερον *EPl* 6 ῞Οτι Μάρκιός τις κατὰ Βολούσκων ἀριστεύσας ἐφ' ᾧ πολλοῖς μὲν χρήμασι πολλοῖς δὲ σώμασιν αἰχμαλώτοις πρὸς τοῦ μονάρχου τιμώμενος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διωθήσατο, ἠρκέσθη δὲ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἵππῳ πολεμιστηρίῳ, καὶ αἰχμαλώτων ἕνα τῶν αὑτοῦ φίλων αἰτήσας ἀφῆκεν ἐλεύθερον. Fr. 22: *EPl* 12 ῞Οτι σεισμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ῾Ρώμην συμβάντος, καὶ χάσματος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γενομένου, Σιβύλλειον λόγιον [ἦν λόγιον M] ἦν συνελθεῖν τὸ χάσμα, τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐμβληθέντος ἐν αὐτῷ. Πολλῶν δὲ πολλὰ τῶν τιμίων ἐκεῖσε ῥιπτόντων, καὶ τοῦ χάσματος μηδαμῶς συνιόντος Κούρτιός τις καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος ἔφη συνιέναι βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ Σιβυλλείου· τιμιώτατον γὰρ εἶναι χρῆμα πόλει ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν· καὶ τά τε ὅπλα περιέθετο καὶ τὸν πολεμικὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη, καὶ ἀτρέπτῳ προσώπῳ ἐλαύνει κατὰ τοῦ χάσματος, καὶ συνῆλθεν ἡ γῆ· ὁ δὲ ἡρωϊκὰς καρποῦται τιμάς.

21

Volsci: Having sparked off a war against the Romans, the Volsci suffered great losses and destruction of the most famous cities of their own people, after Marcius, a young man famous among the Romans, forced his way into the midst of the enemy, penetrated inside the gates together with the fleeing soldiers and opened the entrance to his countrymen. For these deeds he was honoured by the dictator with many riches and many prisoners of war, but he rejected all other rewards and was content with a garland for valour and a warhorse; and he asked for one of the prisoners of war who was his friend and set him free.

22

Libernus: name of a place; from a certain history. For in Rome when Quintus Servilius was consul a chasm developed in the midst of the forum, as the earth split open. The Romans knew from a Sibylline oracle that the earth would seal itself back together if the most valuable thing among humankind was pitched into the chasm, so some of them brought gold, and others silver, others their crops, and others whatever the most valu-

ώτατον εἶναι, καὶ συμβαίνειν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἱερῶν ὑπελάμβανον. Μένοντος δ᾽ οὐδέν τι μεῖον τοῦ χάσματος, Κούρτιος ἀνὴρ ὀφθῆναί τε κάλλιστος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄριστος, ἔφη συνιέναι βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ Σιβυλλείου· τιμιώτατον γὰρ εἶναι χρῆμα πόλει ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ταύτην ἐπιζητεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῶν λογίων δηλούμενα. Καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν τά τε ὅπλα περιέθετο καὶ τὸν πολεμικὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη. Πάντων δὲ θαυμαζόντων τὸ δρώμενον, ἀτρέπτως ἐλαύνει κατὰ τοῦ χάσματος. Συνελθούσης δὲ τῆς γῆς, ἡρωϊκὰς τιμὰς τῷ ἀνδρὶ κατὰ μέσην ἀγορὰν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖν διέγνωσαν τόν τε τόπον Λίβερνον ἐπεκάλεσαν, βωμὸν οἰκοδομήσαντες· ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ Βεργίλλιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο.

23

EI 10 Ὅτι Δαρεῖος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, Ἀρσάμου παῖς, μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Χαλκηδόνος τὰς στρατιὰς προβιβάσας, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τε βασιλέων δορυφορούμενος, καὶ μεγίσταις ἐντρυφῶν παρατάξεσιν, τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ Βαγόου τοῦ προκοίτου θάνατον διαφυγών, αὐτόν τε τὸ προσφερόμενον πιεῖν ἀναγκάσας φάρμακον, παραχρῆμα διέφθειρεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Βαγόας δίκας ὑποστὰς ὧν περὶ τοὺς προτέρους ἥμαρτε βασιλέας, Ἄρσαμόν τε καὶ Ὦχον, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου φαρμάκου ἀναιρεῖται· ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ἓξ ἔτη πρὸς δυσὶ μησὶ δυναστεύσας ἅμα τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατέλυσεν.

24

EI 11 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν, Φιλίππου τῆς Μακεδονίας βασιλεύοντος χρόνους α′ καὶ κ′ πολλήν τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταστρεψαμένου

Fr. 23 = fr. 38 M = fr. 71 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 7f. | P (f. 99v) S (f. 109r) Fr. 24 = fr. 40 M = fr. 73 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 8 | P (f. 99v) S (f. 109r)

Fr. 23: fontem non inveni Fr. 24: fontem non inveni

1 εἶναι ex A[*Suda*] solo τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων λεγομένοις Wolf[*Suda*] Roberto 2005 **12** κατὰ Βιθυνίαν Cramer 1841 : καταβιθανίαν PS **15** Βαγόου PS : Βαγώου Roberto 2005 **17** Βαγόας PS : Βαγώας Roberto 2005

able thing was, and they supposed that they understood the oracle.[1] But as the chasm remained no smaller, Curtius, a man both finest in appearance and noblest of soul, said he understood the Sibylline oracle better than the others: for the most highly valued thing in the city was a man's excellence, and the words disclosed by the oracle really asked for this. So saying, he donned his armour and mounted his war horse. As everyone gawked at what he was doing, he charged without hesitation into the chasm. After the earth sealed itself back together, the Romans vowed to offer this man heroic rites annually in the midst of the forum, and they named the spot Libernus, and erected an altar there; from this Vergil too made his beginning.[2]

23

Darius, the Persian king, son of Arsanes, who marched with his army as far as Chalcedon in Bithynia, attended by numerous kings and parading his immense army, escaped the attempt on his life [which was devised] by his chamberlain Bagoas, forcing the latter to drink the poison which he had offered him, killing him immediately. And so Bagoas paid the just penalty for his crime against the previous rulers, Arsanes and Ochos, who had been killed by his poison. Having ruled for six years and two months Darius lost his life and his kingdom.

24

In the reign of the Persian king Darius, Philip of Macedon ruled for twenty-one years, made a large part of Greece subject to himself, and re-

[1] The text transmitted in *Suda* presents difficulties: the verb συμβαίνω in the meaning of "correspond with, be in harmony with" requires the Dative, which must have led to the emendation proposed by Wolf. Following his emendation, one could translate "…and they supposed that these things corresponded to the words of the priests."

[2] The story is found in Livy 7.6.1-6.

μοῖραν, καὶ τοῦ τε πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Δημοσθένην ἐχομένου πολέμου, ἐκκοπεὶς πρότερον τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπὸ Παυσανίου τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ διαφθείρεται ἐν θεάτρῳ· κινήσεώς τε μεγίστης τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τούτου γενομένης, ἔμεινεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τετραετίαν γυμνή.

25

Suda α 1121 Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν θαυμαστὸν βίον ἐβίωσε· πίστιν δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐχέγγυον ἡ τῶν ἀγώνων παρέσχε πρᾶξις. Οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν παντὶ τῷ τοῦ κόσμου κύκλῳ ἕνα ἄνδρα, τοσούτοις κατορθώμασι πλεονεκτοῦντα. Τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀρίστοις συμφοιτήσας ἀνδράσιν, εἴς τε λόγους οὐ μείων τῶν εἰς ἄκρον ἐπαινουμένων εὑρέθη· πρός τε τὰ πολέμια διελθών, θαυμαστὰ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῦς ἄξια διεπράξατο. Καὶ πρὸς Δαρεῖον τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα συνάψας πόλεμον, τοῦτον κατακράτος νικᾷ. Κἀκεῖνος αἰτεῖται εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν, καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ῥωξάνην πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν.

26

Suda δ 74 Ὅτι αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου σατράπου ἀναιρεῖται, Βέσσος ὄνομα· καὶ προσάγει τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι.

Fr. 25 = Adler 1928, i, 102.26-34 = fr. 41 M = fr. 74 R Fr. 26 = Adler 1928, ii, 7.15-17 = fr. 75 R

Fr. 25: fontem non inveni Fr. 26: fontem non inveni

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17 Βέσσος AGIT*Suda* : Βέσος *Suda*M : Βέσεω V*Suda*

Fr. 25: 12 Καὶ πρὸς – 15 κοινωνίαν *Suda* δ 74, 7.12-15: ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων πρὸς Δαρεῖον τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα συνάψας πόλεμον, τοῦτον κατὰ κράτος νικᾷ. καὶ αἰτεῖται εἰς διαλλαγὴν ἐλθεῖν καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ῥωξάνην πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν.

frained from war against the Athenians and their general Demosthenes. He had lost his right eye on a previous occasion and was killed in a theatre by Pausanias, one of his officers; upon his death a very large revolt broke out in the army, and the throne remained vacant for four years.

25

Alexander the Macedonian led a marvellous life. His military actions gave sufficient credence to what was said [about him]. For it is impossible to find another man in the whole orb of the world who would have a larger share of such great achievements. For he associated with the best teachers, and with regard to eloquence was found to be not inferior to those who are praised to the skies; and when he turned to matters of war, he accomplished things that were too astonishing to believe. And having gone to war against Darius, he prevailed victorious over him. And that man asked him to come to a reconciliation, and even gave him his daughter Roxane in marriage.[1]

26

Darius was killed by his own satrap, Bessus by name, and he brought his head to Alexander of Macedon.

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1 The lemma is attributed to John of Antioch on the basis of comparison with Ps. Symeon. *See* Sotiroudis (1989, 54).

27

EV 11 Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τὴν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείαν καθελὼν καὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἀνελὼν διεφθάρη τὸν νοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονὰς διωλίσθησεν, Περσικήν τε στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος, μυρίοις δὲ νέοις δορυφορούμενος, τ′ τε παλλακαῖς χρώμενος, ὡς τὴν Μακεδονικὴν πᾶσαν τῶν βασιλέων συνήθειαν εἰς Πέρσας μεταρρυθμίσαι, ἐντεῦθέν τέ τινας τῶν ἰδίων διαβληθέντας ἀνελεῖν, Λαγκέα μὲν καὶ Παρμενίωνα τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξάρχοντας τῆς τε Μακεδονικῆς νεολαίας οὐκ ὀλίγους.

28

Suda α 1121 Ὕστερον δὲ εἰς Ἰνδίαν ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ Κανδάκης τῆς βασιλίσσης συνελήφθη ἐν ἰδιώτου σχήματι. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἀλέξανδρε βασιλεῦ, τὸν κόσμον παρέλαβες καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς συνεσχέθης; καὶ εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῆς ἀβλαβῆ διεφύλαξεν.

Fr. 27 = fr. 41 M = fr. 76.1 R; Valois 1634, 786 | T (f. 87r) Fr. 28 = Adler 1928, i, 103.3-7 = fr. 41 M = fr. 76.2 R

Fr. 27: fontem non inveni Fr. 28: fontem non inveni

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4 νέοις δορυφορούμενος Valois 1634 e *Suda* α 1121 : νέους διαφερούμενος T
7 Λαγκέα μὲν T : Λαγχέα μὲν Valois 1634 qui in latinis *Lyncestem* habet : Κλεῖτον τὸν μέλανα vel Καλλισθένη in app. coni. Müller 1851 : Λυγκηστὴν coni. Büttner-Wobst 1906b e Diod. 17.32.1; 80.2

Fr. 27: 2 Ὅτι – 7 ἀνελεῖν: *Suda* α 1121, 102.34-103.3 Ὁ αὐτὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καταστρεψάμενος διεφθάρη τὸν νοῦν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονὰς διωλίσθησε, Περσικήν τε στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος, μυρίοις δὲ νέοις δορυφορούμενος, τ′ τε παλλακαῖς χρώμενος, ὡς τὴν Μακεδονικὴν πᾶσαν τῶν βασιλέων συνήθειαν εἰς Πέρσας μεταρυθμίσαι, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τινὰς διαβληθέντας ἀνελεῖν.

27

Having destroyed the kingdom of the Persians and killed Darius, Alexander of Macedon lost his mind and succumbed to the pleasures of the body, putting on Persian dress and being attended by myriad youths, and using three hundred concubines, so that he transformed the entire Macedonian royal way of life into Persian ways; and afterwards he put to death some of his men who had been slandered before him: Lankeas[1] and Parmenio, who commanded his army, and not a small number of Macedonian youths.

28

Later, upon arriving in India, he was caught by Queen Candace in the guise of a private man and she said to him: "King Alexander, you took the world and you are overcome by a woman?" And he made peace with her and left her country unharmed.

1 The name is corrupt. The text or its source possibly refers to one of the following: Lyncestes, Cleitus or Callisthenes.

29

Suda α 1121 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ὀκτακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐνέτυχεν ὑπὸ Περσῶν πάλαι ἐν Ἑλλάδι ληφθεῖσιν, ἠκρωτηριασμένοις τὰς χεῖρας, οὓς μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ παρεμυθήσατο. Εἰς δὲ τὴν λίμνην τὴν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀφικόμενος τὸ διάδημα ἀπέβαλεν, ὄμβρου πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διενήξατο. Καὶ ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου τοῦ ἰδίου στρατηγοῦ φάρμακον δεξάμενος ἐσπαράχθη· καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοσούτοις κατορθώμασι τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

30

EV 12 Ὅτι Λούκιος Βαλέριος Ποπλικόλας ὕπατος καταλείπει τὸν βίον, οὕτω δὴ μέταιτός τε καὶ χρημάτων ἄπορος ὡς κοινοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ταφῆναι χρήμασι, τάς τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκας παραπλησίως αὐτὸν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τῷ Βρούτῳ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ συνῆρξεν αὐτῷ τῆς τῶν τυράννων ἐξόδου.

31

EI 13 Ὅτι ἕκτῳ τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐξέλασιν, Κασσίου τε καὶ Σουλπικίου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντων, ἐς πᾶν μὲν κινδύνου

Fr. 29 = Adler 1928, i, 103.7-13 = fr. 42 M = fr. 77 R   Fr. 30 = fr. 43 M = fr. 78 R; Valois 1634, 786, 789, Droysen 1879, 19 | T (f. 87ʳ)   Fr. 31 = fr. 44 M = fr. 79 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 8 | P (f. 99ᵛ-f. 100ʳ) S (f. 109ʳᵛ)

Fr. 29: fontem non inveni   Fr. 30: Eutr. 1.11.4.   Fr. 31: fontem non inveni

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2 ὀκτακοσίοις om. Adler (1928)   **7** οὕτως om. AGIT*Suda*   **10** Βαλέριος corr. Valois 1634 : γαλέριος T   οὕτω Büttner-Wobst 1906b, cf. Büttner-Wobst 1906b, xxxix, n. 1 : οὕτωι T   **13** ἐπειδὴ Büttner-Wobst 1906b : ἐπειδὰν Müller 1851   **15** Κασσίου corr. Cramer 1841 : κασίου PS

Fr. 29: 6 Καὶ ὑπὸ – 8 μετήλλαξεν *EI* 12: Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ὥς φησι Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς, ἐπὶ τοσούτοις κατορθώμασιν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου τοῦ ἰδίου στρατηγοῦ φάρμακον δεξάμενος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.   Fr. 30: 10 οὕτω – 12 χρήμασι *Suda* μ 751 οὕτω τε μέταιτος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ χρημάτων ἄπορος, ὡς κοινοῖς ταφῆναι χρήμασι.

29

He [Alexander] encountered eighty men who had been captured long ago by the Persians in Greece and had had their hands cut off, and he showed them kindness with great gifts and comforted them. Arriving at the lake in Alexandria he lost his diadem, and with so much rain crashing down he only just managed to swim to land. And he was given poison by his own general Cassander and had convulsions; and thus, after such great successes, ended his life.

30

The consul Lucius Valerius Poplicola died a beggar and in such extreme poverty that his funeral had to be paid for by a public collection; the Roman matrons mourned him just like Brutus, because he had assisted him in ousting the kings.[1]

31

In the sixth year of the consulate after the expulsion of the tyrants, after Cassius and Sulpicius had assumed power, the city faced an extreme dan-

1 *See* Plut. *Publ.* 23.

προῆλθεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ δουλικοῦ πλήθους ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἀναπεισθέντος ἐπιθέσθαι νύκτωρ τοῖς κεκτημένοις καὶ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοί τε προσάγωσι, καὶ οἱ συλλαβόμενοι σφίσι τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλάβοιεν τοῦ ἄστεως. Οὐ μὴν ἀπέβη τι τούτων, Σουλπικίου τοῦ ὑπάτου σωφρόνως τούς θ᾽ ἡγεμόνας τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως συλλαβόντος καὶ τὸ κεκινημένον τοῦ δημοτικοῦ κατασπάσαντος.

32

EI 14 Ὅτι ἐνάτῳ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐνιαυτῷ, Πόπλου Καμινίου καὶ Τίτου Λευκίου ὑπατευόντων, ἐπειδὴ Μαμήλιος ἀνὴρ Λατῖνος μὲν τὸ γένος καὶ μέγα παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις δυνάμενος, συνοικῶν δὲ τῶν Ταρκυνίου θυγατρῶν τῇ νεωτάτῃ, ἀναστήσας πανδημεὶ τὸ Λατίνων γένος χεῖρά τε μισθοφόρον πολλὴν ἀγείρας τιμωρεῖν τοῖς κηδεσταῖς ἀτίμως παρεωσμένοις τῆς δυναστείας ἠξίου· ἡ βουλὴ δὲ καταδείσασα τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πολεμίου νέφους καινὸν ἡγεμονίας ἀνευρίσκει γένος προχειρισαμένη τότε πρῶτον *Suda* δ 1112 δικτάτορα, | ὃς καθ᾽ ῾Ελλάδα γλῶτταν κληθείη ἂν εἰσηγητὴς τῶν λυσιτελῶν· ὑπερέχων μὲν τῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσι προσφερέστατος· ἀνυπεύθυνόν τε γὰρ τῶν ὅλων εἶχε τὸ κράτος, καὶ ἰσοτύραννον ἐν τῷ καθεστηκότι χρόνῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Τοιγαροῦν Γάιος Καῖσαρ πρότερος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Αὔγουστος ᾽Οκταούιος, ὧν ὕστερον κατὰ

Fr. 32 = fr. 45 M = fr. 80.1 R; 8 Ὅτι – 15 δικτάτορα *EI* 14 P (f. 100r) S (f. 109v) Cramer 1841, ii, 8; 15 ὃς – 44.2 διέγνωσαν *Suda* δ 1112, 6-12

Fr. 32: Eutr. 1.12

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10 Ταρκυνίου Müller 1851 : Ταρκυνίων PS **13** δὲ PS : δὲ uncis incl. Müller 1851 Roberto 2005 **19** πρότερον A*Suda* Müller 1851

Fr. 32: 9 ἐπειδὴ – 15 δικτάτορα *Suda* δ 1112, 1-6 ἐπειδὴ Μάλιος, ἀνὴρ Λατῖνος μὲν γένος καὶ μέγα παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις δυνάμενος, ἀναστήσας πανδημεὶ τὸ Λατίνων γένος χεῖρά τε μισθοφόρον πολλὴν ἀγείρας τιμωρεῖν τοῖς κηδεσταῖς ἀτίμως παρεωσμένοις ἠξίου τῆς δυναστείας, ἡ βουλὴ καταδείσασα τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πολεμίου νέφους καινὸν ἡγεμονίας εὑρίσκει γένος, προχειρισαμένη τότε πρῶτον δικτάτορα. | ad 15 εἰσηγητής cf. *EPl* 5 Ὅτι τριβοῦνος ὁ δήμαρχος λέγεται, ὁ δὲ δικτάτωρ εἰσηγητής, ὁ δὲ πραίτωρ στρατηγός, ὁ δὲ κήνσωρ τιμητής· [τιμητής K : τιμητός M] κῆνσος γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πλήθους ἀπαρίθμησις. v. de Boor 1912, 399, Boissevain 1884, 16, Kugéas 1909, 134, Sotiroudis 1989, 15

ger, because the servile masses had been moved by the tyrants to attack their owners at night and to kill the men in their beds, once they had made their move and their accomplices among the citizens had taken possession of the defences of the city. This plan did not succeed because the consul Sulpicius, acting with prudence, arrested the nine leaders of the insurrection and suppressed the uprising of the populace.

32

In the ninth year of freedom, in the consulship of Poplus Caminius and Titus Leucius,[1] Mamilius,[2] a man of Latin origin, who enjoyed great influence among his people and was married to the youngest of Tarquinius' daughters, roused the whole Latin tribe to arms and gathered a large body of mercenary troops because he deemed it proper to avenge the family of his father-in-law, who had been disgracefully expelled from power. It was on that occasion that the senate—greatly afraid of the multitude of enemies—instituted a new kind of magistracy and for the first time appointed a dictator (which would be called "the author of advantageous measures" in Greek), who was superior to the consuls and most resembled the kings: he held absolute power in all matters and exercised the authority of a monarch for a given period. Gaius Caesar first and af-

1 The correct names of the cos. for the year 501 B.C. or 9 A.L.C. are Postumius Cominus Auruncus and T. Larcius Flavus (Rufus?). Cominus must have given origin to Caminius and Larcius to Leucius.

2 i.e. Mamilius Tusculanus, Octavius.

τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους μνημονεύσομεν, ὑπὸ τῷδε ὀνόματι τῆς μοναρχίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι διέγνωσαν.

33

Suda ι 522 Πρῶτος αἱρεθεὶς δικτάτωρ Μάρκιος προσαιρεῖται ἵππαρχον Σπόριον, πρῶτον κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἱππαρχικῆς ἐπινοηθείσης ἡγεμονίας, δευτερευούσης κατὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ δικτάτωρος.

34

EPl 7 Ὅτι συνεχέσιν ἀτυχήμασι Ῥωμαῖοι χρησάμενοι καὶ δαιμόνιον τοῦτο νομίσαντες, μίαν τῶν Ἑστιάδων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ζῶσαν κατορύττουσιν ὡς αἰτίαν γενομένην τῆς θεοβλαβείας διὰ τοῦ προέσθαι τὴν παρθενίαν μιᾶναί τε μίξει παρανόμῳ τὰ ἱερά.

35

EI 15 Ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐμφύλιος ἀνεφλέγετο ταραχή, τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἀπεχθῶς ἔχειν ἠρεθισμένου, ἀποστάντος δὲ σὺν ὅπλοις τῆς πόλεως, καὶ οὔτε συνοικεῖν ἔτι οὔτε κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀγώνων βουλομένου τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις, εἰ μὴ τῶν τ' ὀφλημάτων ἀπολυθείη, καὶ δικασταῖς χρῆσθαι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν οἰκείοις ἐπιτραπείη, ὡς ἐπικουρίαν τοῦ δημοτικοῦ τε καὶ εὐτελοῦς ὄχλου, οἳ τοῖς παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατῶν κατειργομένοις ἀρήξοιεν, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐλεύθερα διαφυλάξαιεν τὰ σώματα.

Fr. 33 = Adler 1928, ii, 657.29-658.2 = fr. 80.2 R; Droysen 1879, 19 Fr. 34 = *EPl* 7 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxv) = fr. 83 R; Mai 1827, 529 | LHKMR Fr. 35 = fr. 46 M = fr. 81 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 9 | P (f. 100^{r}) S (f. 109^{v})

Fr. 33: Eutr. 1.12 Fr. 34: fontem non inveni Fr. 35: Eutr. 1.13

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1 τῷδε GIM^{Suda} : τῷ A^{Suda} : τῷδε οὖν V^{Suda} **5** κατὰ τοῦτον AGIV^{Suda} : μετὰ τοῦτον Port.^{Suda} **19** ἐλεύθερα P : ἐλευθέρων S

ter him Augustus Octavian too, as we will explain in the corresponding section, seized monarchical power under the same name.

33

After Marcius was elected the first dictator, he chose Sporius as his master of horse;[1] the office of *magister equitum* was also instituted for the first time on this occasion, being second in eminence to the authority of the dictator.

34

Distressed by a series of misfortunes and considering them to be heaven-sent, the Romans buried alive one of the Vestal Virgins according to ancestral custom, holding her responsible for the adversities sent by the gods inasmuch as she had lost her chastity and was defiling the sacred rites by unlawful intercourse.[2]

35

Civil discord flared up in the city too: the people were provoked into enmity with the senate and withdrew from the city under arms, refusing to dwell together with the patricians and to participate in their wars, unless they were relieved of their debts and permitted henceforth to be tried by their own judges. These judges were to act on behalf of the common people and come to the aid of those burdened by the powerful beyond measure and guarantee the freedom of the populace. The magis-

1 According to tradition, T. Larcius was the first *magister populi* (dictator), Spurius Cassius Vecellinus was the first *magister equitum.*

2 *See* Münzer 1937 who collated all the sources on the punishment of the Vestal Virgins. This notice does not appear in his collection of the material, but *see* Dionys. 9.40.1-4.

Δείσαντες δὴ οὖν οἱ ἐν τέλει, μὴ ἐν τούτῳ τι πρὸς τῶν περιοίκων νεωτερισθείη, τοῦ δήμου πολεμίου τε ὄντος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἔξω στρατιὰς οὐχ ὑπακούοντος, τὰ ἐξαιτησόμενα *** καὶ διαλλαγὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις εὑρίσκονται.

36

EI 16 Ὅτι Ποπλίου αὖθις καὶ Βαλερίου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένων, ἥ {τε} κατὰ πόλιν ἐμφύλιος ἀνάπτεται ζάλη, τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τοὺς πατρικίους στασιάζοντος. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Καίσωνα τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπατείας κρατήσαντες μικροῦ δεῖν ἐσπάραξαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ περιπλεξάμενος εἰς οἶκτον τοὺς ὁρῶντας συνήλασεν, ἔπειτα καὶ Σαβῖνον Σερδώνιον πρὸς τυραννίδα ἐκίνησαν, ὃς ταχείας ἔτυχε καθαιρέσεως, θεραπευθέντος τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις συμπράξαντος.

Fr. 36 = fr. 47 M = fr. 84 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 9 | P (f. 100^{rv}) S (f. 109^{v})

Fr. 36: fontem non inveni

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1 δὴ PS ut vid. ex δεῖ corr. : δὲ Müller 1851 **3** post ἐξαιτησόμενα lacunam statuit Cramer 1841 : νόῳ ἔλαβον coni. Kambylis **6** Ποπλίου Οὐαλερίου Ποπλίκολα αὖθις καὶ Γαΐου Κλαυδίου Σαβίνου τὴν ἀρχὴν κτλ. in app. corr. Müller 1851 καὶ uncis incl. Roberto 2005 post Βαλερίου lacunam indicavit Roberto 2005 τε uncis incl. Müller 1851 **8** ὑπατείας – πατὴρ S : deest in P **10** Σαβῖνον PS de Boor 1905 : Σαβῖνοι edd.

trates were apprehensive of some revolt by the neighbouring tribes at the time when the plebeians were hostile towards them and could refuse to serve in external expeditions, and so they … the demands and became reconciled on these terms.

36

When Publius, for the second time, and Valerius assumed power, a civil strife arose in the city: the plebeians initiated a struggle with the patricians. And first they overpowered Caeso, a man of consular rank, and almost tore him to pieces, had not his father folded himself around him in an embrace and moved those who were present to tears; afterwards they also proposed a Sabine named Serdonius for the office of dictator. However he was promptly slain after the plebeians had been placated and cooperated with the consuls.[1]

[1] *See* Capozza 1977, 393-399 for an in-depth discussion of the historical information found in the fragment.

37

EV 13 Ὅτι Κύντιος Κικιννάτος ὁ δικτάτωρ πολλαῖς μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐνήθλησε στρατιαῖς, ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τιμαῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς πολλάκις κεκοσμημένος. Οὕτω δὲ ἦν μέτριος καὶ σώφρων, ὡς ἐπὶ καλύβῃ λυπρᾷ καὶ ὀλίγῳ γῆς μέτρῳ ζῆν, τὸν αὐτοῦργόν τε ἀγαπᾶν βίον. Ὃς δικτάτωρ προβαλλόμενος ἔτυχε πρὸς ἀρότρῳ πονούμενος, ὅτε ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς κομίζοντες· ἀπονιψάμενός τε ⟨καὶ δεξάμενος⟩ τὰ σύμβολα πρὸ ἑστιάσεως ἅμα τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιγίνεται φόνον τε πολὺν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐργασάμενος ἐπάνεισιν ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἡμέρᾳ, τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους τοῦ περιστάντος κινδύνου λυσάμενος, τὸν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων διαρπάσας χάρακα· καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἐκανῶν δέσμιον ἐπὶ τὴν πομπὴν κατάγει τὴν ἐπινίκιον.

Fr. 37 = fr. 48 M = fr. 85 R; Valois 1634, 789, Droysen 1879, 21 | T (f. 87^{rv})

Fr. 37: Eutr. 1.17

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4 λυπρᾷ *Suda* utroque loco Valois 1634 : λαμπρᾶι T 7 καὶ δεξάμενος add. Valois 1634 post τὰ σύμβολα lacunam statuit Müller 1851 **9** ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ corr. Valois 1634 : ἐκ κεδεκάτῃ T : ἑνδεκάτῃ *Suda* κ 2732 **10** ἡμέρᾳ *Suda* κ 2732 : ἡμεραν s. acc. T τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους corr. Valois 1634 ex *Suda* κ 2732 : τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις T **11** στρατηγὸν Valois 1634 e *Suda* κ 2732 : στρατὸν T **12** ἐκανῶν T : Αἰκανῶν Büttner-Wobst 1906b e Dion. Hal. 6.34.3 : ἐναντίων *Suda* κ 2732 : πολεμίων *Suda* λ 846

Fr. 37: *Suda* κ 2732 Κύντιος Κικιννάτος δικτάτωρ· οὗτος πολλαῖς μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐνήθλησε στρατιαῖς, πολλάκις κεκοσμημένος. οὕτω δὲ ἦν μέτριος καὶ σώφρων, ὡς ἐπὶ καλύβῃ λυπρᾷ καὶ ὀλίγῳ γῆς μέτρῳ ζῆν, τὸν αὐτουργὸν ἀγαπᾶν τε βίον. ὃς δικτάτωρ προβαλλόμενος ἔτυχε πρὸς ἀρότρῳ πονούμενος. ὅτε δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς κομίζοντες, ἀπονιψάμενός τε τὰ σύμβολα πρὸ ἑστιάσεως τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιγίνεται φόνον τε πολὺν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐργασάμενος ἐπάνεισιν ἑνδεκάτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἡμέρᾳ, τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους τοῦ περιστάντος κινδύνου λυσάμενος, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων διαρπάσας τὸν χάρακα· καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐναντίων δέσμιον ἐπὶ τὴν πομπὴν κατάγει τὴν ἐπινίκιον. | 4 μέτριος – 6 πονούμενος et passim *Suda* λ 846, 18-23 οὕτω δὲ ἦν Κύντιος Κικιννάτος ὁ γεγονὼς δικτάτωρ μέτριος καὶ σώφρων, ὡς ἐπὶ καλύβῃ λυπρᾷ καὶ ὀλίγῳ γῆς μέτρῳ ζῆν τὸν αὐτουργὸν ἀγαπᾶν τε βίον. ὃς δικτάτωρ προβαλλόμενος ἔτυχεν ἀρότρῳ πονούμενος. ὃς ἀπονιψάμενος ἐπάνεισι καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις νικᾷ κατακράτος καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἄγει αἰχμάλωτον.

37

The dictator Quinctius Cincinnatus had served in many campaigns before and had often been decorated with offices and other Roman honours. He was so moderate and unpretentious, that he lived in a humble hut on a few acres of land, enjoying the life of a farmer who works his land for himself. Having been designated dictator, he was was labouring at the plough when the people bringing the insignia of the office arrived; he washed himself, accepted the insignia and came upon the enemy with his army before breakfast. After slaying many enemies he returned on the sixteenth day after setting out, having saved the Roman army from a dangerous encirclement[1] and plundered the enemy's camp. In his triumphal procession he paraded the general of the Aequi in chains.

[1] i.e. on Mount Algidus.

38

Suda υ 469 Παρὰ ῾Ρωμαίοις τριακοσιοστῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὸν συνοικισμὸν τῆς πόλεως παραλυθείσης τῆς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχῆς δέκα νομογράφοι τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιτρέπονται προστασίαν· οἳ χρόνον δή τινα πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς καὶ ἡδὺ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξηγούμενοι μέτριοί τε ἐδόκουν καὶ ἄρχειν μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιτήδειοι· οὗτοι γάρ που καὶ τὰς δέκα δέλτους ἐπιχωρίοις τε καὶ ῾Ελληνικοῖς νόμοις ἀναγράψαντες εἰς τὰς καλουμένας κύρβεις ἀνέθηκαν. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἡγεμονίας βαρύτητος τυραννικῆς αἰτίαν ἀπενεγκάμενοι διελύθησαν, Ἀππίου μάλιστα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἀπέχθειαν τῆς δεκαρχίας κινήσαντος· ὃς Οὐερηνίου τινος ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀσήμου τὰ πολεμικὰ θυγατέρα φθεῖραι παρθένον ἐπενόει, ἔρωτι γεγονὼς θερμῷ τῆς κόρης κατάσχετος· ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοχειρὶ διεχρήσατο δείσας τὴν τοῦ Ἀππίου δυναστείαν αἰσχῦναι τὴν κόρην πρὸς βίαν ὡρμημένου. ᾿Εφ᾽ ᾧ κινηθὲν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἅπαν ἀφείλετο τοὺς δέκα τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας δίκας τε ἀποτῖσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν πεπλημμελημένων ἠνάγκασε.

39

Suda φ 627 Φούριος Κάμιλλος, δικτάτωρ, ἐν πολέμοις ἀριστεύσας τῷ τοῖς ἀρίστοις παρομαρτοῦντι περιπίπτει φθόνῳ· αἰτίαν γὰρ δὴ πρός τινων ἐπὶ παρανόμῳ διανεμήσει τῆς λείας ἀναδεξάμενος φυγὰς ἐκπίπτει τῆς πόλεως, θεοὺς ἵστορας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀδίκως ἐπεπόνθει ποιούμενος.

Fr. 38 = Adler 1928, iii, 476.4-18 = fr. 86 R; Droysen 1879, 23 Fr. 39 = Adler 1928, iv, 753.17-21 = fr. 87 R; Droysen 1879, 23

Fr. 38: Eutr. 1.18 Fr. 39: Eutr. 1.20.2

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2 τριακοσιοστῷ Port.*Suda* ex Eutr. : τριακόσιοι τῷ καὶ AV*Suda* : τριακόσιοι τῷ GM*Suda* **5** πολιτικῶν V*Suda* **10** Οὐεργινίου Bas.*Suda* ex Eutr. **18** φθόνῳ G*Suda* : φόνῳ AVM*Suda*

38

Among the Romans, in the three-hundred and first year[1] after the founding of the city the consular rule ceased, and ten legislators were entrusted with the conduct of public affairs. For some time they governed to the advantage and satisfaction of the citizens and appeared moderate and the most suitable to rule. They recorded local and Greek laws on ten tablets and placed them on the so-called *kurbeis.*[2] In the second year, however, they brought down upon themselves the charge of despotic government and were dissolved, especially after Appius had provoked the wrath of the people against the government of ten. He was thinking of violating the virgin daughter of a certain Verenius, who was quite a renowned warrior, for he was overpowered by hot passion towards the girl. Her father killed her with his own hands, because he was afraid of the power of Appius who was trying to dishonour the maiden by force. The army was stirred by the event and removed the ten from power, exacting a penalty from them for all the offences committed during their term of office.

39

Furius Camillus, a dictator, who excelled at war, fell victim to the envy that accompanies the best men: he was charged by some with illegal distribution of booty and exiled from the city, calling upon the gods to witness that he had been treated with injustice.[3]

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1 The Latin text of Eutropius speaks of the "anno trecentesimo *et altero*," i.e. three hundred *and second* year. This expression was rendered erroneously by Paeanius as well.

2 *Kurbeis* are triangular tablets, forming a three-sided pyramid and turning on a pivot, upon which the early laws were inscribed at Athens. This term seems to be associated with the activity of law-givers in general, and hence it is mentioned here.

3 *See* Plut. *Cam.* 12.4.

40

EPl 8 Ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἁλούσης ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνασκευασαμένων, ὁ Κάμιλλος φυγὰς ὢν εἰσπέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπιθέσθαι βούλεται τοῖς Γαλάταις· ὡς δὲ ὁ διακομίζων τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὸ φρούριον ἀφίκετο, οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ ἴχνη διεσημαίνοντο, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ τὸ καταφύγιον ἔλαβον, εἰ μὴ ἱεροὶ χῆνες βοσκόμενοι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔφοδον διεθρύλλησαν καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον Ῥωμαίους διυπνίσαντες τοῖς ὅπλοις παρέστησαν.

41

Suda φ 184 Φεβρουάριος· οὕτω καλεῖται ὁ μὴν ἀπό τινος ὑπάτου γένους ὑπάρχοντος τῶν Γάλλων· ἡνίκα γὰρ τὸν θρίαμβον τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Τυράννων κατήγαγεν ὁ Κάμιλλος, ζηλοτυπήσας ὁ Φεβρουάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐβόα μὴ γεγονέναι τὸν Κάμιλλον αἴτιον τῆς νίκης, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην Ῥωμαίων. Συνέπλαττε δὲ καὶ γράμματα καὶ ψευδομαρτυρίας κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ, ὡς τυραννίδα μελετῶντος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐπαναστήσας ἀπελαύνει τοῦτον τῆς πόλεως. Ὡς οὖν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Βρήννον βαρβάρους ἀνεῖλεν, εἰς κρίσιν ἀγαγὼν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀπέδειξε

Fr. 40 = *EPl* 8 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvi) = fr. 88 R; Mai 1827, 529 | LHKMR
Fr. 41 = Adler 1928, iv, 710.26-711.7 = fr. 90 R

Fr. 40: fontem non inveni Fr. 41: fontem non inveni

4 ὁ M : om. K **11** Τυρρηνῶν Bas[*Suda*] et Roberto 2005 **15** δὲ VMae[*Suda*] : τε GMecB[*Suda*] ἀπαναστήσας V[*Suda*] **17** Βρήννον e *Suda* β 536 Bhd[*Suda*] : Βρήνον V[*Suda*] : Βρέννον GM[*Suda*] ἀγαγὼν MB[*Suda*] : ἀγαγεῖν V[*Suda*] : ἄγων G[*Suda*]

Fr. 41: Cf. *EPl* 10 Ὅτι Φευρουάριος φθονήσας Καμίλλῳ μελέτην τυραννίδος αὐτοῦ κατηγόρησε· τούτου δὲ διωχθέντος καὶ αὖθις καθόδου τυχόντος οἷς πολιορκουμένῃ τῇ πατρίδι κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐβοήθησεν, εἰς ἐξέτασιν Φευρουάριος ἄγεται καὶ δώκεται. Κάμιλλος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ μῆνα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκολόβωσεν. | 16 Ὡς οὖν – 54.1 Φεβρουάριον *Suda* β 536 Βρῆννον· ὡς οὖν μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Βρῆννον βαρβάρους ἀνεῖλεν, εἰς κρίσιν ἀγαγὼν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀπέδειξε πάντων γεγονέναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αἴτιον τὸν Φεβρουάριον. | 54.1 Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο – 54.2 ψιάθῳ *Suda* θ 517 Θρυΐνῃ ψιάθῳ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυμνωθέντα αὐτὸν καὶ θρυΐνῃ περιβληθέντα ψιάθῳ.

40

After the city of Rome was taken by the Gauls and the Romans took refuge on the Capitol, Camillus (who was an exile) sent a message to them saying that he wanted to attack the Gauls; but after the letter-bearer had reached the fortress, the barbarians read his foot-prints and nearly captured the place of refuge, had not the grazing holy geese betrayed the approach of the barbarians by their loud din and summoned to arms the Romans who were sleeping within.

41

February: the month is named after the family of a certain consul who was descended from the Gauls. When Camillus was celebrating a triumph over the Tyrants,[1] Februarius grew envious of him, and cried out from a platform that it was not Camillus who was responsible for the victory but the fortune of the Romans. He also fabricated letters and false evidence that he was aiming at usurpation. Later, he stirred up the people against him and banished him from the city. So when Camillus returned after the capture of Rome and destroyed the barbarians under Brennus, he brought the case to court and proved that Februarius was responsible for

1 The corruption Τυρρηνῶν (the Etruscans) to Τυράννων (the Tyrants) is very likely; however, it is impossible to determine when it entered the tradition. Therefore I do not amend the text.

πάντων γεγονέναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αἴτιον τὸν Φεβρουάριον. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυμνωθέντα αὐτὸν τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ θρυΐνῃ περιβληθέντα ψιάθῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπηρετούντων τῷ δημάρχῳ τῶν καλουμένων βερνάκλων τυπτόμενον νεύροις τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίωξε καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ μῆνα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκολόβωσε.

42

EPl 9 Ὅτι Σιβύλλης χρησμὸς ἔφασκε τὸ Καπιτώλιον κεφάλαιον ἔσεσθαι τῆς οἰκουμένης μέχρι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταλύσεως.

43

Suda χ 305 Χιλίαρχος· πεντεκαίδεκα πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συνοικισμοῦ τοῦ ἄστεος διαγεγονότων, χιλίαρχοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν παρείληφον.

44

Suda π 2239 Πραίτωρ· μετὰ τοὺς χιλιάρχους αὖθις ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπανῆλθον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πρῶτος στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Φρούριος Κάμιλλος, παῖς Καμίλλου τοῦ πολλάκις μοναρχήσαντος· ὃν πραίτωρα τῇ ἰδίᾳ γλώττῃ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὠνόμασαν, ἤγουν στρατηγόν.

Fr. 42 = *EPl* 9 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvi) = fr. 89 R; Mai 1827, 530 | LHKMR Fr. 43 = Adler 1928, iv, 806.8-10 = fr. 91 R; Droysen 1879, 25 Fr. 44 = Adler 1928, iv, 191.21-24 = fr. 92 R; partim in Droysen 1879, 25

Fr. 42: fontem non inveni Fr. 43: Eutr. 2.1.1 Fr. 44: Eutr. 2.3 desin.

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3 τῶν δημάρχων G*Suda* **4** αὐτῷ G*Suda* **7** συβίλης M **10** πεντεκαίδεκα A*Suda* : δεκαπέντε GFM*Suda* : ιε′ S*Suda* **11** τῶν Ῥωμαίων F*Suda* Ῥώμην SC*Suda* **12** παρειλήφασι GFM*Suda* **14** αὖθις ἐπὶ codd.*Suda* : καὶ αὖθις μετὰ G*Suda* **15** Φούριος Port.*Suda* Roberto 2005

all that had happened. Because of this, after he was stripped of his clothes and covered with a rush-mat, Februarius was beaten with leather whips by the attendants of the tribune called the *vernaculi,* and exiled from the city; the month named after him was also shortened in comparison with the other months.[1]

42

The Sibyl's oracle said that the Capitol would be the head of the entire world until the destruction of the universe.

43

Military tribune: In the three-hundred and fifteenth year[2] after the foundation of the city, military tribunes took power in Rome.

44

Praetor: after the [period of] military tribunes the Romans returned to the [system of] consuls again. First, F(r)urius[3] Camillus, the son of Camillus who had often served as dictator, was appointed *strategos*; the Romans called him *praetor* in their language, i.e. "commander".

[1] *See* Gelzer (1898, ii, 380) and Haupt (1879b, 43). The passage in Mal. *7.10.12* refers to Manlius and not to Februarius.

[2] Eutropius dates the event into *anno trecentesimo sexagesimo quinto,* "in the three hundred and sixty-fifth year" A.U.C.

[3] *See* the spelling of the name in the Greek text.

45

Suda τ 791 Τορκυᾶτος· ὄνομα κατ' ἐπίκλησιν· Κινηθὲν γὰρ τὸ Κελτῶν ἔθνος κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐρρύη· καὶ ἀντικαθεζομένων ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων, Μάλλιος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπιφανὴς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Κελτῶν τά τε ἄλλα μεγαληγορούμενον καὶ προσιέναι οἱ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς ἰδιάζουσαν συμπλοκὴν προκαλούμενον ὑποστὰς ἐπικαιρίῳ καταβάλλει τραύματι, σκυλεύσας τε τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον στρεπτὸν ἀνελόμενος, ὃς ἐπιχώριός ἐστι Κελτοῖς κόσμος, αὐτὸς περιέθετο· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Τορκουᾶτος πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπικληθεὶς (ὅπερ ἂν εἴη στρεπτοφόρος) μνημεῖον τῆς ἀριστείας τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τοῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλέλοιπε.

46

Suda μ 105 Ὅτι Μάλλιος ὁ ὕπατος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα μονομαχήσαντα Ποντίῳ τῷ Λατίνῳ καὶ καταβαλόντα τὸν ἀντίπαλον, ὡς μὲν ἀριστέα ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβάντα τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεταγμένα ἐπελέκισεν· ὃ δὴ σὺν ὠμότητι πραχθὲν εὐπειθεστάτους τοῖς ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαίους κατέστησεν.

Fr. 45 = Adler 1928, iv, 573.19-28 = fr. 93 R; Droysen 1879, 27 Fr. 46 = Adler 1928, iii, 314.1-5 = fr. 97 R

Fr. 45: Eutr. 2.5 Fr. 46: fontem non inveni

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4 ἀνὴρ om. GM*Suda* **7** τῷ τραύματι G*Suda* **13** Μάλιος GVM*Suda* **16** ἐς πειθεστάτους A*Suda* Ῥωμαίοις GVM*Suda*

Fr. 45: *EPl* 11 Ὅτι Μάλλιος τῷ βασιλεῖ μονομαχήσας Κελτῶν καὶ τοῦτον καταβαλὼν τὸν νεκρὸν ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸν τράχηλον στρεπτὸν ἀνελόμενος, ὃς ἐπιχώριός ἐστι Κελτοῖς κόσμος, αὐτὸς περιέθετο, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Τορκουᾶτος πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπεκλήθη, ὅπερ ἂν εἴη στρεπτοφόρος, καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τοῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπε μνημεῖον τῆς ἀριστείας. Fr. 46: *EPl* 15 Ὅτι Μάλλιος ὁ ὕπατος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα μονομαχήσαντα Ποντίῳ τῷ Λατίνῳ καὶ καταβαλόντα τοῦτον ὡς μὲν ἀριστέα ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὡς δὲ ὑπερβάντα τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεταγμένα ἐπελέκισεν· ὃ δὴ σὺν ὠμότητι πραχθὲν εὐπειθεστάτους τοῖς ἀρχουσι Ῥωμαίους κατέστησεν.

45

Torquatus: a name from a sobriquet: the Gallic people had been moved to descend on Italy; and when the forces were encamped opposite each other, a distinguished senator called Manlius challenged the king of the Gauls to single combat, because he was making all sorts of boasts, including an offer to take on the best of the Romans. Manlius struck him down with a mortal blow, stripped the corpse, took off the necklace round his neck–a characteristic item of Gallic adornment–and wore it himself; and from this he was named Torquatus (which would be "Necklace-bearing") by the citizens, and he bequeathed this name to his descendants as a memento of his bravery.

46

The consul Manlius crowned his son (who had fought in a single combat against the Latin Pontius and prevailed over his adversary) for the victory and beheaded him for disobeying his orders: this cruel deed made the Romans obedient to their leaders.

47

Suda κ 1307 Ὅτι Κελτοὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐστράτευσαν. Ἀνὴρ δέ τις τῶν Κελτῶν ἡγεμονικός, τό τε σῶμα εὐπρεπὴς καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀλκιμώτατος, προελθὼν τοῦ οἰκείου πλήθους ἐς μονομαχίαν προὐκαλεῖτο τῶν ἐναντίων τὸν ἄριστον. Βαλέριος δέ τις ἡγεμὼν φάλαγγος ὑπέστη τὸ ἀγώνισμα, καὶ θείᾳ δέ τινι μοίρᾳ κατὰ γνώμην ἀποβάντος ἔτυχε τοῦ βουλεύματος. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ προῆλθε τοῦ οἰκείου τάγματος ὁπλισάμενος, κόραξ προσιζάνει τῷ δεξιῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βραχίονι· ἀντιπρόσωπος δὲ τῷ Κελτῷ κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα φερόμενος, καὶ τοῖς τε ὄνυξιν ἀμύττων τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τοῖς πτέρυξιν ἐπικαλύπτων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀφύλακτον τῷ Βαλερίῳ τὸν πολέμιον παραδέδωκεν· ὁμοῦ τήν τε νίκην τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐπωνυμίαν χαρισάμενος. Κορβῖνος γὰρ δὴ τοὐντεῦθεν ἐπεκλήθη, τῆς τε μαρτυρηθείσης ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα Ῥωμαίοις νόμιμα τῆς ὑπατικῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν τυγχάνει.

48

EPl 14 Ὅτι Ῥωμαίων Λατίνοις πολεμούντων, καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εἰπόντος Ῥωμαίους νικᾶν εἰ ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων χθονίοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοίη δαίμοσι,

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Fr. 47 = *Suda* κ 1307, 93.10-23 = fr. 49 M = fr. 95 R; Droysen 1879, 27, 29 Fr. 48 = *EPl* 14 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvii) = fr. 96 R; Mai 1827, 534f. | LHKMR

Fr. 47: Eutr. 2.6.2-3 Fr. 48: fontem non inveni

Fr. 47: 7 κόραξ – 12 ἐπεκλήθη *EPl* 13 Ὅτι Βαλλερίου μέλλοντος ἡγεμόνι τῶν Κελτῶν μονομαχεῖν, κόραξ προσιζάνει τῷ δεξιῷ τούτου βραχίονι καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῷ Κελτῷ, τοῖς τε ὄνυξιν ἀμύττων τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ταῖς πτέρυξι καλύπτων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀφύλακτον αὐτὸν τῷ Βαλλερίῳ παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ Βαλλέριος Κορβῖνος ἐπεκλήθη· κόρβος γὰρ ὁ κόραξ. cf. de Boor 1920, 90 n. 2 | 6 Ἐπεὶ – 12 ἐπεκλήθη *Suda* α 1685, 15-20 ἐπεὶ δὲ προῆλθε τοῦ οἰκείου τάγματος, κόραξ ἐφιζάνει τῷ δεξιῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς βραχίονι, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῷ Κελτῷ κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα φερόμενος καὶ τοῖς τε ὄνυξιν ἀμύττων τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ταῖς πτέρυξιν ἐπικαλύπτων τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀφύλακτον τῷ Βαλερίῳ τὸν πόλεμον παραδέδωκε, ὁμοῦ τήν τε νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν χαρισάμενος. Κόρβιος γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκλήθη. | dubium an *Suda* κ 2070 de Ioanno fluxisset: Κορβῖνος· ὁ Βαλέριος. ἀπὸ τοῦ κόρακος· κορβοὺς γὰρ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς κόρακας, καὶ ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ κρώζειν· ἐπεὶ ὁ κόραξ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κελτὸν μονομαχίᾳ συνέπραξε.

47

The Gauls marched against the Romans. One of the Gallic leaders, of handsome appearance and exceedingly bold in spirit, stepped forward from the ranks and challenged whoever was best among the enemy to single combat. Then a military tribune Valerius consented to fight, and the contest was decided by Divine Providence in his favour. For when he came forward from the ranks in full armour, a raven settled on his right arm. Launching itself straight at the Gaul's face during the fight, the bird scratched it with its talons and covered his eyes with its wings, thus rendering him defenceless against Valerius. At once, the raven granted this man both victory and a name derived from this event.[1] Henceforth he was called Corvinus and, on account of his manifest valour, was appointed consul in spite of his youth, which was contrary to established Roman practice.

48

When the Romans were fighting with the Latins and a prophet foretold victory for the Romans if one of the consuls should consecrate himself

[1] Corvinus is derived from *corvus,* a Latin word for raven.

Δέκιος ὁ ὕπατος τὴν πολεμικὴν σκευὴν ἀποθέμενος καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ἀναλαβὼν κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον εἰσελαύνει τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πανταχόθεν βαλλόμενος θνήσκει, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ πρὸς τὸ εὐτυχὲς ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτελεύτα.

49

Suda δ 729 Διαρρήδην ἀπειπὼν μήτε μάχην συνάπτειν μήτε περαιτέρω ἰέναι μήτε ἄλλο πράττειν μηθέν.

50

EPl 16 Ὅτι Σαμνῖται Ῥωμαίους αὐλῶσι στενοῖς ⟨καί δυσεμβόλοις⟩ ἀπολαβόντες εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν αἰσχρὰς ἠνάγκασαν, γυμνοὺς ὅπλων ⟨τοὺς ἄνδρας⟩ ζυγῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ⟨ἀποδυομένους ἐπονειδίστως ἀπελθεῖν προσαναγκάσαντες⟩. Ἡ δὲ πόλις τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας σπονδὰς διέλυσε τοὺς δὲ ταύτας ποιησαμένους ὑπάτους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκδίδωσιν, εἰς ἐκείνους τὸ τῆς παρασπονδήσεως ἄγος ἀποτριβομένη.

Fr. 49 = Adler 1928, ii, 70.20-21 = fr. 98 R; Droysen 1879, 31 Fr. 50 = *EPl* 16 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvii) = fr. 99 R; Mai 1827, 535 | LHKMR

Fr. 49: Eutr. 2.8.2 Fr. 50: fontem non inveni

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2 καρτερικώτατον K **3** ἀγαγὼν H 7 μηδέν V[*Suda*] **9** καί δυσεμβόλοις add. Roberto 2005 e *Suda* α 3375 **10** εἰς διαλλαγὰς αἰσχρὰς ἐλθεῖν R τοὺς ἄνδρας add. Roberto 2005 e *Suda* ζ 191 **11** ἀποδυομένους ἐπονειδίστως ἀπελθεῖν προσαναγκάσαντες add. Roberto 2005 e *Suda* ζ 191 : ὑποδυομένους ἀφιέντες *EPl* 16 **12** τοὺς δὲ ταῦτα H

Fr. 50: 9 Ὅτι – 10 ἠνάγκασαν *Suda* α 3375, 301.21-23 Οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐλῶσι στενοῖς καὶ δυσεμβόλοις ἀπολαβόντες ἐς διαλλαγὰς ἐλθεῖν αἰσχρὰς ἠνάγκασαν. | 10 γυμνοὺς – 11 προσαναγκάσαντες *Suda* ζ 191 Ζυγῷ· γυμνοὺς ὅπλων τοὺς ἄνδρας ζυγῷ καθέκαστον ἀποδυομένους ἐπονειδίστως ἀπελθεῖν προσαναγκάσαντες.

to the chthonic deities, the consul Decius took off his military equipment, put on a sacred garment and charged into the enemy line with the greatest vigor. He was killed by missiles coming from all sides, but the fighting turned out in favour of the Romans.[1]

49

He explicitly prohibited joining the battle, advancing any further, or doing anything else at all.[2]

50

The Samnites caught the Romans in a narrow and impassable glen, forced a shameful agreement upon them and compelled the men to go one by one under a yoke in a most shameful manner without their arms, after stripping them of their clothes. Rome broke the agreement and delivered up to the enemy the consuls who had made it, transferring to them the guilt of breaking faith.

1 For the story, *see* Liv. 8.6.8ff., Val. Max. 1.7.3, Zonar. 7.26.

2 The fragment contains the orders given by the dictator Lucius Papirius Cursus to his master of horse Quintus Fabius in 325.

51

Suda α 3199 Ἀππία ὁδός· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἀππίου, Ῥωμαίου τιμητοῦ, ὃς λιθομυλίᾳ ταύτην κατέστρωσε καὶ ὕδατος ὀχετοὺς κατεσκεύασεν.

52 Dubium

Suda τ 615 Τιμητής· Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ἦν τιμητής, κήνσωρ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὀνομαζόμενος· ἔστιν ἐξεταστής τις τῶν πολιτικῶν διαιτημάτων, πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον καὶ ἀρχαιότροπον ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιστρέφων βίον. Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη καὶ πασῶν ἐντιμοτάτη παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κέκριται, τοῖς διὰ πάσης γεγονόσιν ἐνδόξου πολιτείας ἀμωμήτῳ τε βίῳ χρησαμένοις κληρουμένη.

53

Suda φ 3 Ὅτι Φάβιος Μάξιμος, ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων, νεώτερος ὢν καὶ τὸν πρὸς Σαμνίτας πόλεμον ἐγκεχειρισμένος, θρασύτερον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον τοῦ ἔργου προσαψάμενος ἐσφάλη, τρισχιλίων νεκρῶν ἀπομάχων τε πλείστων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γεγενημένων. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοῦτον παραλύει τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Ὁ δὲ τούτου πατὴρ ὁμώνυμος τῷ παιδὶ πολλαῖς ἐνηθληκὼς ἀνέ-

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Fr. 51 = Adler 1928, i, 286.22-23 = fr. 100 R; Droysen 1879, 31 Fr. 52 = Adler 1928, iv, 556.10-15 = fr. 101 R; cf. Roberto (2005, C n. 184) Fr. 53 = Adler 1928, iv, 690.3-15 = fr. 102 R; Droysen 1879, 31

Fr. 51: Eutr. 2.9.2 Fr. 52: Dion. Hal. 19.17.3 Fr. 53: Eutr. 2.9.2

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2 ὃς codd.[Suda] : οἷον V[Suda] **6** ἔστιν Adler 1928 : ὅ᾽ εστιν Kust.[Suda] : ἔστι δ' Bhd.[Suda] **6** τῶν om. GVM[Suda] **7** ἑκάστῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν V[Suda] **8** τοῖς Adler 1928 : τῆς G[Suda] **9** ἐνδόξου Adler 1928 : ἐνδόξοις τε AM[Suda] **13** Σαμνίτην M[Suda] : Σαμανίτην GF[Suda] **16** ἀνέκαθεν Adler 1928 : ἀνέκριεν F[Suda]

Fr. 51: *Suda* λ 520 Ὅτι Ἄππιος, Ῥωμαῖος τιμητής, λιθομυλίᾳ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέστρωσε καὶ ὕδατος ὀχετοὺς κατεσκεύασε. Fr. 52: 5 τιμητής – 7 βίον *Suda* κ 1524 Κήνσωρ· τιμητὴς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐξεταστής τις τῶν πολιτικῶν διαιτημάτων πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον καὶ ἀρχαιότροπον ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιστρέφων τὸν βίον.

51

Appian Way: it was so named after Appius, a Roman censor, who paved it with millstones (?) and constructed aqueducts.

52

Assessor: Appius Claudius was an assessor, called by the Romans *censor*, which is an examiner of public conduct, who turn the lives of each and every citizen towards prudence and tradition. This magistracy was considered by the Romans to be the greatest and most honourable of all, to be assigned to those who had proven themselves to be of high repute in the tenure of public office and had lived a blameless life.

53

The Roman consul Fabius Maximus, still a young man, who was entrusted with the command in the Samnite war, acted with boldness rather than with caution and suffered a defeat, which resulted in the loss of three thousand Roman lives and an even greater number put out of action. The senate relieved him of his command. His father of the same name, however, who had gone through many previous campaigns, re-

καθεν στρατείαις ἐδεῖτο τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεῖναι τῷ Φαβίῳ τὰ ἐγκλήματα, αὐτὸς ἀναμάχεσθαι τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς πταῖσμα κρείττοσιν ἔργοις ὑφιστάμενος. Εἴξασα ἡ βουλὴ αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτρέπει αὖθις τῷ νέῳ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ἡγεμονίαν, πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα δοῦσα, ὡς ἂν μή τι δι' ἀπειρίαν σφάλλοιτο. Καὶ ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἀριστεύει καὶ θρίαμβον κατάγει.

54

EPl 17 Ὅτι τοῦ Δολοβέλλου περαιουμένοις τὸν Τίβεριν ἐπιθεμένου τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ὁ ποταμὸς αἵματός τε καὶ σωμάτων ἐπληρώθη, ὡς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ποταμίου ῥείθρου σημᾶναι τὸ πέρας τῆς μάχης πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν ἄγγελον.

55

EPl 18 Ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκβολῶν Τιβέρεως μέχρι Ῥώμης στάδιοι ναυσίποροι ιη'.

Fr. 54 = *EPl* 17 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvii) = fr. 103 R; Mai 1827, 536 | LHKMR
Fr. 55 = *EPl* 18 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvii) = fr. 104 R; Mai 1827, 536 | LHKMR

Fr. 54: fontem non inveni Fr. 55: fontem non inveni

3 ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου V*Suda* **8** τοῖς om. M **10** τὴν om. H **13** σταδίοις H

quested that the senate drop the charges against Fabius and promised that he himself would make up for the defeat of his son by fighting more bravely. The senate yielded out of reverence for the [old] man and restored the command to the younger Fabius, appointing his father as his [senior] legate to prevent him from making any further mistakes because of his lack of experience. The younger Fabius returned to the territory of the enemy, distinguished himself and celebrated a triumph.

54

When Dolabella attacked the Etruscans who were crossing the Tiber, the river was filled with blood and dead bodies with the result that the appearance of the river indicated to the Romans in the city the end of the battle before the arrival of the messenger.

55

From the mouth of the Tiber to Rome there are eighteen navigable stades.

56

ELR 1 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ποστουμίου καὶ Γαΐου Κλαυδίου ὑπάτων Ταραντίνοις μὲν ἀποίκοις οὖσιν Ἑλλήνων, οἰκοῦσι δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ ἔσχατα, Ῥωμαῖοι πολεμεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι δὴ πρεσβευτὰς σφῶν παρὰ τὸν κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμον λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ἀσχήμοσι περιύβρισαν, Ποστουμίου τε τοῦ ναυαρχήσαντος τὴν τήβηνον ἀλλὰ * * *

57

EPl 19 Ὅτι Πόπλιος Βαλλέριος ἄνδρας ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ πρὸς τοῦ Πύρρου σταλέντας ἐχειρώσατο. Οὓς περινοστῆσαι κελεύσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, ἀπαγγελοῦντας τῷ Πύρρῳ τόν τε κόσμον τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ πρὸς οἵους καὶ ὅπως ἠσκημένους ἄνδρας διαγωνιεῖται.

Fr. 56 = Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum 1 (de Boor 1903, 6) = fr. 105 R | J (f. 8^{rv}) Q (f. 11^{rv}) U (f. 11^{v}) W (f. 7^{v}) X (f. 113^{rv}) Z (f. 181^{r}) Fr. 57 = *EPl* 19 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxviii) = fr. 106 R; Mai 1827, 537f., Droysen 1879, 33 LHKMR

Fr. 56: Eutr. 2.11.1 Fr. 57: Eutr. 2.11.2

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4 δεῖ JUW **6** post Ποστουμίου verbum τε uncis incl. Roberto 2005 τήβηνον codd. : τήβεννον in app. coni. de Boor 1903 post ἀλλὰ in Q unius fere paginae lacuna et in mg. adscriptum: ἐξίτηλον ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος item in XJUW lacuna indicatur post ἀλλὰ : λύμασιν ἀνθρωπείοις μολύναντες e *Suda* λ 834 suppl. et ἀλλὰ del. Roberto 2005 **8** σταλλέντας H **11** διαγωνιεῖται LMR : ἀγωνιεῖται KH

Fr. 56: 4 παρὰ – 6 τήβηνον *Suda* λ 834, 299.25-26 καὶ παρὰ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμον δὲ πρέσβεις ἠτίμασαν τὴν τήβενον λύμασιν ἀνθρωπείοις μολύναντες. | 6 Ποστουμίου – 6 τήβηνον *Suda* τ 464 Τήβεννος· στολὴ Ῥωμαϊκή. Ταραντῖνοι δὲ Ποστουμίου τὴν τήβεννον λύμασιν ἀνθρώπων ἐμόλυναν.

56

In the consulship of Lucius Postumius and Gaius Claudius, the Romans decided to make war on the people of Tarentum, who were Greek colonists living in the farthest point of Italy, because they had offended Roman envoys with unseemly words and deeds in violation of the customs common to all men and . . . the dress of Postumius, the commander of the fleet.[1]

57

Publius Valerius captured some spies who had been sent by Pyrrhus. He ordered them to go around the camp and let them depart unharmed, so that they might report to Pyrrhus on the good order of the army [and make him aware of] what kind and how well-trained were the soldiers he was about to confront.

1 *See* de Boor (1884, 127ff.) who offered some commentaries on the historical inaccuracies of this fragment (Lucius Postumius and Gaius Claudius never were consuls together; Postumius as the commander of the fleet is another blunder).

58

EPl 20 Ὅτι Πύρρος τοὺς κατὰ τὴν μάχην πεπτωκότας Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς ἔθαψε· καὶ θαυμάζων τὸ φοβερὸν τοῦ εἴδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔτι διασωζόμενον, καὶ ὅπως ἐναντία πάντες ἔφερον τραύματα, λέγεται ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας τοιούτους εὔξασθαί οἱ γενέσθαι συμμάχους· ῥᾳδίως γὰρ ἂν κρατήσειε τῆς οἰκουμένης.

59

EPl 21 Ὅτι Κιννέας ὁ ῥήτωρ πρεσβευτὴς ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Πύρρου σταλείς, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν, ἐρωτώμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπεκρίνατο πολλῶν πατρίδα βασιλέων ἑωρακέναι, δεικνὺς τῷ λόγῳ τοιούτους ἅπαντας εἶναι Ῥωμαίους οἷος αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ὑπείληπται.

Fr. 58 = *EPl* 20 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxviii) = fr. 107 R; Mai 1827, 538, Droysen 1879, 33 | LHKMR Fr. 59 = *EPl* 21 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxviii) = fr. 108 R; Mai 1827, 538, Droysen 1879, 35 | LHKMR

Fr. 58: Eutr. 2.11.3 Fr. 59: Eutr. 2.13.3

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4 τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν M **6** κρατήσειε K : κρατήσειν LHMR

58

Pyrrhus buried with great care the Romans who had fallen in battle. Having admired the fierce expression still preserved on their faces and the fact that they all bore frontal wounds,[1] he is said to have raised his hands to heaven and prayed to obtain these men as his allies, for he would then easily become master of the whole world.

59

The rhetor Cineas had been sent by Pyrrhus to Rome as an envoy; when he returned and was asked by Pyrrhus what sort of place he found Rome to be, Cineas replied that he had seen a country of many kings, meaning by this expression that all the Romans were just as virtuous as the Greeks believed him [Pyrrhus] to be.

1 This phrase is a rendering of the Latin original of Eutropius *adverso vulnere.*

60

Suda φ 5 Ὅτι Φαβρίκιος τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πύρρον σταλείσης δυνάμεως ἀποδείκνυται ἡγεμών· ἀνὴρ πάλαι ἐγνωσμένος τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἐναργὲς ἐξενηνοχὼς σύμβολον. Ἀντικαθεζομένων γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων, νύκτα φυλάξας ἀνήρ τις, εἴτε ἰατρὸς εἴτε ἕτερος τῶν περὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένων, ὡς τὸν Φαβρίκιον ἀφίκετο, δηλητηρίοις φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν τὸν Πύρρον ὑφιστάμενος, ἤν οἵ τις δοθείη πρὸς αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ὠφέλεια· ὃν ὁ Φαβρίκιος ἀποστυγήσας τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἀποπέμπει τῷ Πύρρῳ δέσμιον. Ἀγασθεὶς δὴ οὖν τὸ πραχθὲν ὁ Πύρρος ἀναβοῆσαι λέγεται· οὗτός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος Φαβρίκιος, ὃν δυσχερέστερον ἄν τις παρατρέψοι τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἢ τῆς συνήθους πορείας τὸν ἥλιον. Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος τὸν περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀναρρίψας κύβον τοῖς ὅλοις ἐσφάλη.

Fr. 60 = Adler 1928, iv, 690.27-691.10 = fr. 109 R; Droysen 1879, 37

Fr. 60: Eutr. 2.14.1-3.

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8 δοθῇ V*Suda* **11** προτρέψοι GF*Suda* : περιτρέψοιτο V*Suda*

Fr. 60: 4 Ἀντικαθεζομένων – 12 ἥλιον *EPl* 22 Ὅτι ἀντικαθεζομένων μετὰ στρατευμάτων ἀλλήλοις Φαυρικίου καὶ Πύρρου, ἀνήρ τις τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς τὸν Φαυρίκιον ἀφίκετο δηλητηρίοις φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν τὸν Πύρρον ὑφιστάμενος, εἴ οἵ τις δοθείη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ὠφέλεια· ὃν ὁ Φαυρίκιος ἀποστυγήσας ἀποπέμπει τῷ Πύρρῳ δέσμιον. Ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἀγασθεὶς ἀναβοῆσαι λέγεται «οὗτός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος Φαυρίκιος, ὃν [ὃν ἂν K] δυσχερέστερον ἄν τις παρατρέψειε τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἢ τῆς συνήθους πορείας τὸν ἥλιον. Etiam *Suda* α 3566, 322.31-323.7 Φαβρίκιος ἡγεμὼν καθίσταται τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον πολέμου. ἀντικαθεζομένων γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων, νύκτωρ φυλάξας τις ὡς τὸν Φαβρίκιον ἀφικνεῖται δηλητηρίῳ φαρμάκῳ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Πύρρον ὑφιστάμενος, ἤν τις δοθείη πρὸς αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ὠφέλεια. ὃν ὁ Φαβρίκιος ἀποστυγήσας τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀποπέμπει τῷ Πύρρῳ δέσμιον. ἀγασθεὶς δὴ τὸ πραχθὲν ὁ Πύρρος ἀναβοῆσαι λέγεται· οὗτός ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος Φαβρίκιος, ὃν δυσχερέστερον ἄν τις παρατρέψοι τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἢ τῆς συνήθους πορείας τὸν ἥλιον. | *Suda* ε 550 ad Ioannem referendum non videtur, cf. Roberto 2005, C n. 197; contra: Droysen 1879, 37, Adler 1928 ad locum et Sotiroudis 1989, 68 | 7 δηλητηρίοις – 7 ὑφιστάμενος *Suda* υ 734 δηλητηρίοις φαρμάκοις ἀνελεῖν τὸν Πύρρον ὑφιστάμενος.

60

Fabricius had been appointed commander over the forces sent against Pyrrhus: he was a man who was known to the king and had carried away a conspicuous token of his magnanimity. While the two armies had camps opposite each other, a doctor (or some other man who was in charge of the king's table) came to Fabricius by night, promising that he would kill Pyrrhus by poison if someone would make it financially worth his while. Fabricius loathed the man on account of his attempt and sent him to Pyrrhus in chains. Pyrrhus was astonished at the action and is said to have cried out: "This man is none other than Fabricius, whom it is more difficult for someone to turn aside from his native virtue than the sun from its accustomed orbit."[1] Pyrrhus, who had wagered everything, lost completely.

[1] *See* Plut. *Pyrrh.* 21.1-6.

61

Suda ρ 247 Ὅτι ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀπείρατος ὑπερορίων ἐκστρατειῶν τυγχάνουσα, ἐξέτασιν τοῦ πλήθους ποιησαμένη κατέμαθε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ πολὺ τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἀπολειπόμενον, καὶ ταῦτα συνεχέσι τριβομένη πολέμοις, οὐδεπώποτε δὲ μακρᾶς καὶ βεβαίας εἰρήνης ἀπολελαυκυῖα.

62

EPl 23 Ὅτι συμμαχίας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἀφικομένης, Ξάνθος Σπαρτιάτης ἀνὴρ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατεμέμφετο, ὅτι δὴ στρατιὰν ἓν τε τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσαν ὄρεσί τε καὶ δυσχωρίαις ὑποστέλλουσι. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸς καὶ τάξας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, πασσυδὶ μικροῦ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φθείρει στρατόπεδον.

63

EPl 24 Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι πολεμούμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα τε καὶ τριήρεις δι᾽ ἐλαχίστου ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριάντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ χρῆσιν συγχωνεύσαντες, καὶ τὴν ξύλωσιν τῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς μετενεγκάμενοι, ἕς τε τὰ σχοινία ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν κόμαις ἀποκειραμέναις χρησάμενοι.

Fr. 61 = Adler 1928, iv, 303.1-5 = fr. 110.1 R; Droysen 1879, 39 Fr. 62 = *EPl* 23 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxviii) = fr. 111 R; Mai 1827, 540 | LHKMR Fr. 63 = *EPl* 24 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxix) = fr. 112 R; Mai 1827, 540 | LHKMR

Fr. 61: Eutr. 2.18.1-2 Fr. 62: fontem non inveni Fr. 63: fontem non inveni

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3 ἐξέτασις V^{Suda} κατέμαθον V^{Suda} **5** οὐδέποτε F^{Suda} **10** ἵπποις M : ἱππόταις LHKR Roberto 2005

Fr. 61: 2 Ὅτι – 2 ἐκστρατειῶν *Suda* υ 340, 658.28-29 Ἡ δὲ Ῥώμη ἀπείρατος ἦν ὑπερορίων ἐκστρατειῶν. | [passim *Suda* ρ 248, cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 66f., n. 248)]

61

The city of Rome did not have any experience of campaigns conducted beyond its boundaries; the census was held and it was found that the number of citizens was slightly less than three hundred thousand, in spite of the fact that Rome had waged frequent wars and never enjoyed a long-lasting and secure peace.

62

When an allied force from Sparta came to the Carthaginians, Xanthus the Spartan criticized the local generals because they made the army, whose strength lay in horses and elephants, retreat to the mountains and other impassable locations. After taking up the command of the army in person and marshalling the Carthaginians, he almost utterly destroyed the Roman army.

63

When the Carthaginians were been attacked by the Romans, they made armaments and triremes in the shortest time, by melting down statues to gain the bronze, by reusing the wood-work of private and public buildings for the triremes and war engines and by using clippings of women's hair for the ropes.

64

Suda ρ 126 Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀτυχήμασι δουλωθέντες τὸ φρόνημα, Ῥήγουλον τὸν στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων, ὃν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ὑπὸ χεῖρα πεσόντα σφίσι πικρῶς τε καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐκόλαζον, τότε τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνέντες τά τε ἄλλα θεραπεύσαντες, πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐξέπεμπον, εὕρασθαί τινα μετρίαν τοῦ πολέμου κατάθεσιν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀντίδοσιν τῇ συντάξει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἰόμενοι. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἅμα πρεσβείαις Καρχηδονίων ἀφικόμενος ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον παρελθὼν τὰς μὲν συνήθεις τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς τιμὰς διωθήσατο· οὐ μετεῖναι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῷ λέγων, ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἡ τύχη δεσπότας αὐτῷ Καρχηδονίους ἐπέστησε. Παρῄνει γε μὴν τοῖς ἐν τέλει τῆς βουλῆς ἀπείπασθαι παντελῶς τὰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ μὴ ἀνεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον ἤδη ἀφιγμένους. Οὐ γὰρ εἶναί πως ἄξιον, ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς μόνου καὶ ἤδη γηραιοῦ ὀλίγων τε ἄλλων τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων ἐς τὴν Καρχηδονίων, πολλὰς χιλιάδας ἀλλαξαμένους αὐξῆσαι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων δύναμιν. Ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀγασθέντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν πρεσβείαν ἄπρακτον τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀποπέμπουσιν· αὐτὸν δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ἀγόντων ἐπεχείρουν. Ὁ δὲ οὐ μενετέον αὑτῷ φήσας ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾗ τῆς ἴσης οὐ μεθέξει κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους θεσμοὺς πολιτείας, πολέμου νόμῳ δουλεύειν ἑτέροις ἠναγκασμένος, εἵπετο

Fr. 64 = Adler 1928, iv, 290.8-291.3 = fr. 113 R; Droysen 1879, 43, 45

Fr. 64: Eutr. 2.24.2-25.3

3 μικρὸν V*Suda* **4** τε καὶ βαρβαρικῶς om. V*Suda* **5** τοῖς οἰκείοις Bhd.*Suda* ἐξέπεμψον V*Suda* **11** τοῖς ἐν τέλει Adler 1928 : τὴν ἐντέλειαν G*Suda* **13** τῶν Adler 1928 : τινῶν Bhd.*Suda* : om. A*Suda* **16** τῶν Adler 1928 : τὴν Bhd.*Suda* ἐκπέμπουσιν Mec*Suda* : πέμπουσιν G*Suda* **18** πατρίους om. V*Suda*

Fr. 64: *EPl* 25 Ὅτι Ῥηγοῦλον τὸν στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων ἑαλωκότες Καρχηδόνιοι πρέσβεσιν ἅμα οἰκείοις πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπον, οἰόμενοι μετρίαν τινὰ τοῦ πολέμου εὑρήσειν κατάθεσιν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀντίδοσιν τῇ συμπράξει τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁ δ᾽ ἐλθὼν τὰς μὲν συνήθεις τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς τιμὰς [τιμῆς M] διώσατο, οὐ μετεῖναι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῷ λέγων ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἡ τύχη δεσπότας αὐτῷ Καρχηδονίους ἐπέστησε, παρῄνει τε τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἀπείπασθαι, εἰς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον ἤδη ἀφιγμένων τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀγασθέντες αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ἀποπέμπουσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ κατέχειν ἠβούλοντο. ὁ δὲ οὐ μενετέον αὐτῷ φήσας ἐν πόλει ἐν ᾗ τῆς ἴσης οὐ μεθέξει κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους θεσμοὺς πολιτείας, πολέμου νόμῳ δουλεύειν ἑτέροις ἠναγκασμένος, εἵπετο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἑκούσιος, ἔνθα πολλαῖς καὶ δειναῖς αἰκίαις καταναλωθεὶς ἐντελεύτησεν.

64

The Carthaginians, enslaved in spirit by their many defeats, took Regulus, the Roman general who had fallen into their hands shortly before and whom they had harshly and barbarously tortured, freed him from his fetters, tended to his other wounds and sent him off to his people, believing that there would be some moderate settlement to the war and an exchange of prisoners by an agreement devised by this man. After coming to Rome with the other envoys of the Carthaginians he went into the senate and rejected the honours customary for consulars: he told them that he had no right to citizenship since fortune had made the Carthaginians his masters. He advised those in charge of the senate to forbid utterly the reconciliation and not to let up on the enemy who had already come to a point of desperation. For it was in no way worthy to strengthen the force of the opposition by many thousands exchanged for one man alone, already old, and a few others who remained with the Carthaginians. The Romans were astonished by this and dismissed the embassy of the Carthaginians without it having achieved anything, while they tried by force to detach Regulus from those who were leading him away. But he said that he could not remain in a city in which he would not have an equal share in government according to the ancestral customs, but was compelled by the law of war to be a slave to the enemy.

τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἑκούσιος, τά τε δάκρυα τῶν οἰκείων καὶ τοὺς ὀλοφυρμοὺς ἀκλινῶς διωθησάμενος. Ἐπανελθὼν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὴν Καρχηδόνα παντὶ κολάσεων εἴδει καταναλίσκεται· πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰκισμοῖς, οἴκου, φασί, περιτεθέντος αὐτῷ στενοῦ καὶ ἰσομέτρου τῷ σώματι, αἰχμαῖς σιδηραῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐντὸς πεπυκνωμένου, διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀκλινῆ στάσιν, περιπίπτοντα δὲ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς, ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων ἀναπαύσεσι, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ταῖς ἐξαλλαγαῖς τοῦ σχήματος. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεπράγει.

65

EV 14 Ὅτι Μάρκελλος καὶ Σκιπίων οἱ ὕπατοι μετὰ τὴν νίκην τὴν κατὰ Γαλατῶν * * * Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ Οὐολσινίους δόλῳ κρατηθέντας τε καὶ αἰκιζομένους πικρῶς ἠλευθέρωσαν. Οἱ γὰρ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες τὴν χώραν, ἐν πολλῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ σώματος διαιτώμενοι, αὐτοί τε τῶν ὅπλων καταφρονήσαντες τοῖς οἰκέταις ταῦτα χειρίζειν ἐπέτρεψαν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυνάμεως ἐπελάβοντο, πρῶτα μὲν τὰς ἑαυτῶν δεσποίνας πρὸς βίαν κατῄσχυναν· ἔπειτα τοῖς δεσπόταις χεῖρας ἐπιβαλόντες τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε διαφθείροντες, τοὺς δὲ τιμωρίαις αἰσχίστοις ὑποβαλόντες κατηνάλωσαν.

66

EPl 26 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Μάρκου Κλαυδίου καὶ Τίτου Σεμπρωνίου ὑπάτων μόνῳ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπωνυμίας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων μετέχειν Ῥωμαῖοι παρεκελεύσαντο.

Fr. 65 = fr. 50 M = fr. 115 R; Valois 1634, 789 | T (f. 87^{v}) Fr. 66 = *EPl* 26 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxix) = fr. 114 R; Mai 1827, 541 | LHKMR

Fr. 65: fontem non inveni Fr. 66: fontem non inveni

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1 τε Adler 1928 : δὲ V^{Suda} **3** κολάσεως V^{Suda} **4** περιτιθέντος G^{Suda} **7** ἔν – **8** ἐπεπράγει om. V^{Suda} **11** post Γαλατῶν lacunam statuit Müller 1851 secutus Valois 1634, ann. 166 Οὐολσινίους Müller 1851 : οὐλσίνους T : Οὐολσίνους Valois 1634 **14** χειρίζειν Valois 1634 : χαρίζειν T Ἐπειδὰν Müller 1851 **17** αἰσχίστοις T et Kambylis : αἰσχίσταις Müller 1851 **20** τῶν πρεσβυτέρων R

He went willingly with the Carthaginians, steadfastly rejecting the tears and lamentations of his relatives. He returned then to Carthage and was subjected to every type of torture. For they say that in addition to many other outrages a narrow container was placed around him, the same size as his body and packed inside with iron spear points by which he was killed, having grown weary of his upright position, and of falling upon the spear-points when he rested against the walls and whenever he changed his position in any way. And in this manner he passed away.

65

The consuls Marcellus and Scipio after the victory over the Galatians <. . . > At the same time they also liberated the Volsinii who had been overpowered by a stratagem and harshly treated. For the inhabitants of this country devoted their lives to every luxury of the body, despised military activities and put this occupation in the hands of their slaves. After the slaves had seized power, they first violently asserted themselves against their masters; after that they started laying hands on them, killing some in a haphazard manner and putting the others to death after subjecting them to the most cruel tortures.

66

In the consulship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Sempronius the Romans decreed that only the eldest son should make use of his father's *cognomen*.[1]

[1] For the identification of the consuls mentioned with Ap. Claudius Centho and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, cos. 240 BC *see* Münzer 1923. For detailed discussion of the content of this excerpt *see* Mommsen 1864, 53f.

67

EV 15 Ὅτι καὶ Μάρκος Μινούκιος Ῥοῦφος καὶ Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος οἱ ὕπατοι Ἰστριανοῖς κακουργοῦσι τὰς σιταγωγοὺς Ῥωμαίων ὁλκάδας δίκην ἐπέθεσαν, ἅπαντας ὀλίγου τοῖς οἰκείοις ὑποθέντες ὅπλοις.

68

Suda σ 1404 Σεμπρώνιος δὲ Ἀννίβᾳ συμφέρεται· ἐλαττωθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων ἀπέβαλεν.

69

Suda δ 1000 Ἰωάννης Ἀντιοχεύς· ὃς ἔρυμνα χωρία παρειληφὼς ἐπὶ πολὺ διῆγε τὸν πόλεμον, ἀμβλύνων τὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου ὀξύτητα χρονίαις ⟨τε καὶ μακραῖς τοῦ ἔργου⟩ διατριβαῖς.

70

Suda α 971 Φάβιος δὲ κατατιθέμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν παρῄνει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον τριβαῖς τοῦ πολέμου μακραῖς τὸ ἀκραιφνὲς καὶ ἀκάθεκτον τῆς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καταναλίσκειν φύσεως.

Fr. 67 = fr. 51 M = fr. 116 R; Valois 1634, 789, Droysen 1879, 51 | T (f. 87v) Fr. 68 = Adler 1928, iv, 461.28-29 = fr. 117 R; Droysen 1879, 53 Fr. 69 = Adler 1928, ii, 89.30-90.2 = fr. 52 M = fr. 118 R; Droysen 1879, 53 Fr. 70 = Adler 1928, i, 89.30-90.2 = fr. 119.1 R; Droysen 1879, 53

Fr. 67: Eutr. 3.7.2 Fr. 68: Eutr. 3.9.1 Fr. 69: Eutr. 3.9.2 Fr. 70: Eutr. 3.10.1

3 σιταγωγοὺς Büttner-Wobst 1906b : σιταγωγὰς Müller 1851 **7** ἀπέβαλλε A*Suda* **10** verba τε καὶ μακραῖς τοῦ ἔργου inserui e *Suda* α 1528 **11** τριβαῖς Roberto 2005 e *Suda* α 1528

Fr. 69: *Suda* α 1528 Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ διῆγε τὸν πόλεμον, ἀμβλύνων τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ὀξύτητα χρονίαις τε καὶ μακραῖς τοῦ ἔργου τριβαῖς.

67

The consuls Marcus Minucius Rufus and Publius Cornelius imposed a penalty on the Istrians, who had plundered some Roman grain-ships, and made almost all of them subject to Roman arms.

68

Sempronius engaged Hannibal in battle; he was defeated and lost many of his soldiers.

69

John of Antioch: He [i.e. Q. Fabius Maximus] occupied fortified positions and protracted the war in order to thwart Hannbal's impetus by procrastination and similar dilatory tactics.

70

After laying down his authority, Fabius recommended to Aemilius' staff that they protract the war in order to frustrate Hannibal's untarnished and irrepressible spirit.

71

Suda αι 87 Καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπέβαλεν αἰδοῖ τοῦτο δρῶν τῆς περὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀρετῆς.

72

Suda π 1130 Οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρως περιέσεσθαι στρατηγοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ ἀμάχου παντάπασιν.

73

Suda α 2452 Ὅτι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοῦ Ἀννίβου νίκης τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων συμφορᾶς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μηχανώμενος, τρεῖς μεδίμνους Ἀττικοὺς πλήρεις χρυσῶν δακτυλίων εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψεν, οὓς ἄρα τοὺς ἱππικοὺς καὶ βουλευτικοὺς ἄνδρας σκυλεύσας ἀνῄρητο.

Fr. 71 = Adler 1928, ii, 163.5-6 = fr. 121 R cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 76 et Müller 1870b, 182. Fr. 72 = Adler 1928, iv, 97.5-6 = fr. 119.2 R; Droysen 1879, 53 Fr. 73 = Adler 1928, i, 219.14-18; cf. fr. 120 R

Fr. 71: cf. Plut. *Mc.* 30.2 Fr. 72: Eutr. 3.10.1 Fr. 73: Eutr. 3.11.1

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8 Ἀννίβα ITMac*Suda* **10** ἀπέπεμπεν AF*Suda*

Fr. 73: *EPl* 27 Ὅτι Ἀννίβας τὰς Ῥωμαίων συμφορὰς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς οἴκοι Καρχηδονίοις μηχανώμενος, τρεῖς μεδίμνους Ἀττικοὺς πλήρεις χρυσῶν δακτυλίων ἐς τὴν Λιβύην [Λιβύην L : λίμνην HKMR] ἀπέπεμπεν, οὓς τοῖς ἱππικοῖς τε καὶ βουλευτικοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ τὸν πάτριον νόμον περικειμένοις [περικειμένοις HKMR : περικειμένους L] σκυλεύσας τὰ σώματα τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀνῄρητο.

71

And he [i.e. Hannibal] covered it[1] with a crown of gold, doing this out of reverence for Marcellus' virtue.

72

For otherwise he would not have prevailed over a hot-headed and altogether invincible general.[2]

73

In contriving to make the Carthaginians see the magnitude of his victory over the Romans and the plight of their opponents, Hannibal sent to Libya three Attic medimni full of golden rings, which he had stripped as spoils from men of equestrian and senatorial rank.

[1] The original passage in Plutarch makes it clear that the urn with the ashes of Marcellus is meant and not the body.

[2] This fragment could have formed the second part of the sentence preserved in the previous fragment (Fr. 70).

74

Suda α 2452 Ὅτι ἄνδρες τινὲς Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐναντίων σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου τοῖς ῾Ρωμαίοις περιπίπτουσιν. Οὓς ἀχθέντας ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ Πόπλιος κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, περινοστῆσαι δὲ κελεύει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δεῖπνον ἑλομένους ἀποχωρεῖν σώους, ἀπαγγελοῦντας Ἀννίβᾳ τὰ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἔχει ῾Ρωμαίοις.

75

EI 17 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὅτε Ἀννίβας ἐπολέμει τοῖς ῾Ρωμαίοις, Ἀντίοχος ὁ τῆς Συρίας βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων ἄρχοντος πολεμούμενος Ξέρξῃ τῷ Ἀρμενίων τυράννῳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν συνοικίσας, ἐκεῖνον μὲν διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διεχρήσατο, τὴν δὲ Περσῶν βασιλείαν αὖθις ἀνεκτήσατο.

76

EI 18 Ὅτι Πτολεμαίου {Ἀγαθόκλειαν} τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβαλόντος καὶ ⟨Ἀγαθοκλείᾳ⟩ μιᾷ τινι τῶν ἑταιρίδων συναφθέντος, εἶτα τελευτήσαντος Πτολεμαίου, ἡ Ἀγαθόκλεια Ἀρσινόην διαφθείρει δόλῳ· καὶ ταύτης σὺν

Fr. 74 = Adler 1928, i, 219.18-22 = fr. 128 R; Droysen 1879, 63 Fr. 75 = fr. 53 M = fr. 122 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 9 | P (f. 100v) S (f. 109v-f. 110r) Fr. 76 = fr. 54 M = fr. 129 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 9f. | P (f. 100v) S (f. 110r)

Fr. 74: Eutr. 3.22.2 Fr. 75: fontem non inveni Fr. 76: fontem non inveni

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3 ῾Ρωμαίοις pr.*Suda* : ῾Ρωμαίων omnes **10** συνοικίσας Kambylis : συνοικήσας PS et edd. **11** ἐκεῖνον S : ἐκεῖνος P **14** Ἀγαθόκλειαν uncis incl. Müller 1851 **15** Ἀγαθοκλείᾳ in app. coni. Müller 1851

Fr. 74: *Suda* σ 577, 377.1-6 Ὅτι ἄνδρες τινὲς Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐναντίων σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου τοῖς ῾Ρωμαίοις περιπίπτουσιν· οὓς ἀχθέντας ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ Πόπλιος κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, περινοστῆσαι δὲ κελεύει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δεῖπνον ἑλομένους ἀποχωρεῖν σῴους, ἀπαγγελοῦντας Ἀννίβᾳ τὰ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἔχοι ῾Ρωμαίοις.

74

Some Carthaginians who were sent by Hannibal to spy on the enemy fell into the hands of the Romans. When they were brought before Publius,[1] he did not do them any wrong, but ordered them to go around the camp, have lunch and depart unharmed, so that they might report to Hannibal on the conditions in the Roman army.

75

At the same time as Hannibal was waging war against the Romans, Antiochus, the king of Syria, who had been attacked by Ptolemy, the ruler of the Egyptians, married his sister to Xerxes, the tyrant of Armenia, murdered him with his sister's help and regained possession of the Persian kingdom.

76

Ptolemy put away his wife[2] and became attached to Agathokleia, one of his courtesans; afterwards, when Ptolemaios died, Agathokleia treacherously killed Arsinoe; and when she perished together with the royal

1 i.e. Scipio Africanus Maior (Publius Cornelius). *See* Adler (1928, pars 5 (index), 155).
2 i.e. Arsinoe.

τοῖς βασιλείοις διαφθαρείσης, πολλῆς τε ταραχῆς ἐντεῦθεν Αἰγυπτίοις ἀναφθείσης, ὅ τε τῆς Συρίας βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας Φίλιππος ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρατήσειν τῆς χώρας σὺν προθυμίᾳ στρατεύουσιν. Οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι φθάσαντες τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐμφύλιον ἀπέσβεσαν ἐπανάστασιν, Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ἐπιφανῆ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ ἔθνους ἀποδείξαντες, Προυσίου τότε τῶν Βιθυνῶν βασιλεύσαντος.

77

EI 19 Ὅτι Ἀντιόχου, οὗ ἐπώνυμός ἐστι πόλις παρὰ Ἀσσυρίοις, υἱὸς Σέλευκος καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θεός· ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Σέλευκος ἐπιβουλεύειν ὑποπτευθεὶς τῷ πατρὶ κατακτείνεται.

78

EI 20 Ὅτι Δημήτριος υἱὸς ἦν Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως, ὃν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὅμηρον ἔσχον· συμμαχήσαντος δὲ Φιλίππου τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τοῦτον ἀμειβόμενοι τῆς εὐνοίας ἀφιᾶσι τὸν παῖδα τῆς ὁμηρείας. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκποδὼν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐποιήσατο, πρῶτος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ γένους μιαιφονήσας ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους.

79

EPl 28 Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς στάσεως γενομένης ὀλίγου μέν τινος ἐξέπεσεν, ἐπαναλαβὼν δ᾽ αὖθις δειναῖς αἰκίαις τὸν δῆμον ἐτιμωρήσα-

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Fr. 77 = fr. 55 M = fr. 130 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 10 | P (f. 100^v) S (f. 110^r) Fr. 78 = fr. 56 M = fr. 131 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 10, Droysen 1879, 67 | P (f. 100^v-f. 101^r) S (f. 110^r) Fr. 79 = *EPl* 28 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxx) = fr. 124 R; Mai 1827, 544 | LHKMR

Fr. 77: fontem non inveni Fr. 78: Eutr. 4.3.2 Fr. 79: fontem non inveni

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1 τοῖς βασιλείοις S : τῆς βασιλείοις P^1 corr. ex τῆς βασιλείας **2** Σέλευκος PS : Ἀντίοχος in app. propos. Roberto 2005 **6** βιθυνῶν P et S^2 corr. ex αἰθυνῶν **9** καὶ Ἀντίοχος – Σέλευκος P : om. S : in mg. add. S^2

palace,[1] a great disturbance issued for the Egyptians. Then Seleucus,[2] the king of Syria, and Philip, the King of Macedon, eagerly started a war with the hope of gaining possession of the country. But the Romans intervened first, put down the civil uprising of the Egyptians and appointed Ptolemy Epiphanes ruler over the Egyptians, at the time when Prusias was ruling over the Bithynians.

77

Antiochus, after whom a city in Assyria is named, had two sons: Seleucus and Antiochus surnamed Theos; Seleucus, however, was suspected of plotting against his father and was killed.

78

Demetrius was the son of Philip, king of Macedon, whom the Romans held as a hostage; because Philip fought alongside the Romans, they returned the favour by releasing his son. However, when Demetrius returned Philip got rid of him, [thus becoming] the first in the family to commit the murder of one of his relatives.

79

Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, was almost expelled from power as a result of civil strife. Having regained power he punished the people with terrible

1 *See* Müller (1851, 558): "nostrumque locum ita licet intelligere, ut sermo sit de direptis regiae thesauris." *See* also Walbank 1936, 29 and n., "Müller seems to be right in his suggestion that σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις διαφθαρείσης means that Arsinoe was burnt to death in a deliberately started fire, which burnt down part of the palace. Müller's other suggestion is that τοῖς βασιλείοις here means 'the royal treasure'; but why should Arsinoe perish 'with the treasure'? In any case a fire is indicated."

2 i.e. Antiochos III the Great.

το, ἕψων τε καὶ παροπτῶν τὰ τῶν κρατουμένων σώματα. Δίκας τε μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τῆς ὠμότητος ὑποστὰς νόσῳ χαλεπῇ μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον.

80

EPl 29 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σιρὰχ Ἰουδαίοις τὴν πανάρετον σοφίαν ἐξέθετο.

81

EPl 32 Ὅτι Περσεύς, ὕστατος βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίας, καταλιμπανόμενος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμῳ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, ἀπογνοὺς φέρων ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν Αἰμιλίῳ Παύλῳ.

Fr. 80 = *EPl* 29 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxx) = fr. 125 R; Mai 1827, 545 | LHKMR et G Fr. 81 = *EPl* 32. 1-3 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxvii) = fr. 133.1 R; Mai 1827, 546 | LHKMR

Fr. 80: fontem non inveni Fr. 81: fontem non inveni

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2 ἐπιστὰς M **7** ὕστατος om. L βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίας codd. : περσῶν βασιλεὺς H **9** πώλῳ H

tortures, boiling and roasting the bodies of his subjects. After a short time he received a just punishment for his cruelty: he died as a result of a severe disease.

80

Under Ptolemy Epiphanes, Jesus son of Sirach expounded to the Jews the wisdom that was a model of all virtue.

81

Perseus, the last king of the Macedonians, was abandoned by his men during the war against the Romans and, driven to despair, surrendered to Aemilius Paulus.

82

EV 16 Ὅτι Αἰμίλιος ὁ ὕπατος, ὁ τὸν Περσέα τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα χειρωσάμενος, ἀνὴρ ἦν σώφρων καὶ φέρειν εὐπραγίας εἰδώς, καὶ ἱκανὸς ὤν. Ἅμα ⟨γὰρ⟩ βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπεδέξατο, πεσεῖν τε βουληθέντα πρὸς τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ ἀναστήσας καὶ ἐπειπών, «Ἄνθρωπε, τί μου καταβάλλεις τὸ κατόρθωμα;» ἐπί τινος βασιλικοῦ θρόνου πάρεδρον ἑαυτῷ κατεστήσατο. Μακεδόνας δὲ καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, τῆς πρόσθεν δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένους, ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους προστάττει τὸ συνέδριον, δασμόν τε φέρειν βραχύν, καὶ πολλῷ τοῦ πάλαι κομιζομένου τοῖς ἑκατέρων βασιλεῦσι καταδεέστερον· ὡς ἂν ὁμολογοῖτο πρὸς ἁπάντων {ὅτι} Ῥωμαίους τῶν ὑπαρξάντων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδικημάτων ⟨ἤπερ ἐφέσει τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξενηνοχέναι τὸν πόλεμον. Ὁ γὰρ Αἰμίλιος ἐς τὴν ἁπάντων⟩ τῶν παρόντων ἀκοὴν (ἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν συνειλεγμένοι) τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξενεγκὼν δόγμα ἐλευθέρους εἶναι

Fr. 82 = fr. 57 M = fr. 133.2 R; Valois 1634, 790 | T (f. 87v-f. 88r)

Fr. 82: Eutr. 4.7.2-3

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4 γὰρ add. Müller 1851 e *Suda* **9** post πολλῷ verbum τινι add. Müller 1851 e *Suda*
11 ὅτι del. Valois 1634 ἤπερ… ἁπάντων l. 13 add. Valois 1634 e *Suda*

Fr. 82: *Suda* αι 200 Αἰμίλιος· ὁ ὕπατος, ὁ τὸν Περσέα τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα χειρωσάμενος, ἀνὴρ ἦν σώφρων καὶ φέρειν εὐπραγίας εἰδὼς καὶ ἱκανὸς ὤν. ἅμα γὰρ βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ τὸν ἄνδρα ὑπεδέξατο, πεσεῖν τε βουληθέντα πρὸς τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ ἀναστήσας καὶ ἐπειπών, ἄνθρωπε, τί μου καταβάλλεις τὸ κατόρθωμα; ἐπί τινος βασιλικοῦ θρόνου πάρεδρον ἑαυτῷ κατεστήσατο. Μακεδόνας δὲ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς τῆς πρόσθεν δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους προστάττει τὸ συνέδριον δασμόν τε φέρειν βραχὺν καὶ πολλῷ τινι τοῦ πάλαι κομιζομένου τοῖς ἑκατέρων βασιλεῦσι καταδεέστερον, ὡς ἂν ὁμολογοῖτο πρὸς ἁπάντων, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τῶν ὑπαρξάντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀδικημάτων ἤπερ ἐφέσει τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξενηνοχέναι τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ γοῦν Αἰμίλιος ἐς τὴν ἁπάντων τῶν παρόντων ἀκοὴν ʽἦσαν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν συνειλεγμένοἰ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξενεγκὼν δόγμα ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπεφήνατο· τούς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένους τῶν Εὐρωπαίων πρέσβεις εἱστία πολυτελῶς τῇ λαμπρότητι τοῦ συμποσίου φιλοτιμούμενος. ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ κρατεῖν καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν συμποσίων ἐπιμελεῖς τε καὶ φιλοτίμους φαίνεσθαι. | 4 πεσεῖν – 7 κατεστήσατο *EPl* 32.1-3 Ὁ δὲ πεσεῖν βουληθέντα πρὸς τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ ἀναστήσας, καὶ ἐπειπὼν «ἄνθρωπε, τί μου καθαιρεῖς τὸ κατόρθωμα·» ἐπί τινος βασιλικοῦ θρόνου πάρεδρον αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο.

82

The consul Aemilius, who had taken prisoner Perseus, King of Macedonia, was a man of wisdom and integrity who knew how to conduct himself in the hour of success. He received Perseus with the deference due to royalty, and when the latter wanted to fall at his knees, he made him stand up and said, “Sir! Why do you wish undo my courtesy?”[1] and placed him on a royal seat at his side. The senate relieved the Macedonians and Illyrians of their former slavery, decreed them free and independent, and imposed some insignificant tribute, which was much less than the one that had previously been paid to the rulers of both countries, so that everybody would agree that the Romans had started the war because of the injuries they had suffered and not because of their desire to control Macedonia. Aemilius made a public announcement to all who were present (there were many people of different nations), proclaimed the

[1] A more elaborate version is found in Plut. *Aemil.* 26.8-27.1.

τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπεφήνατο· τούς τε παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀφικομένους τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ἐθνῶν πρέσβεις εἱστία πολυτελῶς, τῇ λαμπρότητι τοῦ συμποσίου φιλοτιμούμενος. Ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ κρατεῖν, καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τῶν συμποσίων ἐπιμελεῖς τε καὶ φιλοτίμους φαίνεσθαι.

83

Suda π 1371 Ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Περσέως ναῦς τά τε ἄλλα ἐξήσκητο μεγαλοφυῶς καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἐπὶ ιζʹ στοίχων εἶχε πεποιημένην.

84 Dubium

Suda π 2056 Πόπλιος Σκιπίων Ἀφρικανός, τὴν στρατιὰν εὑρὼν διεφθαρμένην ἐπανώρθωσεν. Ὃς καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε. Προσημᾶναι δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ πέρας τὴν τοῦ ξίφους λαβήν, αἵματι πολλῷ ῥεομένην καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἀποματτομένην, πλέον δὲ ἀνιεῖσαν ἀεὶ τοῦ αἵματος· τοὺς γὰρ μάντεις πολὺν φόνον τῶν ἐναντίων σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας ὑποκρίνασθαι.

Fr. 83 = Adler 1928, iv, 115.5-7 = fr. 134 R; Droysen 1879, 71 Fr. 84 = Adler 1928, iv, 175.7-12 = fr. 135 R; cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 80).

Fr. 83: Eutr. 4.8.1 Fr. 84: fontem non inveni

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1 παρ᾽ T : πρὸς *Suda* **7** καὶ om. F*Suda* **11** Ὃς om. G*Suda* **12** πολεμίου τὸ τέρας V*Suda* λαβεῖν V*Suda* **14** φόνον πολὺν GVM*Suda*

Fr. 83: *EPl* 33 Ὅτι Περσεὺς ναῦν τἆλλά τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ πέρα τοῦ συνήθους ἐξήσκησε, τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἐπὶ ἑκκαίδεκα στίχους ποιήσας. Fr. 84 cf. Fr. 98 130.19 αὐτοῦ – 130.19 ἔδαφος; Fr. 8 18.2 Καμβύσης – 18.3 κατέσκαψεν; Fr. 134 232.13 Προσημῆναι – 232.14 ὀνείρων; Fr. 98 118.7 τοὺς δὲ – 118.8 τὸ τέρας

resolution of the senate and declared everybody to be free. He entertained the ambassadors of the European nations who had come to him at a lavish banquet and took pride in the magnificence of the feast. He said that it ought to be characteristic of the same man that he be both victorious in war and appear attentive and munificent in his provision of banquets.[1]

83

Perseus' ship was ostentatiously adorned in every respect and also had seventeen banks of oars.

84

Publius Scipio Africanus found the army demoralised and restored its discipline. He also razed Carthage to the ground. The end of the war was announced to him beforehand by the grip of his sword pouring much blood: even though it was often wiped clean, it always discharged more blood; accordingly, the seers interpreted the prodigy as indicating the death of many a foe.

[1] *See* Plut. *Aemil.* 28.6-10.

85

Suda α 4648 Καρχηδών, ἡ καὶ Ἀφρικὴ καὶ Βύρσα λεγομένη, μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνοικισμὸν κρατήσασα ἔτη ψʹ τῶν περιοίκων Λιβύων ἀνῄρητο. Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτὴν Σκιπίωνι τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ πάππῳ λαβὼν ἐπίκλην Ἀφρικανὸς τὸ ἐντεῦθεν διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ὁμοιότροπον ἐπωνομάσθη.

86

EPl 30 Ὅτι Σκηπίων χρηστότητι τρόπων οὐδὲν μεῖον ἢ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀθρόον ἀποκλῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅπασαν σχεδὸν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρεσκεύασεν.

87

EPl 31 Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς ἁλοὺς ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἵλετο, ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπικράτειαν διδούς, ὁμήρους τε παρέχειν ἕτοιμος ὤν. Ὁ δὲ Σκηπίων τὴν συμμαχίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδεξάμενος ὁμήρων οὐκ ἔφη δεῖσθαι· τὸ γάρ τοι πιστὸν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἔχειν ὅπλοις.

88

EPl 34 Ὅτι Σκηπίων ὁ νέος δʹ καὶ κʹ ἐτῶν ἐστρατήγησεν.

Fr. 85 = Adler 1928, i, 434.4-8 = fr. 136 R; Droysen 1879, 73 Fr. 86 = *EPl* 30 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxx) = fr. 126 R; Mai 1827, 545 | LHKMR Fr. 87 = *EPl* 31 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxx) = fr. 127 R; Mai 1827, 545f. | LHKMR Fr. 88 = *EPl* 34 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxxi) = fr. 123 R; Mai 1827, 546 | LHKM

Fr. 85: Eutr. 4.12.2 Fr. 86: cf. Eutr. 3.15.3 Fr. 87: Eutr. 3.17 Fr. 88: Eutr. 3.15.1

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4 τὴν αὐτὴν Port.*Suda* ἐπίκλησιν Port.*Suda*

85

Carthage, also called Africa and Byrsa, was destroyed after it had ruled over the neighbouring Libyans for seven hundred years from the date of its foundation. After taking it, Scipio was subsequently called Africanus after Scipio Africanus, his grandfather, on account of his courage and the similarity of their accomplishments.[1]

86

Scipio brought almost the whole of Iberia under his control by an upright policy [towards its inhabitants] no less than by force of arms.

87

After he was captured by Scipio, the king of the Iberians sided with the Romans, delivering up himself and his dominions, and being ready to provide hostages. Scipio accepted his alliance but said that he had no need of hostages since he held his own military force to be sufficient guarantee.

88

Scipio the Younger became general at the age of twenty-four.

1 This sentence is confusing, possibly because of textual corruption and/or mistranslation of Eutropius' original. The translation renders the problematic Greek text. *See* Eutropius: Scipio earned the title which his grandfather had received so that, evidently on account of his courage, he, too, was called Africanus Junior.

89

EPl 36 Ὅτι τὸ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον τῆς Ῥώμης συνοικισμὸν ἑξακοσιοστὸν τριακοστὸν πέμπτον ἔτος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ἑξηκοστῆς τετάρτης ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος.

90

EI 21 **1** Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος ὁ τῆς Συρίας βασιλεὺς τὸν Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα ὑποτοπήσας διέφθειρεν, ἑτέροις τὸν τούτου φόνον ἐπενεγκών, οὓς δὴ καὶ διὰ φόβον διεχρήσατο· αὖθίς τε πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύει ἀναπαλαίειν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπιχειροῦντα. Καὶ πολεμήσας αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον κρατήσας τε παντελῶς τοῖς ὅπλοις φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἠνάγκασεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐ προσδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων προσφεύγει τῷ γαμβρῷ Ἀντιόχῳ. Ὁ δὲ τοῦτον πάλιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκαθίστησιν, ἐκεῖθέν τε κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ὁρμήσας αἱρεῖ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη, καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς συλήσας συνέχεε τὰ τοῦ ἔθνους νόμιμα, δειναῖς τε τιμωρίαις τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑποβαλὼν ἑλληνίζειν ἠνάγκαζε, τόν τε πάτριον αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενος κόσμον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀνέστησεν ἄγαλμα· ἐντεῦθέν τε ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμάρειαν ἀνῆλθε καὶ Διὸς Ξενίου τέμενος ᾠκοδόμησεν. Καὶ Ματθίας Ἀσαμωνέου παῖς τὴν ἱερατείαν παρείληφεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τοὺς Ἀντιόχου στρατηγοὺς διεχρήσατο. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαμαρείας ἥκων αὐτόν τε τὸν Ματθίαν ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Μακκαβαίους κολάζει τό τε ἱερὸν χοιρείοις αἵμασι βεβηλοῖ καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἰδίους ἄρχειν τοῦ ἔθνους καθίστησιν. Αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀνελθὼν μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον, Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Εὐπάτορος τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου.

Fr. 89 = *EPl* 36 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxxi) = fr. 141 R; Mai 1827, 548 | LHKMR
Fr. 90 = fr. 58 et 59 M = fr. 132 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 10f. | P (f. 101rv) S (f. 110rv)

Fr. 89: fontem non inveni Fr. 90: fontem non inveni

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2 τὸ om. M **6** τὸν PS de Boor 1905 : τοῦ edd. **13** αὐτὸ τὸ S de Boor 1905 : αὐτῶ τῶ P : αὐτῶν τὸ edd. **15** συλήσας P : συκλήσας S **19** τοὺς – στρατηγοὺς Müller 1851 : τοῖς – στρατηγοῖς PS **20** ἥκων S de Boor 1905 : οἴκων P edd. **23** βίον Cramer 1841 : αἰόν PS

89

The six hundred and thirty-fifth year A.U.C. was in the time of the hundred and sixty-fourth Olympiad.[1]

90

1 Antiochus [IV], the king of Syria, killed the son of his brother Selecus out of suspicion, made others responsible for his murder and put them to death too out of fear; he marched again upon Ptolemy who was attempting to revoke some treaties. Antiochus joined battle with him at Pelusium, utterly defeated him and forced him to flee to Alexandria. But Ptolemy was not admitted by the Egyptians and fled for refuge to Antiochus, with whom he was connected by marriage, who reinstalled him in his kingdom and set out from there against the Jews, took their citadel, plundered the treasures and the sacred vessels, despoiled the temples, violated the local customs, and by inflicting terrible punishments upon the inhabitants forced them to adopt Greek ways of life; after depriving them of the religious ordinances of their fathers as well, he erected a statue of Olympian Zeus; when he departed from there to Samaria, he built a temple to Zeus Xenios. And Matthias,[2] the son of Hasmoneus took up the office of high-priest in Jerusalem and put to death the generals of Antiochus. But Antiochus returned from Samaria and killed Matthias himself and punished the so-called Maccabees, polluted the temple with pig's blood and placed his own generals in charge of the people. He then returned to Syria and died; Antiochus [V] Eupator assumed power.

1 The year 635 A.U.C. is explicitly mentioned in Eutr. 4.24, however, without the synchronism with the 164th Olympiad.

2 Mattathias.

2 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Δημήτριος Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς υἱὸς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμηρεύων τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπύθετο θάνατον, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐπάτορος ἁρπαγεῖσαν, ἱκετεύσας τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πολλῆς ἐπικουρίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανέρχεται, καὶ κατακτείνει μὲν τὸν Εὐπάτορα δύω ἔτεσιν ἐπιτρυφήσαντα, ἀναλαμβάνει ⟨δὲ⟩ τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ σύμμαχος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου κληθεὶς βεβαίως ἀπήλαυσε τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Ἐνιαυτοὺς δὲ β′ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα βιώσας ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δολοφονεῖται, τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου.

91

EI 22 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν Βορίανθος ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀφανὴς μὲν τὸ γένος, εὐτελής τε τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ ποιμὴν τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχάς. Οὗτος μετὰ ταῦτα ληστρικοῦ τινος ἡγήσατο τάγματος· τελευταῖον τοσαύτην περιεβάλετο δύναμιν καὶ τοσαῦτα κοινωνῆσαί οἱ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἀνέπεισε

Fr. 91 = fr. 60 M = fr. 137 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 11, Droysen 1879, 75, 77 | P (f. 101v) S (f. 110v-f. 111r)

Fr. 91: Eutr. 4.16

5 δύω P : δύο S δὲ add. Müller 1851 **6** δήμου S de Boor 1905 : γένους P edd. βεβαίως PS de Boor 1905 : βεβαίας edd. **7** βιώσας PS edd. : βασιλεύσας in app. corr. Müller 1851 : in textu Roberto 2005 **10** μὲν om. P Müller 1851

Fr. 91: 10 εὐτελής – 11 ἀρχάς *Suda* ε 2683 ὁ δὲ ἦν εὐτελὴς τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν, οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ ποιμὴν τὸ κατ᾽ ἀρχάς. | 98.7 οἱ βάρβαροι – 98.14 ἐπιβουλάς *Suda* β 396 Ὅτι βάρβαροί τινες κτείνουσι Βορίανθον τυραννήσαντα, ταύτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν ἡγούμενοι ἐς εὔνοιαν. καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμενοι τῶν τοῦ Βοριάνθου αὐθεντῶν τινες ἆθλα τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πεπραγμένων ἠξίουν παρὰ Σκιπίωνος κομίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀποκρίνεται, μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλάς. | 98.12 ὁ Σκιπίων – 98.14 ἐπιβουλάς *Suda* ε 2241, 14-17 Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀποκρίνεται μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλάς. | 98.7 δείσαντες – 98.8 Βορίανθον et 98.10 Καὶ δὴ – 98.14 ἐπιβουλάς *EPl* 35 Ὅτι Σκηπίωνος μαχομένου τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦτον δείσαντες ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν αὐτῶν βασιλέα Βορίανθον. ὧν ἀφικόμενοί τινες πρὸς Σκηπίωνα ἆθλα [ἆθλα M : ἄλλα K] παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων λαβεῖν ἠξίουν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλάς.

2 After Demetrios [I], the son of Antiochus Epiphanes,[1] who lived as a hostage among the Romans, heard the news of his father's death and of Eupator's seizure of power, he turned to the senate for aid, obtained much support and departed to Syria, where he killed Eupator, who had been living a life of luxury for two years, and assumed the kingship; he was named an ally of the Roman people and enjoyed stability while in power. Having reigned for twelve years he was treacherously murdered by Alexander [I], who succeeded him.

91

In Iberia there was a man called Viriathus,[2] of obscure origin and modest life-style, who was no more than a shepherd at the beginning. After that he became the leader of a band of robbers, and finally he gathered around himself such a large force and convinced so many tribes to participate in

1 Demetrios I was son of Antiochos III and half-brother of Antiochos IV.

2 For the spelling of the name *see* Schweighäuser 1806, 152.

γένη, ὡς ἀξιόμαχος νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανός τε πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ πάτριον τοὺς Ἴβηρας ἐπαναγαγεῖν πολιτείαν. Πρῶτος γοῦν Κόιντος Κεκίλιος Μέτελλος ἐπὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγὸς ἐκπέμπεται, ⟨ὃς⟩ ἄριστα καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἀξίως τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι Κελτιβήρων προσεπολέμησεν. Μηκυνομένου δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου, Κόιντος Πομπήιος αὖθις στρατηγὸς ἐξέπλει, μεθ' ὃν Κόιντος Σκιπίων ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξεπέμφθη πόλεμον. Ὧν μάλιστα πάντων ἕνεκα δείσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι κτείνουσιν τὸν Βορίανθον τέσσαρα καὶ δέκα Ῥωμαίοις ἔτη ἐναντία πολεμήσαντα, ταύτῃ προσάγεσθαι τὸν ἡγούμενον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς ἐς εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ φειδὼ λογισάμενοι. Καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμενοι τῶν αὐθεντῶν τοῦ Βοριάνθου τινὲς ἆθλα τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πεπραγμένων ἠξίουν παρὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου κομίζεσθαι. Οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων ἀποκρίνεται, μηδαμῶς εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις ἔννομον ἐν ἐ[παί]νῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπιχειρουμένας ἐπιβουλάς.

92

EI 23 Ὅτι ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γαΐου Κεκιλίου Μετέλλου καὶ Γναίου Κάρβωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ρξζʹ Ὀλυμπιάδος ὁ δουλικὸς πόλεμος ἐγένετο ἐν Σικελίᾳ. Οἱ γὰρ ταύτην νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν πολλῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐντρυφῶντες δαψιλείᾳ οὐ σταθμητὸν ἐκτήσαντο δούλιον πλῆθος, πρός γε τὰς τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐξασκοῦντες αὐτοὺς τριβὰς καὶ πρός γε τῇ πανοπλίᾳ γυμνάζοντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς περιοίκους ἐληίζοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς διοδευομένοις ξένοις ἐπαφιέντες τούτους τῶν ἐπιφερομένων αὐτοὺς ἀφῃροῦντο φορτίων. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν δραπέταις οὐδὲν τῆς λείας παρεῖχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλῶν γεγενημένοι κύριοι χρημάτων ἐκράτουν μανικῶς ἁπάσης τῆς Λιβύης. Οἱ γοῦν δρα-

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Fr. 92 = fr. 61 M = fr. 138 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 11f. P (f. 101v-f. 102r) S (f. 111rv)

Fr. 92: fontem non inveni

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2 Κόιντος corr. Müller 1851 : Κύντος PS **3** ὃς add. Müller 1851 **8** ἐναντία S de Boor 1905 Roberto 2005 : ἐναντίως P Müller 1851 Cramer 1841 **12** ἠξίου S **13** ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιεῖσθαι e *Suda* β 396 suppl. de Boor 1905 : ἐνε[.$_{10}$.]νωποιεῖσθαι S : ἐνωποιεῖσθαι P, ἐπαιν supr. vers. addito : ἐπαινεῖσθαι Müller 1851 **17** Ὀλυμπιάδος Cramer 1841 : ὀλυμπ (π superscr.) P : ὀμὲν [*sic*] S **20** αὐτοὺς Müller 1851 Roberto 2005 : αὐτοὶ PS **24** λιβύης P[1] (corr. ex λικύης) : λικύης S : Σικελίας Müller 1851

his undertaking that he came to be regarded as a worthy adversary of the Romans, capable of reestablishing among the Iberians their ancient and ancestral form of government. Quintus Caecilius Metellus was the first to be appointed general in the war against Viriathus; he fought with the Celtiberian insurgents with the greatest distinction and as befitted Roman power. Because the war lasted longer than expected, Quintus Pompeius sailed out as general in turn, after whom Quintus Caepio was sent out to the same war. The barbarians became greatly afraid of them and killed Viriathus, who had been fighting the Romans for fourteen years, hoping by this deed to attain favour and win the mercy of the commander of the Roman army. And so some of the murderers of Viriathus came to the consul and demanded a reward for what they had done to the man, but Caepio replied that it was not the Roman custom to bestow praise for plots against the generals carried out by their subordinates.

92

In the consulship of Gaius Caecilius Metellus and Gnaeus Carbo, in the one hundred and sixty-seventh Olympiad, a slave war took place in Sicily. Enjoying the abundance of all the necessities of life, the inhabitants of that country acquired immense numbers of slaves; having trained them for working in the fields and having made them familiar with the use of all kinds of arms, not only did they carry out raids against the people who dwelt around, but also attacked the foreign merchants who were making their way through those parts, robbing them of the merchandise they were bringing with them. They did not share the booty with the slaves,[1] and came into possession of an immense fortune and in their frenzy took control over the whole of Libya.[2] Suffering from a scarcity of

[1] The word δραπέτης most probably means 'slave' and not 'runaway slave' here. For the discussion *see* Capozza 1977, 407 n. 128.

[2] Most probably an error for Sicily.

πέται τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων βεβιασμένοι τῇ τε τῶν ὅπλων θαρροῦντες ἀσκήσει καὶ τῇ καθαρᾷ συνελαυνόμενοι δίκῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐθέντας τῶν δεινῶν μεταβάλλουσι τὰς χεῖρας, σύνθεμα νυκτερινὸν ἐπαγγείλαντες παντὶ τῷ δουλικῷ πλήθει, Εὔνουν τέ τινα λεγόμενον δραπέτην, φύσει τε μιαρὸν καὶ πανοῦργον, καὶ τῆς μυσαρᾶς μιαιφονίας αὐθέντην ἀποδεικνύντες. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτος τῆς νυκτερινῆς ἐκείνης μανίας βασιλεὺς ὠνομάσθη, συνεσκεύαζε τὰς ἀρχὰς δορυφόρους τε πλείστους, καὶ τῶν δραμάτων ἄρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυ. Καὶ πάλαι μὲν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δεσπόταις ταῦτα τερατευόμενος ἐπήγγελτο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἐπελάβετο δυναστείας μυριάδας τε πλείους ἢ μʹ συναθροίσας, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς οἴκοις ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς δεσπότας, τοὺς μὲν αἰκίαις ὑποβάλλων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πλευρωμάτων ἀκοντίζων, ἑτέρους δὲ τῶν κεφαλῶν ζημιῶν διετίθει· γυναικῶν δὲ ὅσαι μὲν ἐν παρθενίᾳ ὑπῆρχον, συνηρπάζοντο δουλεύειν τοῖς δραπέταις ἠναγκασμέναι, ὅσαι δὲ τὸ πρὶν ἤδη τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνῴκουν, πρὸς βίαν ᾐσχύνοντο. Τοῦ δὲ πάθους καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπιδημοῦντος μέλλοντός τε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπιφοιτᾶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, Πόπλιος Σκιπίων κατ' αὐτῶν στρατεύσας τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν τίθησι.

93

EI 24 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποστατῶν δούλων καθαίρεσιν Σκιπίων Ἀφρικανὸς κατὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον Τιβέριον Γράκχον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐν τέλει στρατηγῶν, νεωτέρων ἁπτόμενον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνασείοντα ξύλῳ παίσας κατέκτεινεν.

Fr. 93 = fr. 62 M = fr. 139 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 12 | P (f. 102ᵛ) S (f. 111ᵛ)

Fr. 93: fontem non inveni

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3 σύνθεμα PS de Boor 1905 : σύνθημα edd. **5** post αὐθέντην verbum βασιλέα add. Müller 1851 **7** συνεσκεύαζε Cramer 1841 : συνεσκίαζε P[1] (corr. ex συνεβίαζε) S **10** τε uncis incl. Müller 1851 **11** αἰκίαις Müller 1851 : αἰκίας PS **12** πλευρωμάτων Müller 1851 : ῥευμάτων PS de Boor 1905 τῶν κεφαλῶν ζημιῶν διετίθει PS : τὰς κεφαλὰς vel ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ζημιῶν διετίθει et etiam τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀποτομίᾳ ζημιῶν κάκιστα διετίθει in app. coni. Müller 1851 **13** ὅσαι S (corr. ex ὥσαι) : ὥστε P **21** Γράκχον Cramer 1841 : βράκχον S : βάκχον P

provisions and encouraged by their military skills, the slaves banded together for the sake of justice and attacked those responsible for their present terrible situation. They announced to all the slaves a nocturnal gathering and put in charge of their foul and murderous deed a certain Eunus, a runaway slave, a scoundrel and a villain by nature. After he had been proclaimed king of their nocturnal raving, he organized the line of command, appointing numerous bodyguards and putting people in charge of certain operations. Speaking in a boastful manner, he had previously announced these deeds to his owners; after he assumed his destructive power and collected more than four hundred thousand supporters, he killed the owners in their very houses, inflicting tortures on some, piercing the sides of others with spears and ordering yet others to be decapitated; the women who were still virgins were first violated and then forced to serve the slaves; the married women were brutally raped. After this calamity had spread to other cities and was about to extend to Rome, Publius Scipio set out against them, killed some and sent the others under the yoke.[1]

93

After the liquidation of the insurgent slaves Scipio Africanus[2] killed Tiberius Gracchus in the senate, striking him with a piece of wood – he was one of the men who held the office of praetor, who was attempting revolution and stirring up the people.

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1 Detailed discussion of the material in this fragment is found in Capozza 1977, 400-414.

2 Müller (1851, 560n.) remarks, "inepte. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, pontifex, in Gracchanorum turbam inruit. Quo tempore Scipio Africanus Numantiam oppugnabat."

94

EI 25 Ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου, Σκιπίων Ἀφρικανὸς φυγὰς τῆς πόλεως γίνεται, ζημιοῦται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα σὺν παρθένῳ παιδί, καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀποστερεῖται. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πυρὶ κατεφλέχθη, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου διηρπάγη τε καὶ ἀνῃρέθη· ὡς δόγματι τῆς βουλῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου μοῖραν οὐ μικρὰν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιδοθῆναι.

95

EI 26 Ὅτι Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος ἐπίκλησιν Νασικᾶ καὶ Καλαβιστίου ὑπατευόντων, αὖθις ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπεραιοῦντο Ῥωμαῖοι ἐναντία Ἰουγούρθα τῷ Νουμιδῶν δυνάστῃ πολεμήσοντες. Αἰτία δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα διαφορᾶς τοιάδε τις ἦν. Μασσανάσης ἐγεγόνει κατὰ τοὺς ἄνω χρόνους βασιλεὺς τῆς Νουμιδίας, Ῥωμαίοις γεγονὼς πιστὸς σύμμαχος. Τούτῳ παῖδες γίνονται Μασθανάβαλλός τε καὶ Γολούσσας καὶ τρίτος Μιχίψας. Τελευτησάντων δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων νέων ἔτι, Μιχίψας χρόνοις ὕστερον τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέχεται. Γενομένοις δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δύω παισὶ Ἀδερβάλλῳ τε καὶ Ἱεμψάλῳ τὸ τῆς Νουμιδίας παραπέμπει τούτοις κράτος, συνάρχοντα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶν ἀποφήνας τουτονὶ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν, Μασθαναβάλλου μὲν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα τυγχάνοντα, τεχθέντα δὲ ἐκ παλλακίδος. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰουγούρθας, τοῦ θείου μεταστάντος, οὐκ ἀγαπήσας τὴν οἰκείαν τῆς βασιλείας μοῖραν ἐπιβουλεύει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀδέρβαλλον, ἅμα τῷ παππῴῳ καὶ πατρῴῳ κλήρῳ καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιάν τε

Fr. 94 = fr. 63 M = fr. 140 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 13 | P (f. 102^{v}) S (f. 111^{v}) Fr. 95 = fr. 64 M = fr. 142 R; Cramer 1841, ii 13ff., Droysen 1879, 81f. | P (f. 102^{v}-f. 103^{v}) S (f. 111^{v}-f. 112^{v})

Fr. 94: fontem non inveni Fr. 95: Eutr. 4.26.2-4.27.4; 106.2 Ὁ γοῦν – 106.6 παραλαμβάνων: Plut. *Sulla* 3.8sq.

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9 Νασικᾶ Müller 1851 : ἄσικα P : νασίκα S^2 Καλαβιστίου PS de Boor 1905 : Καλπουρνίου Βεστίου Müller 1851 Roberto 2005 **11** Νουμιδῶν Müller 1851 : νουμίδων S : s. acc. P **14** Γολούσσας Cramer 1841 : γολουσσὰς S : s. acc. P μιχίψας S : μιψίχας P : Μικίψας Müller 1851 **17** Ἱεμψάλῳ Müller 1851 : ἰεμψαδω PS τούτοις Müller 1851 : τούτῳ PS **20** ἰγουρθὰς P

94

At this time there was an uprising of the people and Scipio Africanus[1] was exiled from the city; he lost his wife and his virgin daughter and was also stripped of his house and his property: one part of it was consumed by fire and the other plundered and destroyed by the people; by a decree of the senate not a small portion of it was restored to him out of public funds.

95

In the consulship of Publius Scipio surnamed Nasica and [Lucius] Calpurnius Bestia, the Romans again crossed over to Libya to fight Jugurtha, a Numidian potentate. The reason for the hostilities with Jugurtha was as follows. Many years before Masinissa had been the King of Numidia and a faithful ally of the Romans. He had three children: Mastanabal, Gulussa and, the third, Micipsa. Because the first two had died while still young, Micipsa inherited the kingdom after some time. He left it to his two children, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and appointed this Jugurtha a co-ruler, the son of his brother Mastanabal, but born from a concubine. When his uncle died, Jugurtha, who was not content with his portion of the kingdom, formed a plot against Adherbal and his retinue, who enjoyed the good-will and friendship of the Roman people which they had

1 Müller (1851, 560 n.) remarks, "Haec si de Scipione Africano Joannes narravit, hariolatus est. Probabiliter hoc quoque loco intelligendus est Scipio Nasica pontifex, qui quum ob necem Tiberii in odium multitudinis incurrissent, in Asiam legatus abiit, ubi haud ita multo post mortuus est."

καὶ φιλίαν διαδεξαμένοις, καὶ διαφθείρας τοὺς ἄνδρας αὐτὸς ἁπάσης παρανόμως ἐκράτει τῆς Νουμιδίας. Ἐδόκει δὴ οὖν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ περιορᾶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνέκαθεν φίλων τε καὶ συμμάχων συμφοράν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμύνειν πάσῃ δυνάμει. Καὶ δὴ στρατεύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἅτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ⟨Βισ⟩τίας προστάττεται· ὃς τοῖς δώροις τοῦ Ἰουγούρθου διαφθαρεὶς ἐς διαλλαγὰς αἰσχράς τε καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἀναξίας ἀφίκετο. Ταύτας οὖν διαλῦσαν καὶ ἀκύρους εἶναι ψηφισάμενον τὸ συνέδριον ἀπαλλάττει τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Βιστίαν, ἡγεμόνα δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Σπόριον Ποστούμιον Ἀλβῖνον ἀποδείκνυσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀμαθῶς τε καὶ λίαν ἀσθενῶς διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσεπολέμησεν ἥττων τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων γενόμενος, τρίτον Κόιντον Κεκίλιον Μέτελλον τὸν ὕπατον ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει πόλεμον. Ὃς ἀφικόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν διεφθαρμένην ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἡγησαμένων φρονήματι γενναίῳ καὶ μετρίᾳ τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων ἐπανορθώσει πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐπανήγαγε κόσμον, οὐδὲν ἀπηνὲς οὐδὲ πικρὸν ἐς οὐδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων εἰργασμένος· τὸν δὲ Ἰουγούρθαν συχναῖς ἐταπείνωσε μάχαις, πόλεις τῶν Νουμιδῶν πολλὰς κατὰ κράτος ἐξελὼν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν διαφθείρας, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας χειρωσάμενος. Οὐ πόρρω γοῦν ἀπέχων τοῦ τέλους τῶν πραττομένων, παρελύθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, Γαΐου Μαρίου τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ὁ Μάριος κρατεῖ μὲν ἀντιταξαμένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Μαυρουσίων, πόλεις δὲ καὶ οὗτός τινας τῶν Νουμιδῶν καθελὼν ἐς πέρας εὐτυχὲς δι᾽ ὀλίγου τοῦ παντὸς ἀγῶνος ἀφίκετο, ἑλὼν ὑπὸ χεῖρα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐναντίων, προδοθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ Μαυρουσίου συμμάχου τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἀχθέντα δὲ αἰχμάλωτον ὑπὸ Κορνηλίου Σύλλου, ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου τε καὶ γενναίου τὰ πολεμικά. Ὁ γάρ τοι Βόκχος τιθασσευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ λόγου πρὸς εὔνοιαν ὑπαχθεὶς τὸν μὲν Ἰουγούρθαν καταφυγόντα μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν ὡς αὐτόν, καίτοι γαμβρὸν ὄντα, σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις ἀφικομένῳ τῷ Σύλλᾳ δίδωσιν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἵλετο. Οὕτως ἄρα λόγος

1 διαδεξαμένοις Müller 1851 : διαδεξάμενος PS **3** ἀνέκαθεν S : κάθεν P πάσῃ Cramer 1841 : πᾶσα P : πᾶσαι S **4** Βισ inserui : Βεστίας Müller 1851 Roberto 2005 : τίας P : ἐτίας S **7** ψηφισάμενον Cramer 1841 : ψηφισαιμενον P : ψηφῖσαι μένον S **11** Κόιντον Müller 1851 : ἴσως κύντον in mg. S^2 : καύτον PS βεβίλιον S : κεκίλιον S^2 corr. et S^3 in mg. rep. **23** ἀγῶνες S **24** τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ deest in P **28** Ἰουγούρθα S **29** ἀφικομένῳ S de Boor 1905 : ἀφικομενως P : ἀφικόμενος Müller 1851

inherited from their father and grandfather. Jugurtha killed these men and came into unlawful possession of the whole of Numidia. The people of Rome decided not to overlook the misfortunes of those who had always been their friends and allies but to succour them with all their strength. One of the consuls, Bestia, was put in charge of the military operations, but Jugurtha corrupted him with bribes and made with him a dishonourable truce, unworthy of the Roman army. The senate voted to annul the truce and to relieve Bestia of his command. Spurius Postumius Albinus was appointed general for the following year of the war. After he, too, fought the enemy without competence and vigour through his brother[1] and succumbed to the king's money, the consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus was the third to be sent to this war. Upon arrival he found the army corrupted by the incompetence of the previous commanders, but with noble determination and through moderate rectification of mistakes he was able to restore Roman discipline to the army without doing anything cruel or inhuman to any of his subordinates. He humiliated Jugurtha in various battles, captured many of the Numidian cities by force, and killed or caught alive many of his elephants. Just when he was about to bring the war to a conclusion, he was relieved of his command and succeeded by Gaius Marius. Marius took command of the army and won a victory over the Mauretanian forces of King Jugurtha that met him in battle; he too captured many Numidian cities and quickly brought the war to a fortunate end by seizing the enemy king, who was betrayed to the enemy by Bocchus, his Mauretanian ally, and taken prisoner by Cornelius Sulla, a brave and resolute warrior. In fact, Sulla gained Bocchus' confidence and won him over by friendly arguments with the result that, when Jugurtha fled to Bocchus after the defeat, the latter, even though he was Jugurtha's father-in-law, let Sulla, who had arrived with a few soldiers, seize him and embraced the cause of the Romans. Therefore moderate and friendly arguments can some-

[1] In 110 B.C. Sp. Postumius Albinus returned to Rome leaving his brother Aulus in charge of the campaign.

μέτριος καὶ φιλοφροσύνη μείζονα πολλάκις τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν πολυανθρώπων καθώρθωσε στρατοπέδων. Ὁ γοῦν Σύλλας ἐπὶ τούτων μεγαλαυχούμενος καὶ πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν οἰκειούμενος ἐς τοῦτο προῆλθε φιλοτιμίας, ὡς ἐντυπῶσαι δακτυλίῳ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως· ἐνεγέγλυπτο γὰρ ὁ μὲν Βόκχος παραδιδούς, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν παραλαμβάνων· ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ καὶ φθονεῖν ἀδήλως ὁ Μάριος ἤρξατο.

96

EI 27 Ὅτι Τρύφων τὸν βασιλέα Συρίας Ἀντίοχον, οὗ μικρὸν πρόσθεν σύμμαχος ἐγεγόνει, διεχρήσατο δόλῳ· αὐτός τε τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων διαφθείρεται. Κρατεῖ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σιδήτης, Δημητρίου μὲν παῖς τοῦ προτέρου γεγονώς, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου Δημητρίου.

Fr. 96 = fr. 65 M = fr. 143 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 15 | P (f. 103v) S (f. 112v)

Fr. 96: fontem non inveni

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9 οὗ P : οὐ S

times achieve more than weapons and a numerous army. Sulla was very proud of his accomplishments and attributed the success of the operation against Jugurtha entirely to himself. His love of distinction even induced him to make a ring depicting the event: on it Bocchus was handing over Jugurtha, and he, Sulla, was receiving him. On this account Marius began to bear a grudge and secretly grew envious of Sulla.

96

Tryphon treacherously murdered the king of Syria Antiochus, whose ally he had been a short time before; having succeeded him to the throne he was immediately slain by the Syrians. Antiochus Sidetes took power, the son of a previous ruler Demetrius, and brother of the second Demetrius.

97

EI 28 Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σιδήτης ἐπίκλην, ὁ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ πορθήσας Συρίας βασιλεύς, Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ Παρθυαίων δυνάστῃ προσπολεμήσας ἀναιρεῖται ἐνάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνιαυτῷ, Σέλευκος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου αὖθις ἐπανελθόντος καθαιρεῖται τῆς ἐξουσίας καταφεύγει τε πρὸς τὸν Παρθυαῖον, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα λαβὼν μένει κατὰ τὴν χώραν. Σκυθῶν δὲ τότε τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ τὴν Ἀρσάκου βασιλείαν ληιζομένων, αὐτός τε ὁ Παρθυαῖος κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρειληφὼς ὑπόφορος γίνεται Σκύθαις. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἥκων πολύ τε πλῆθος ἀκοντιστῶν ἐπαγόμενος Δημητρίῳ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπολέμει· ἐπὶ πολύ τε αὐτοῖς τῆς μάχης ἐκτεινομένης, φεύγει Δημήτριος εἰς Τύρον, καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται ἔτη δ' τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολαύσας. Συνδιαφθείρεται δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ τὴν Δαμασκὸν καὶ ὁ παῖς Σέλευκος ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μητρὸς δολοφονηθεὶς Ἀπάμης.

Fr. 97 = fr. 66 M = fr. 144 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 15 | P (f. 103v-f. 104r) S (f. 112v)

Fr. 97: fontem non inveni

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3 Ἀρσάκῃ τῷ Müller 1851 : Ἀρσάκῃ τῶν Cramer 1841 : ἀρσακητῶς PS **5** αὖθις in textu om. S add. in mg. S[2] **9** τοῦτον S[1] : τούτων PS

97

Antiochus surnamed Sidetes, the king of Syria who had pillaged Jerusalem, was killed in the ninth year of his reign while he was waging war against Arsaces, the ruler of the Parthians. Seleucus succeeded him to the throne, but was in turn attacked by Demetrius, deposed and fled to the Parthian [king], and having married his daughter remained in that country. While the Scythians were overrunning Mesopotamia at this time and devastating the kingdom of Arsaces, the Parthian [king] himself fell in the war and his successor had to pay tribute to the Scythians. The elder Alexander came from Arabia with a large troop of javelin-throwers and attacked Demetrius in Syria. After a prolonged struggle Demetrius fled to Tyre, was captured and put to death, having stayed in power for four years. Together with him perished his son Seleucus, who fell victim to the treachery of his own mother Apame in Damascus.[1]

[1] Müller 1851, 561n. remarks, "Hoc falsum est. Apame uxor fuit Seleuci Nicatoris; Demetrius vero Nicator duxerat Cleopatrem, Ptolemaei Philometoris f.; quae filium suum Seleucum necavit (an. 125)."

98

Cod. Iv. 812 **1** [κατα]στρέφει. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον Ἡρώδης ταύτην ἀναστήσας τὴν πόλιν, Σεβαστὴν ὀνομάζει· ὅ τε τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος Νικομήδει τῷ [Μονώδοντι] πολεμήσας ἐκράτησε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν [Ῥωμαίους] ἐπικαλεσάμενος ἀνέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἄτταλος δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ [μητέρα Ἀπολλωνι]άδα μεταλλάξασαν κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον ἱερὸν Περγ[άμου κατέ]θετο, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐδείματο, τήν τε γεί[τονα λίμνην αὐτῇ] προσωνόμασεν αὐτός τε τὸν βίον μεταλλάττει, τῆς Π[υθ]ίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ πληρωθείσης, ἥτις Ἀττάλῳ [τῷ] μεγάλ[ῳ] [χρηστ]ηριαζομένῳ προεφήτευσε τάδε· «Τούτων γε μὴν οὐκέτι παῖδες»· εἴρηται γὰρ [ἡ] τοῦ γένους τούτων διαδοχὴ κατὰ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν συγγραφήν.

Fr. 98 = fr. 145 R; Lampros 1904, 7-31, Trivolis 1941, 169-181, Walton 1965, 238, 241, 244, Zusi 1989, 19-37 | Cod. Iviron 812 (f. 3r-f. 6v et f. 11r-f. 14v)

Fr. 98.1: fontem non inveni

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2 κατα suppl. Lampros 1904 **3** Σεβαστὴν Lampros 1904 : σεβαστον I_{GK} **4** Μονόδοντι suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 3416 : μ.ν.δ[...] I_K **5** Ῥωμαίους suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 3416 : [...] I_{GK} **6** μητέρα Ἀπολλωνιάδα suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 3416 : [...]άδα I_K : [...]δα I_G **7** Περγάμου κατέθετο suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 3416 : περγ[...]θετο I_K : πρὸς[...] I_G γείτονα – αὐτῇ suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 3416 : γει[...]αὐτ[...] I_K **8** μεταλλάττει Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 3416 : μεταλλάττει I_K : μεταλλάττετο I_G τῆς Πυθίας suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 4316 : τῆς π[...]ίας I_{GK} : τῆς προφητείας τῆς Πυθίας coni. Dragoumis 1904, 495 **9** τῷ μεγάλῳ suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 4316 : [...]μεγάλ[...] I_K χρηστηριαζομένῳ suppl. Lampros 1904 e *Suda* α 4316 : [...]ηριαζομένω I_{GK} προεφήτευσε I_K : προεστάτευσε I_G **10** post τάδε· verba θάρσει, Ταυρόκερως, ἕξεις βασιληΐδα τιμήν, καὶ παίδων παῖδες e *Suda* α 4316 add. Roberto 2005 παῖδες I_K: παίδων I_G ἡ τοῦ scripsit Lampros 1904 : [...]του I_K

Fr. 98.1: 3 ὅ τε τῆς – 8 προσωνόμασεν *Suda* α 3416 Ὅτι Ἄτταλος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, Νικομήδει τῷ Μονόδοντι πολεμήσας ἐκράτησε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλεσάμενος ἀνέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἄτταλος δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα Ἀπολλωνιάδα μεταλλάξασαν κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον ἱερὸν Περγάμου κατέθετο, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐδείματο, τήν τε γείτονα λίμνην αὐτῇ προσωνόμασεν. | 8 αὐτός τε – 10 παῖδες *Suda* α 4316, 399.17-20 Ὅτι Ἄτταλος, ὁ Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνήρ, βασιλεὺς Ἀσίας, μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον, πληρωθείσης ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς Πυθίας, ἥτις χρηστηριαζομένη Ἀττάλῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἔφη· θάρσει, Ταυρόκερως, ἕξεις βασιληΐδα τιμήν, καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τούτων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

98

1 "…destroys.[1] Not long afterwards,[2] however, Herod re-established the city and named it Sebaste. And Attalus,[3] king of Asia, made war upon Nicomedes Monodous[4] and took possession of his country. But Nicomedes, calling in the Romans to aid him, recovered his power. Attalus, on the death of his mother Apollonias, buried her in the chief sanctuary of Pergamum, which he himself had built, and named the adjacent lake after her; and he himself died, the Pythia's oracle being fulfilled in him, which she had foretold to Attalus when he consulted the oracle, namely: "But their children no longer." The succession to their dynasty has already been reported in the preceding narrative."[5]

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1 The text refers to the destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus in 107 B.C.

2 The restoration of Samaria by Herod the Great in 30 B.C.

3 As explained in Walton (1965, 239f.), the three references to Attalus in this passage need not be understood as referring to one and the same person. The identity of (i) Attalus who was victorious over Nicomedes Monodous is not certain; (ii) Attalus who honoured his mother Apollonias (or Apollonis) must be Attalus II, and (iii) Attalus, whose death put an end to the dynasty, is Attalus III.

4 Nicomedes "Monodous" is not otherwise attested, *see* Walton (1965, 239). Lampros (1905, 173) identified him with Nicomedes II. The discussion of the passage in Walton (1965, 240), however, rejects this identification.

5 I quote the translation by Walton (1965, 239).

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ Δ′

2 Μικρῷ γε μὴν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰουγούρθαν πολέμου κατὰ τὴν Νουμιδίαν συνεστηκότος, Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος καὶ Κόιντος Σκηπίων ὑπὸ Κίμβρων τε καὶ Τευτόνων καὶ Τιγουρίνων ἔτι τε καὶ Ἀμβρώνων, ἐθνῶν Γαλατικῶν καὶ Γερμανικῶν, κατηγωνίσθησαν, πλησίον Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα στησάμενοι· ἐπὶ [δὲ μ]εγίστοις τε παθήμασι καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθορᾷ τὸν χάρακα διαρπασθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποβάλλουσι. Τῆς γοῦν ἀγγελίας ταύτης ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικομένης, μεῖζον δέος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπεσεν ἢ πρὶν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβα καιροῖς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πολέμῳ· ὑπόμνησις γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῆς πόλεως πάθους καὶ δ[έος] μὴ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλασθῆναι ἐπαρθέντες τοῖς προτερήμασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Ἄρτι τοιγαροῦν τὸν Μάριον ἐκ τῆς Νουμιδίας ἐπανήκοντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε κατορθωμάτων γεγενημένον, δεύτερον ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατ[είαν] ἐκάλουν, στρατηγόν τε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Κίμβρους ἀπέφαινον πολέμου. **3** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδας ὁ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγὼν ἀπεμηκύνετο, [μετέω]ρα μὲν τὰ τῆς ἡγ[εμονί]ας οὐ κατέλιπον, Μαρίῳ δὲ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην ὑπατείαν προσετίθεσαν. Ὁ δὲ ἅμα * * *την ἡγεμονίαν συνάρχοντι Κύντ[ῳ] Λ[ουτατίῳ] Κατούλῳ δεύτερον συμπεσὼν τοῖς ἐναντίοις κ′ [μὲν ἀποκτείνει μυρι]άδας, ὀκτακισχιλίων δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττονας αἰχμαλώτους ἄγει, αἱρεῖ τε ζωγρήσας καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν [πολεμίων Τευτόβο]δον. Ἐφ' οἷς [γαυρι]ῶν τε καὶ μέγας εἰκότως παρὰ

Fr. 98.2: Eutr. 5.1.1-3 Fr. 98.3: Eutr. 5.1.1-4

6 ἐπὶ δὲ μεγίστοις scripsit Lampros 1904 : ἐπὶ [. . .]εγίστοις I_K **11** πάθους Lampros 1904 : πλήθους I_{GK} δέος suppl. Lampros 1904 **12** ἐλασθῆναι I : ἐλάσωσιν in app. coni. Lampros 1904 **13** ἐπανήκοντα Lampros 1904 I_K : ἐξανήκοντα I_G **15** ὑπατείαν suppl. Lampros 1904 : ὑπατ[. . .] I_K **17** μετέωρα suppl. Lampros 1904 : [. . .]ρα I_G : ἑτέρα I_K ἡγεμονίας suppl. Lampros 1904 : ἡγ[. . .]ας I_{GK} κατέλειπον coni. Dragoumis 1904, 495 Μαρίῳ Lampros 1904 : Μάρκω I_{GK} **18** τρίτην Lampros 1904 : ταυτην I_K καὶ τετάρτην Lampros 1904 : τεπρώτην I_{GK} [. . .]την I_{GK} : τῷ τὴν τετάρτην Lampros 1904 ex Eutr. vers. Paeanii : τῷ τὴν πρώτην Roberto 2005 secutus Bernardinello, cf. Zusi 1989, 20 n. 1 **19** Κύντῳ Λουτατίῳ suppl. Lampros 1904 ex Eutr. vers. Paeanii : κύντ[. . .]λ[. . .] I_{GK} **20** κ′ – μυριάδας suppl. Lampros 1904 : κ[. . .] I_{GK} **22** πολεμίων Τευτόβοδον suppl. Lampros 1904 ex Eutr. vers. Paeanii : [. . .]δον I_{GK} γαυριῶν suppl. Lampros 1904 : [. . .]ῶν I_{GK}

Fourth Book of Consuls

2 A short time before the war against Jugurtha began in Numidia, the Roman consuls Marcus Aemilius and Quintus Caepio had been defeated in a battle near the River Rhône by the Gallic and German tribes of the Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini and Ambrones; and after much suffering and the destruction of a large part of their army they lost their camp, which was sacked by the enemy. When this news reached Rome, the consternation that pervaded its inhabitants was greater than in the past, in the time of Hannibal, during the war against Carthage: the Romans were reminded of the past suffering of the city and feared that the barbarians, elated by their success, would again come upon Rome. Therefore they made Marius consul a second time – he had just returned from Numidia and had become popular on the account of his success there – and appointed him general in the war against the Cimbri. **3** Because the war against the barbarians had become protracted contrary to all expectations, the Romans did not want did not want to leave an interval between commands and so conferred the consulship on him for a third and for a fourth time. . . . with Quintus Lutatius Catulus,[1] he engaged the enemy for a second time, killed 200,000 men, took no less than eight thousand prisoners[2] and captured the enemy's commander, Teutobodus.

1 This passage presents some difficulties. The source, Eutropius 5.1.4 refers to the fourth consulship of Marius: sed in quarto consulatu collegam habuit Q. Lutatium Catulum. The Greek text has a lacuna, which was filled by Lampros from the the source Eutropius, but is quite unsatisfactory, as it reads as referring to the fourth consulship of Catulus, which is historically incorrect. The emendation proposed in Zusi 1989, 20, n. 1 is superficial: apparently Zusi did not pay attention to the Greek ἡγεμονία, which he simply translated as ὑπατεία: "Egli insieme con Quinto Lutazio Catulo, che esercitava con lui il primo *consolato*, piombato per. . . " Zusi (1989, 39). This mistake was corrected in the translation by Roberto (2005): ". . . insieme a Quinto Lutazio Catulo, che esercitava con lui il suo primo *comando*. . . " However, I see no reason to suppose that John of Antioch was informed of the fact that it was the first consulship of Catulus when he wrote this text based on the account in Eutropius that does not contain any trace of this information and consider the emendation unfounded. Therefore I have decided to leave the lacuna in the Greek text. The most reasonable guess as to what the corrupted part of the sentence could have contained is what its source has, i.e.: "In his fourth consulship, which he shared with Quintus Lutatius Catulus. . . "

2 The main source, i.e. Eutropius, speaks of 80,000 prisoners.

τοῖς οἴκοι Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενος π[έ]μπτ[ον] ὕπατος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τυγχάνων ἔτι πρὸς τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεδείκνυτο. **4** Οὐ μὴν οἱ βάρβαροι μετὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς σφίσι πάθος ἡσυχίαν ἤγαγον, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες τῶν οἰκείων ἐθνῶν πανστρατιᾷ Κίμβροι τε καὶ Τεύτονες, ὧν ἔτι πολὺ πλῆθος κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολέλειπτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν ὅπλοις ἐρρύησαν. Ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν στρατηγῶν αὖθις Γαΐου τε Μαρίου καὶ Κύντου Κατούλου πανσυδὶ διεφθάρησαν. δʹ μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα μυριάδες μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν πίπτουσιν, ἑξακισμύριοι δὲ ζῶντες ἁλίσκονται, τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ πέρα τριακοσίων ζημιωθείσης σωμάτων. Οἵ γε μὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Κατούλῳ ταττόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτυχέστερον ἐπεπράγεισαν, ἑνὸς και λʹ κιμβρικῶν σημείων κρατήσαντες, οἳ καὶ τὸ [γέρας ἀνελέσθαι] τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔδοξαν, τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρίῳ στρατιωτῶν δύο μόνα σημεῖα κομισαμένων. **5** Αἴτιος δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κάτουλον Σύλλας ἔδοξε γεγενῆσθαι τῆς ἀριστείας. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπεχθῶς ἔχειν τὸν Μάριον ᾔσθετο καὶ οὐκέτι προϊέμενον ἀφορμὰς πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνιστάμενον αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐξήσει Κατούλῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ὑφ' [οὗ δὴ] μεγίστας τε καὶ ἐπιφανεστέρας πιστευόμενος πράξεις [καὶ] εὐτυχῶν ἐν ἁπά[σαις ἐπιτυχεστέραν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ] μοῖραν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέφηνε. Τοῦτο ⟨τὸ⟩ πέρας τοῦ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς ἐσχηκότος πολέμου, ἀμφοτέροις ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπ[ινίκιον κατα]γαγεῖν πομπὴν ἐψηφίσατο. **6** Μετὰ δὲ [τὸν πόλεμον] ὑπάτων ἀποδεδειγμένων Σέξτου Ἰουλίου Καί[σαρος καὶ Λουκί]ου Φιλίππου μετα[βολὴ] ἐγεγόνει τῇ Ῥώμῃ, [οὔσης] ἡσυχίας δὲ βεβαίας κα-

Fr. 98.4: Eutr. 5.2.1-2 Fr. 98.5: Plut. *Sulla* 4.3, Eutr. 5.2.2 Fr. 98.6: Eutr. 5.3.1-4

1 πέμπτον suppl. Lampros 1904 : π[…]μπτ[…] I_{G} **3** ἤγαγον coni. Vogiatzidis 1905, 504 : ἠγάπων Lampros 1904 **4** ἐθνῶν I : ἑστιῶν in app. coni. Lampros 1904 : ἐθῶν coni. Chatzidakis 1904, 244 **5** ἀπολέλειπτο I_{GK} : ἀπελέλειπτο Lampros 1904 **9** ὑπὸ Lampros 1904 : ἐπὶ I_{GK} **10** ἐπεπράγεισαν Lampros 1904 : ἐπεπράγησαν I_{GK} **11** γέρας ἀνελέσθαι Lampros 1904 : […] I_{GK} **12** ἀγῶνος Lampros 1904: αιῶνος incert. I_{K} μόνα I : μόνον Lampros 1904 **15** καὶ om. Lampros 1904 **16** οὗ δὴ suppl. Lampros 1904 : […] I_{GK} **17** καὶ suppl. Lampros 1904 : […] I_{GK} ἁπάσαις ἐπιτυχεστέραν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ Dragoumis 1904, 495 : ἁπάσαις Lampros 1904 : ἁπά[…] I_{GK} **18** τὸ add. Kambylis **20** ἐπινίκιον καταγαγεῖν suppl. Lampros 1904 : ἐπ[…]συναγαγεῖν incert. I_{K} Μετὰ δὲ incert. I_{K} τὸν πόλεμον suppl. Lampros 1904 : […] I_{GK} **21** Καίσαρος καὶ Λουκίου suppl. Lampros 1904 ex Eutr. vers. Paeanii : και[…]νουλίου I_{K} **22** μεταβολὴ suppl. Lampros 1904 : μετα[…] I_{K} οὔσης suppl. Lampros 1904 : […] I_{GK}

Proud of his achievements, he gained influence, as was to be expected, among the Romans at home and was made consul by the senate for a fifth time while he was still in camp.[1] **4** The barbarians did not keep quiet after the defeat they had suffered: the Cimbri and Teutones, who still remained in large numbers in their home region, rose up with the whole army from their territories and invaded Italy. Again they were utterly defeated by the same generals, Gaius Marius and Quintus Catulus. 140,000 soldiers fell in battle, sixty thousand were taken alive; the Roman army suffered losses of not more than three hundred men. The Romans led by Catulus performed more successfully in battle: they had captured thirty-one standards of the Cimbri and, as it seemed, carried off the prize in the battle; Marius' soldiers had taken only two. **5** To those around Catulus, Sulla seemed to be the cause of this success. Perceiving that Marius was vexed with him and that he was no longer giving him opportunities for action but opposed his advancement, Sulla had attached himself to Catulus; by him he was entrusted with the most important enterprises and, having succeeded in all of them, he rendered more successful the part of the army under his command. Because this brought to an end the war waged against the Germans, the senate decreed a triumphal procession for both consuls. **6** After the war, in the consulship of Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Philippus an upheaval took place in Rome: at a time of secure peace almost everywhere in the Roman Em-

[1] *See* the account in Plut. *Mar.* 22.1-4

τὰ [πᾶσαν σχε]δὸν τὴν ῾Ρώ[μην], κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ταύτην ἀδοκήτω[ς βαρ]ύτατος ἀνήφθη πόλεμος. Πικηνοὶ γὰρ καὶ Μάρσιοι καὶ Πελιγνοὶ πάλαι ῾Ρωμαίων ὄντες κατήκοοι τότε πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν ἐπεθύμησαν ἀχθέντες, ὑπέρ τε τούτων ῾Ρωμαίοις ἀμφισβητεῖν ἀρξάμενοι ὀλεθρίων τε καὶ πολλῶν καταστάντα κακῶν αἴτιον ἐξάγουσι πόλεμον. ῾Ρουτίλιός τε γὰρ ὕπατος ἐν τούτῳ κτείνεται καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ Σκηπίων νέος ἐπιφανὴς Πόρκιός τε Κάτων ἕτερος τῶν τὴν ὑπάτην ἀρξάντων ἀρχήν. ῾Ηγεμόνες δὲ τῆς πρὸς ῾Ρωμαίους μάχης Πικηνοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς συναποστᾶσιν ἦσαν οἵδε· Τίτιος Βήττιος καὶ ῾Ιέριος Ἀσίνιος, Τίτος ῾Ερέννιος καὶ Αὖλος Κλουέντιος, οἷς ἄριστα ῾Ρωμαίων στρατηγοὶ προσεπολέμησαν Μάριος ἕκτον κατὰ τοῦτο γεγονὼς ὕπατος καὶ Γναῖος Πομπήιος, μάλιστα δὲ δὴ πάντων Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, ὃς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ἀνδραγαθήμασι τέλος οὕτως εὐτυχῆ νίκην ἀνείλετο, ὡς Κλουέντιον μὲν τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐναντίων μετὰ δυνάμεως μεγάλης τοῖς πεδίοις ἐκχέαι, τῶν γε μὴν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλεῖν ἕνα. Τεtραετῆ μὲν οὖν τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλαῖς τῆς τύχης τροπαῖς καὶ παθήμασι μεγάλοις ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους εἱστήκει ῾Ρωμαίοις ἀγών. Πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ * * * Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ὑποκῦψαι ῾Ρωμαίοις τοὺς ἀποστάτας ἠνάγκασε πέρ[ας τε τότ᾿ ἐν]τελὲς τῇ κινήσει τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπέθηκε, κατὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀποδειχθεὶς ὕπατος. ῾Ως γὰρ δὴ πρότερον αὐ[τοῦ Σύλ]λ[α] κατὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀριστείᾳ, [καὶ νῦν αὖθις] ἐπονήθησαν.

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1 πᾶσαν σχεδὸν suppl. Lampros 1904 e Paean. : [. . .]δον I_{GK} ῾Ρώμην suppl. Lampros 1904 : ῥώ[. . .] I_{GK} : ῾Ρωμαίων suppl. Vasis 1906, 125 ᾿Ιταλίαν I Lampros 1904 Vogiatzidis 1905, 504 : αἰτίαν coni. Dragoumis 1904, 496 ᾿Ιταλίαν αὐτὴν coni. Vasis 1906, 125 ἀδοκήτως βαρύτατος suppl. Lampros 1904 e τῷ βαρὺς Paeanii : ἀδοκέτω[. . .]ωτατος I_{GK} **2** Μαρσοί in app. coni. Lampros 1904 **3** πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν ἐπεθύμησαν † ἀχθέντες† Lampros 1904 : πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ αὐτονομίαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἀναφθέντες Dragoumis 1904, 496 : πρὸς ἐλευθερίας καὶ αὐτονομίας ἐπιθυμίαν ἀχθέντες Vasis 1906, 125 **6** Σκηπίων I_{GK} : Κηπίων in app. coni. Lampros 1904 e versione Paeanii **9** Τίτιος Βήττιος Lampros 1904 : τῖτος κ[. . .]ν[. . .]τιος I_{GK} Τίτος ῾Ερέννιος Lampros 1904 ex Eutrop. : τιλιγέννιος I_{GK} **10** Αὖλος I_{K} : οὗτος I_{G} in mg. στρατηγοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ γενναιοτάτους I^{1}_{GK} **11** ἕκτον Lampros 1904 : ἐκ τῶν I_{GK} **18** post ἐνιαυτῷ lacuna I : verbum Λούκιος suppl. Dragoumis 1904, 496 **19** πέρας τε τότ᾿ ἐντελὲς suppl. Lampros 1904: [. . .]έρ[. . .]τελὲς I_{K} : πέρας τε ἐς τὸ παντελὲς coni. Dragoumis 1904, 496 **20** αὐτοῦ Σύλλα suppl. Lampros 1904 : αὐ[. . .]λ[. . .] I_{GK} : αὐτῷ νῦν Σύλλᾳ coni. Dragoumis 1904, 496 **21** καὶ νῦν αὖθις suppl. Lampros 1904 : [. . .] I_{K} : βουλῆς ψήφῳ coni. Dragoumis 1904, 496

pire, a most grievous war was kindled unexpectedly in Italy. The Picentes, Marsi and Peligni, who had been subjects of the Romans for a long time, in their distress longed for freedom and autonomy, and began to disagree with the Romans for this reason and started a war that brought about many a death and much evil. In fact, the consul Rutilius was killed in it, and in addition to him, Caepio, a distinguished young man, and Porcius Cato, the other of the consuls. The leaders of the Picentes and their fellow-rebels in the fight against the Romans were the following: Titus Vettius, Hierius Asinius, Titus Herennius and Aulus Cluentius. The Roman generals who fought well against them were Marius, who had become consul on this occasion for the sixth time, and Gnaeus Pompey, but especially Cornelius Sulla, who in addition to his other brave deeds throughout the entire war finally won such a successful victory that he put to rout Cluentius, the enemy general, together with his large forces and lost only one of his own soldiers. With many changes of fortune and serious disasters the war of the Romans against their subject allies lasted for four years. In the fifth year, however, … Cornelius Sulla forced the rebels to yield to the Romans, thus putting a final end to the uprising of their subjects; on this account he was made consul for the first time. Just as they had done in the past during the same war, now again they suffered greatly on account of Sulla's excellence.[1]

[1] This is the most likely meaning of the Greek. It is also possible to suppose that this phrase is a corrupt rendering of the Eutropian words *cum antea in eodem bello ipse multa strenue, sed praetor, egisset. See* Zusi 1989, 63.

7 Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἐμφύλιος ἀνήφθη πόλεμος β′ καὶ ξ′ καὶ χ′ [ἔτει, βραχὺ] μετὰ τὸν ἀν [. . .] θ [. . .] καθ᾽ ὃ ἡ π[ρὸς Μιθρι]δάτην ἤρξατο Ῥωμαίοις ἀπ[έχθει]α. Ἐπισημῆναι δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν φορὰν ἄ[λλα τε] πολλὰ Λίβιός τε καὶ Διόδωρος ἱστόρησαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος ὀξὺν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντεις μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφήνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. Εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώ-

Fr. 98.7: 1 Ἐντεῦθεν – 3 ἀπ[έχθει]α: Eutr. 5.4.1; 3 Ἐπισημῆναι – 120.6 μέλοντες: Plut. *Sulla* 7.6-10 Cf. Walton (1965, 240-244)

1 in mg. τὸν ἐμφύλιον ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον I^{1}_{GK} ἀνήφθη Roberto 2005 e *Suda* σ 1337: ἀνεφάνη I ἔτει, βραχὺ suppl. Lampros 1904 : [. . .] I_{GK} : ἔτει suppl. Roberto 2005 **2** ἀν [. . .] θ [. . .] Lampros 1904 : ἀνοικισμὸν τῆς πόλεως suppl. Roberto 2005 καθ᾽ ὃ Lampros 1904 : καθὸ I_{GK} πρὸς Μιθριδάτην suppl. Lampros 1904 : π[. . .]δάτην I_{GK} **3** ἀπέχθεια suppl. Lampros 1904 : ἀπ[. . .]α I_K ἐπισημῆναι Lampros 1904 e *Suda* σ 1337 : ἐπισυμβῆναι I_K ἄλλα τε suppl. Lampros 1904 ex *EPl* 37 : ἄ[. . .] I_K

Fr. 98.7: 3 Ἐπισημῆναι – 120.7 παρίημι *Suda* σ 1337, 455.24-456.8 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Σύλλα τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ ἐμφύλιος Ῥωμαίων ἀνήφθη πόλεμος. ἐπισημῆναι δὲ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν φορὰν Λίβιός φησι καὶ Διόδωρος. ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος, ὀξὺν ἀποτεινούσης καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ δέους γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντεις μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφήνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων η′ γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. τῆς γοῦν προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἑτέρας ἐνισταμένης, κινεῖσθαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὃ δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι γεγόνασι καὶ θεοῖς ἧττον τῶν προτέρων μέλονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως πως ἔχει, σκοπεῖν παρίημι. | 3 ἄλλα τε πολλὰ – 120.6 μέλοντες *EPl* 37 Ὅτι μέλλοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου ἐγείρεσθαι πολέμου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Λίβιος καὶ Διόδωρος ἱστόρησαν, καὶ ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἦχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος, ὀξὺν ἀποτεινούσης [ἀποκτεινούσης K] καὶ θρηνώδη τὸν φθόγγον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἔκφρονας ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντεις μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφήνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀκτὼ γένη, διαφερόντων τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλήλων, ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ· τῆς δ᾽ οὖν προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης [τελευτησάσης M] καὶ ἑτέρας ἀνισταμένης, κινεῖσθαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ᾗ [ᾗ coni. Bekker 1849: ἢ codd.] δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι γεγόνασι χρώμενοι καὶ θεοῖς ἧττον τῶν προτέρων μέλοντες [μέλοντες coni. Bekker 1849 : μέλλοντες codd.].

7 At that time the civil war flared up, in the six hundred and sixty-second year, shortly after the ... the hostilities between the Romans and Mithridates began. Livy and Diodorus relate that the coming of the future evils was indicated, among other signs, by the mournful sound of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, that was heard coming out of a clear air and a cloudless sky. And that all those who heard it became deranged with fear; the Etruscan seers declared, however, that the prodigy portended a change of conditions and the advent of a new

πων ὀκτὼ γένη, διαφερόντων τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλήλων· ἑκάστῳ δὲ ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ. Τῆς δ' οὖν προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἑτέρας ἀνισταμένης κινεῖσθαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοὺ θαυμάσιον, ᾗ δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἄνθρωποι χρώμενοι γεγόνασι καὶ θεοῖς ἧττον τῶν προτέρων μέλοντες. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει, σκοπεῖν παρίημι, καίτοι λαβόντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγενομένων πιθανότητά τινα τοῦ λόγου. Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἐκ τοῦδε τὰ Ῥωμαίων λογιζομένῳ ἥ τε πολιτεία πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἅπασα μεταπέπτωκε καὶ ἄνθρωποι φαύλοις χρησάμενοι τρόποις ἤνθησαν. **8** Αἰτίαν δὲ τῇ πολιτικῇ κινήσει παρεῖχε Γάιος Μάριος, ἕκτον γεγονὼς ὕπατος. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ βουλὴ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου νεωτερισθέντων αἰσθομένη τήν τε Ἀσίαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατειληφότος, Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν τὸν ὕπατον ἡγεμόνα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου προεχειρίζετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, ἔτι τε τὸν

Fr. 98.8: 11 Αἰτίαν – 122.3 στρατηλασίας et 122.9 ἐπάγει – 122.16 ἐχώρει: Eutr. 5.4.2 et cf. Plut. *Sulla* 10.2; 122.3 καὶ προσλαβὼν – 122.9 διεξελθὼν cf. Plut. *Sulla* 8; 9.1

2 ἀφωρίσθαι Lampros 1904 e *Suda* σ 1337 et *EPl* 37 : ἀφορίσαι I_{GK} **4** ἀνισταμένης Walton 1965, 241 : ἀ[. . .]σταμένης I_{GK} : ἐνισταμένης Lampros 1904 e *Suda* σ 1337 ᾗ Walton 1965, 241 : ἢ I_{GK} : ᾧ Lampros 1904 e *Suda* σ 1337 **5** τοιαῦτα Lampros 1904 e *Suda* σ 1337 : τὰ αὐτὰ I_{GK} **8** in mg. ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο τὰ ῥωμαίων ἐλαττοῦσθαι I^{l}_{GK} **11** ἕκτον Lampros 1904 ex *EV* 17 : ἕκτος I **14** προεχειρίσατο Roberto 2005 ex *EV* 17

Fr. 98.8: *EV* 17 (= fr. 67 M) Ὅτι αἰτίαν τῇ πολιτικῇ κινήσει παρεῖχε Γάιος Μάριος, ἕκτον γεγονὼς ὕπατος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ βουλὴ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου νεωτερισθέντων αἰσθομένη τήν τε Ἀσίαν ἤδη καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατειληφότος, Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν τὸν ὕπατον ἡγεμόνα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου προεχειρίσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος κατὰ τὴν Καμπανίαν σὺν στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν, τὸν κινηθέντα τῶν συμμάχων πόλεμον καθιστάμενος, ἀναιρῶν δὲ ὅπερ ἦν τῆσδε τῆς ταραχῆς λείψανον, ὁ Μάριος ἐπιθυμήσας τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηλασίας καὶ προσλαβὼν Σουλπίκιον [Σουλπίκιον Valois 1634 : σούλπιον T] τὸν δήμαρχον, ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν καὶ μετὰ πάσης τόλμης καὶ ὠμότητος τὴν Ῥώμην ταράσσοντα, βιάζεται πλήθει καὶ ὅπλοις τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξαι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου πάροντα μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἀνελεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸς ἔφη τοῖς γινομένοις, παρῆκεν ἀπαθῆ. καὶ ὃς ἀφικόμενος αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διεξελθὼν ἐπάγει τῇ πόλει συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριον ἀντιταξαμένων πρῶτός τε Ῥωμαίων σὺν ὅπλοις ἐντὸς παρελθὼν τῆς πόλεως Σουλπίκιον μὲν τὸν δήμαρχον καταμηνυθέντα πρὸς τοῦ θεράποντος ἀποσφάττει, Μάριον δὲ φυγάδα τῆς πόλεως ***.

age. For there are eight ages of mankind, which differ from one another in their mode of life and customs; and to each of these god has appointed a definite time, which is measured by the revolution of a great year. At the end of the previous age and at the commencement of another some marvellous prodigy is sent from earth or heaven, so that it becomes immediately apparent to those who are versed in such subjects that men of other habits and modes of life have been born, who are of less concern to the gods than their predecessors were.[1] Whether this is the case or not, I cannot say,[2] even though this story gains some credence on account of the events that followed. The earnest student of Roman affairs from this time on will have the impression that the civil polity changed for the worse and that people of bad character flourished. **8** After becoming consul for the sixth time, Gaius Marius supplied the motive for political uproar. When the senate found out about the outrages committed by Mithridates who had already taken possession of Asia and Greece, it appointed consul Cornelius Sulla general in this campaign. While he was lingering in Campania with his troops, trying to end the Social War,

1 In this section we find a reference to the Etruscan doctrine of *saecula,* which is explained in Censorinus, *De die natali* 17.5-6. *See* Adler 1989, 52.

2 *See* Zusi (1989, 80), "uno dei rarissimi momenti in cui Giovanni si esprime in prima persona."

κινηθέντα μικρῷ πρόσθεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, τῶν συμμάχων πόλεμον καθιστάμενος, ἀναιρῶν τε ὅπερ ἦν τῆσδε τῆς ταραχῆς λείψανον, ὁ Μάριος ἐπιθυμήσας τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατηλασίας καὶ προσλαβὼν Σούλπιον τὸν δήμαρχον, ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν καὶ μετὰ πάσης τόλμης καὶ ὠμότητος τὴν ῾Ρώμην ταράττοντα, βιάζεται πλήθει καὶ ὅπλοις τὴν βουλὴν αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξαι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. Καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου παρόντα μικροῦ μέν, ᾗ φησι Πλούταρχος, ⟨ἐδέησεν⟩ ἀνελεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸς ἔφη τοῖς γινομένοις, παρῆκεν ἀπαθῆ. Καὶ ὃς ἀφικόμενος αὖθις πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διεξελθὼν ἐπάγει τῇ πόλει συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριον ἀντιταξαμένων, πρῶτός τε ῾Ρωμαίων σὺν ὅπλοις ἐντὸς παρελθὼν τῆς πόλεως, Σουλπίκιον μὲν τὸν δήμαρχον καταμηνυθέντα πρὸς τοῦ θεράποντος ἀποσφάττει, Μάριον δὲ φυγάδα τῆς πόλεως ἐλαύνει. **9** Εἰς τοὐπιὸν οὖν δύο ὑπάτων ἀποδειχθέντων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, Γναίου ᾿Οκταβίου καὶ Κορνηλίου Κίννα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐναντία Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσων ἐχώρει. Οὗτος δὲ ἄρα βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τήν τε Μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἄχρι τοῦ Βοσπόρου τὴν παράλιον εἶχεν ὑπήκοον· ἐφιέμενος δὲ ἀρχῆς μείζονος Νικομήδην τῶν Βιθυνῶν δυνάστην ἐξῶσαι τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ἐπεχείρει, αἰτίας τῆς ἀπεχθείας ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἀνδρί τινας, πρός τε ῾Ρωμαίους ἐδήλου πολεμητέα εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδην, ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀδικίας ἀρξάμενον. ῾Η δὲ βουλὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτο σταλεῖσιν ἀποκρίνεται μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Νικομήδει· οὐ γὰρ περιόψεσθαι ῾Ρωμαίους, ἀλλὰ ἐναντία πολεμήσειν Μιθριδάτῃ. Τούτοις μειζόνως παροξυνθεὶς τήν τε Καππαδοκίαν εὐθέως καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἔτι τε Παφλαγονίαν καταλαμβάνει, φυγάδας δὲ ἐλάσας τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων Ἀ-

Fr. 98.9: Eutr. 5.4.2-5.1-2

3 Σούλπιον scripsi e T : Σουλπίκιον Lampros 1904 ex *EV* 17 a Valois 1634 emend. : σούπιον I **7** ἐδέησεν add. Lampros 1904 ex *EV* 17 **11** παρελθὼν Lampros 1904 ex *EV* 17 : παρελθεῖν I **14** Γναίου scr. Lampros 1904 e Eutr. 5.4.2 : γνασίου I **18** τῶν I : τὸν in app. coni. Lampros 1904 **25** δὲ ἐλάσας I : δὲ ἤλασε in app. coni. Lampros 1904 : διελάσας vel δὲ ἐλαύνει Dragoumis 1904, 497

Fr. 98.9: 124.3 εἰς δὲ – 124.6 ῾Ρωμαῖοι dubium an *Suda* α 4426, 412.21-26 ad Ioannem referendum sit: ὅτι Μιθριδάτης διετάξατο τοὺς ῾Ρωμαίους ἀναιρεῖν καὶ ἔπεμψε γράμματα εἰς τὰς πόλεις, τὸ βασιλικὸν σφράγισμα ἔχοντα, μιᾷ τε ἡμέρᾳ τάξας ἀναγνῶναι καὶ παραχρῆμα τὰ γεγραμμένα πρᾶξαι, ὅπως μὴ προμαθόντες τινὲς φυλάξωνται. ἀποκτεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε πάνθ᾽ ὅντινα ῾Ρωμαῖον εὕρωσι· Cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 69 et Roberto 2005, C n. 190.

which, as already mentioned, had been fought a short time before, and to extinguish any vestiges of this conflict that might have remained, Marius, who coveted Sulla's appointment to the Asian campaign, gained the support of the tribune of the people Sulpicius, a wicked man, who was confounding Rome with every sort of effrontery and cruelty, and forced the senate with the help of an armed mob to appoint him commander in the war against Mithridates. According to Plutarch's account, he almost murdered Sulla, who was present [in the city], away from his camp; but because Sulla said he would aquiesce in these events, he let him depart unharmed. After Sulla reached his soldiers again and related to them in full what had happened, he marched against the city with his army drawn up in battle order, overcame those of Marius' supporters who opposed him and became the first Roman to enter the city of Rome under arms. He slew the tribune of the people Sulpicius, who had been pointed out to him by his [Sulpicius'] servant, and drove Marius out of the city as a fugitive. **9** Two consuls for the following year, Gnaeus Octavius and Cornelius Cinna, were appointed in the city of Rome, and Sulla set out for Asia to fight against Mithridates. Mithridates was the King of Pontus and ruled over Armenia Minor and the entire seacoast of the Pontic Sea as far as the Bosporus; aiming at greater power, he was trying to expel Nicomedes, the ruler of Bithynia, from his realm, citing certain pretexts for hostilities and informed the Romans that he had to make war upon Nicomedes, who had been the first to commit an offence and injustice. However, the senate responded to the ambassadors in this cause that he should not attack Nicomedes: the Romans would not overlook it, but would fight against Mithridates. Provoked by this even more, he immediately invaded Cappadocia, Bithynia and Paphlagonia and drove out as fugitives the kings of these people, Ariobarzanes, Pylaemenes and Nico-

ριοβαρζάνην καὶ Πυλαιμένην καὶ Νικομήδην, εὔνους καὶ συμμάχους αἰεὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων γεγενημένους. Ἔστη δὲ οὐκ ἐνταῦθα τῆς πλεονεξίας· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ᾔει, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἅπασαν κατέπεμπε γράμματα, κελεύων τοὺς ἐνδιατρίβοντας ταῖς πόλεσι Ῥωμαίους εἰς ῥητὴν διαφθείρειν ἡμέραν. Καὶ ἀνῃρέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κηρύγματος πολλοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι. **10** Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀθῆναι προσχωροῦσι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, ἑλέσθαι τὰ τοῦ τυράννου πρὸς Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πεισθεῖσαι ἀμαχεί τε παραδέξασθαι τὸν σὺν Ἀρχελάῳ στρατόν, ὃς ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς Μιθριδάτου σὺν ιβʹ μυριάσι πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων σταλεὶς ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐς μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας φιλίως παρῆλθε, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν Ἑλλάδα φρουραῖς τε καὶ ὁμολογίαις κατέλαβε. **11** Μικρῷ γε μὴν ὕστερον Σύλλας ἐπιπλεύσας τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὸν μὲν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν Πειραιεῖ κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει, πάσῃ μηχανῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ χρώμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἄχρις οὗ τὸν μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καταφυγεῖν ἠνάγκασε, τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ παρεστήσατο. Τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνας ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ προελθούσας, ἐγκαρτερούσας δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐξεῖλε σκότους, καθάπερ αὐτὸς Σύλλας φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι, τῷ περὶ τὸ Ἑπτάχαλκον μέρει τοῦ τείχους, ἀκριβοῦς ἀμοιροῦντι φυλακῆς, σὺν τῷ λαθεῖν προσελθὼν ἐντεῦθέν τε τὴν στεφάνην τοῦ τείχους ὑπερβάς. Ἐλήφθησαν μὲν οὕτως αἱ Ἀθῆναι, Σύλλας δὲ πρὸς ἁρπαγήν τε καὶ φόνον ἀφειδῆ τρέψας

Fr. 98.10: Eutr. 5.6 Fr. 98.11: 11 Μικρῷ – 14 παρεστήσατο Plut. *Sulla* 12.1; 17 Ἑπτάχαλκον cf. Plut. *Sulla* 14.1; 126.2 εἴτε – 126.5 Ἀρίστων Plut. *Sulla* 13.1; 126.6 Καὶ οὐδ' – 126.11 τεθνηκόσι Plut. *Sulla* 14.9

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6 in mg. …ἀθηνῶν I^{1}_{GK} **8** ἀμαχεί Lampros 1904 : ἀμαχί I **10** καὶ add. Lampros 1904 **11** in mg. τας ἀθήνας ἁλωθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα I^{1}_{GK} **17** Ἑπτάχαλκον Lampros 1904 e Plut. *Sulla* 14.1 : ἑπταχάρακον I

Fr. 98.11: 126.1 πᾶσαν – 126.1 πόλιν, 126.7 οἱ φυγάδες Ἀθηναίων, 126.8 καὶ τῶν – 126.11 τεθνηκόσι *EPl* 38 Ὅτι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὰ Μιθριδάτου φρονήσαντας Σύλλας πολιορκίᾳ παραστησάμενος πᾶσαν ἐδέησε μικροῦ πανωλεθρίᾳ διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιορκίας χρόνῳ γινομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὕβρεις, εἰ μή τινες Ἀθηναίων φυγάδες καὶ οἱ συστρατευόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν στῆσαι τὸν φόνον. καὶ ὃς ἐγκώμιόν τι τῶν πάλαι Ἀθηναίων διεξελθὼν ἐκείνοις ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσιν. | 126.5 ἐφυβρίζων – 126.6 πολιορκίαν cf. *Suda* γ 212 Γεφυρίζων· χλευάζων, ἐξευτελίζων. Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας πορθήσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐδέησε μικροῦ διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν θυμῷ διὰ τὰ σκώμματα, ἃ δὴ πολλὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ γεφυρίζων καὶ ἐπικερτομῶν ὁ Ἀρίστων παρ' ὅλην ἀπέρριπτε τὴν πολιορκίαν. Cf. etiam de Boor (1912, 418).

medes, who had always been friends and allies of the Roman people. But his avarice did not stop at this: he marched on Ephesus and sent letters throughout all of Ionia ordering slaughter of all the Romans dwelling in the cities on a certain day. And many Romans were murdered because of this proclamation. **10** At this time Athens also went over to Mithridates, persuaded by Aristion the Athenian to side with the tyrant and to admit without a fight the troops of Archelaus, Mithridates' general, who had been dispatched with a hundred and twenty thousand cavalry and infantry; he entered Athens as a friend and took possession of the rest of Greece by means of both garrisons and agreements. **11** A short time later Sulla sailed to Greece, shut Archelaus up in Piraeus and laid siege to him there. He did not shrink form any contrivance or expenditure and did not relent until he forced Archelaus to escape to his ships and entered Piraeus. Even though the city of Athens had been reduced to the last extremety by the shortage of provisions, but continued to endure all hardship, he took it by night (as Sulla himself states in his Memoirs) at the section of the wall close to Heptachalkon that was guarded less vigilantly, by approaching secretly and penetrating inside the city-walls. In this way Athens was taken, and Sulla let his troops plunder and mur-

τὴν στρατιάν, πᾶσαν ἐδέησε μικροῦ πανωλεθρίᾳ διαφθεῖραι τὴν πόλιν, εἴτε ἄλλως ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας εἰς τοῦτο προαγόμενος, εἴτε καὶ θυμῷ τὰ σκώμματα ⟨φέρων⟩, ἃ δὴ πολλὰ κατά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Μετέλλης· ἀφῖκτο γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴ σὺν τοῖς παισὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξελαθεῖσα τῆς ῾Ρώμης πρὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάριον· ἐφυβρίζων καὶ κερτομῶν ὁ Ἀρίστων ⟨παρ᾽ ὅλην ἀπέρριπτε⟩ τὴν πολιορκίαν. Καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑπεξέδυ τις Ἀθηναίων τὸ κακόν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο μὲν Μειδίας καὶ Καλλιφῶν οἱ φυγάδες Ἀθηναίων προσκυλινδούμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ ῾Ρωμαίων πολλοὶ δεόμενοι ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν στῆσαι τὸν φόνον. Καὶ ὃς ἐγκώμιόν τι τῶν πάλαι Ἀθηναίων διεξελθὼν ἐκείνους ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, {δὲ} ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσι. **12** Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο συμπεσὼν ἀντιταξαμένοις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον καὶ Ταξίλιν, ἕτερον στρατηγὸν Μιθτριδάτου, πολλαῖς ἅμα δυνάμεσιν ἔκ τε Μακεδονίας καὶ Θρᾴκης ἀφιγμέναις οὕτως εὐτυχῆ νίκην ἀνείλετο, ὡς τὸν μὲν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπὸ ιβʹ μυριάδων μυρίους ἀπαγαγεῖν σώους, τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ἀπαναλωθέντων κατὰ τὴν μάχην, αὐτὸν δὲ ιδʹ μόνους ἀποβαλεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων δύο βαθείας ἑσπέρας ἤδη σώους ἐπανελθεῖν ἐν τοῖς ῾Υπομνήμασιν ὁ Σύλλας ἔφη.

Fr. 98.12: Eutr. 5.6.2; 16 αὐτὸν – 17 ἔφη Plut. *Sulla* 19.8; 128.5 ᾿Ενέδοσαν – 128.11 ἀνέστρεψαν Plut. *Sulla* 21.2-4

1 in mg. ὅρα φθορὰν τῆς τῶν ἀθηναίων πόλυεως I^{1}_{GK} **2** post θυμῷ verbum διὰ e *Suda* γ 212 inseruit Roberto 2005 **3** φέρων Lampros 1904 e Plut. *Sulla* 13.1 **4** αὐτὸν corr. Lampros 1904 : αὐτὴν I **5** γεφυρίζων Roberto 2005 e *Suda* γ 212 ἐπικερτομῶν Roberto 2005 e *Suda* γ 212 παρ᾽ ὅλην ἀπέρριπτε e *Suda* γ 212 add. et περί τε del. Roberto 2005 : περί τε τὴν πολιορκίαν I : κατά τε την πολιορκίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλοιδόρουν coni. Vogiatzidis 1905, 505 e Plut. *Sulla* 6.12.8 **7** Καλλιφῶν scr. Lampros 1904 e Plut. *Sulla* 14.9 : Καλλίφων I **8** συστρατευομένων coni. Vogiatzidis 1905, 505f. **10** ἐκείνους Lampros 1904 : ἐκείνοις I πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους δὲ ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσι I : πολλοὺς μὲν ὀλίγοις, ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσι Lampros 1904 e Plut. *Sulla* 14.9 **11** δὲ delevi **12** Ταξίλην Lampros 1904 e Plut. *Sulla* 15.1 : τάξυλιν I **15** ἁπάντων I : πάντων Lampros 1904

Fr. 98.12: 128.6 ἐπεὶ δὲ – 128.11 εὐλαβείας *EPl* 39 ῞Οτι ῾Ρωμαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰν μάχην εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον στρατιωτικὸν ἁρπάσας ὠθεῖτο διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, βοῶν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι ζωῆς ἐπονειδίστου καὶ φυγῆς εὐκλεῆ θάνατον ἀνταλλαξόμενος· [ἀνταλλαξόμενος Boissevain 1895-1901 : ἀνταλλαξάμενος M : ἀλλαξάμενος K] ὑμεῖς δὲ ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἢν ἔρηταί τις ποῦ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπολελοίπατε, φράζειν μεμνημένους ἐν ᾿Ορχομενῷ. τούτου ῥηθέντος ἀνέστρεψαν μετ᾽ αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐλαβείας, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησαν.

der without mercy, almost destroying the city completely, either induced by ambition or angry because of the numerous jokes aimed at him and Metella (for she had joined him with their children after she had been driven out of Rome by Marius' supporters) that Aristion had hurled down, abusing and insulting him during the siege. Not a single Athenian would have escaped death, had not the Athenian exiles Meidias and Calliphon and many of the Roman soldiers thrown themselves at his feet and beseeched him to put an end to the slaughter. And he spoke in praise of the ancient Athenians, saying that he was showing kindness to a few for the sake of many, to the living for the sake of the dead. **12** Afterwards, when he engaged in battle the opposing armies of Archelaus and Taxiles, another general of Mithridates, who had arrived with large forces from Macedonia and Thrace, he won such a decisive victory that Archelaus withdrew with ten thousand out of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers (the others had fallen in the battle), while he himself had lost only fourteen, and out of this number two returned safe and sound later the same evening, as Sulla reports in his Memoirs. Mithridates, after learning

Ἔπει⟨τα⟩ δὲ Μιθριδάτης, τῆς τῶν οἰκείων ἐλαττώσεως αἰσθόμενος, ἑπτὰ μυριάδας ἅμα Δορυλάῳ στρατηγῷ λογάδων ὁπλιτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς τὸν Ἀρχέλαον. Ἑκατέρων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐς ἀντίπαλον αὖθις καταστάντων δύναμιν, διτταὶ γίνονται μάχαι, καθ' ἑτέραν νικῶντος τοῦ Σύλλου περιφανῶς. Ἐνέδοσαν μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ προτροπάδην ἔφευγον· ἐπεὶ δὲ Σύλλας ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον στρατιωτικὸν ἁρπάσας ὠθεῖτο διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους βοῶν, ὡς «ἐγὼ μὲν ἄπειμι ζωῆς ἐπονειδίστου καὶ φυγῆς εὐκλεῆ θάνατον ἀλλαξάμενος, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἣν ἔροιτό τις ποῦ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπολελοίπατε, φράζειν μεμνημένους ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ», τοῦ δὲ ῥηθέντος, ἀνέστρεψαν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐλαβείας· ἐμβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐρρωμένως μυρίους μὲν ἐπὶ ͵ε κατὰ τὴν πρώτην μάχην τοῦ τυράννου καταβάλλουσι, προσδιαφθείραντες τοῖς πεπτωκόσι Διογένην τὸν παῖδα Ἀρχελάου, ὡς δὲ Πλούταρχός φησιν, οὐκ αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ γαμετῆς υἱὸν ἐκ προτέρων γεγονότα γάμων. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν παντάπασι τὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου διαφθείρουσι πράγματα, οὐδενὸς μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπολειφθέντος, ὡς τὸν Ἀρχέλαον πάσης ἀπορίᾳ καταφυγῆς γυμνὸν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι κρυπτόμενον τρίτην διαλαθεῖν ἡμέραν. **13** Πληγεὶς τοιγαροῦν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεγονότων ἀγγελίας, πρὸς εἰρήνης ἐξαίτησιν ἰέναι τοῖς ὑπολελειμμένοις τῶν οἰκείων καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸ παρὸν τῆς τύχης διεκελεύετο. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, ἐν τούτῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν καταστρεψάμενος, πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίσαντας Θρᾳκῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βίᾳ δι' ὀλίγου, τοὺς δὲ καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρεστήσατο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ Μιθριδάτου πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι, τότε μὲν σὺν φρονήματι τοῖς ἀφικομένοις ἀποκρίνεται, οὐχ ἑτέρως σπείσασθαι λέγων [εἰ] μὴ τῶν ἔναγχος βίᾳ τῷ πολέμῳ κεκρατημένων ἀποστὰ[ς ὁ] Μιθριδάτης πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν ἐπανέλθοι. Μικρῷ δὲ ὕστερον, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀφελκόμενος συνελθών τε ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ περὶ πόλιν τῆς Τρωάδος Δάρδανον, εἰρήνην ἐσπείσατο, εἴξαντι τῆς τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν

Fr. 98.13: Eutr. 5.6.2-5.7.2, Plut. *Sulla* 24.1

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1 Ἔπειτα Lampros 1904 : ἔπει I_{GK} **2** Δορυλάῳ Lampros 1904 : δορύλλῳ I **4** ἑτέραν Lampros 1904 : ἑτέρων in ἑτέραν corr. I **5** in mg. ὅρα τὸν Σύλλαν I^{1}_{GK} **10** τοῦ I : τούτου coni. Kambylis **15** υἱοῦ corr. in υἱὸν I **22** in mg. ὅρα καταστροφὴν τῆς ἑλλάδος τοῦ σύλλα I^{1}_{GK} **26** σπείσασθαι I : σπείσεσθαι Lampros 1904 εἰ suppl. Lampros 1904 : [. . .]΄μη I_{K} **27** ἀποστὰς ὁ suppl. Lampros 1904 : ἀποστα[. . .] I_{GK}

about the defeat of his army, sent seventy thousand picked troops with their commander Dorylaus out of Asia to Archelaus. After the forces of the two armies became equal again, two battles took place and Sulla won an outstanding victory in one of them. The Romans gave in at first and started to run with headlong speed, but after Sulla dismounted from his horse, sized a military ensign and pushed his way through the fugitives towards the enemy, crying, "I am going to die, having exchanged flight and an ignominious life for an honourable death, but you, o soldiers, when men ask you where you betrayed Sulla, remember to tell them, at Orchomenos." As he spoke, they turned back, with shame and out of reverence for their commander and threw themselves bravely against the enemy slaying about fifteen thousand of the tyrant's men in the first battle and in addition to that killing Diogenes, the son not of Archelaus himself but, as Plutarch says, his wife's son from a previous marriage. In the second battle they annihilated Mithridates' forces completely, almost no one from his army was left alive, so that Archelaus himself was hiding naked in the marshes for three days, because there was no other place of refuge. **13** Shattered by the tidings of these events Mithridates gave orders to the survivors among his troops to negotiate peace and to do what was necessary under the present unfortunate circumstances. Sulla subdued the whole of Greece in the meantime and turned his attention towards the rebellious Thracians and the Illyrians, bringing some of them over by force in a short time and accepting others in alliance. When the envoys from King Mithridates, who were seeking peace, had arrived before Sulla, he resolutely replied to them on that occasion that he would not grant peace on any terms other than the king should abandon those lands which he had recently seized by force in the war and withdraw to his own kingdom. A short time later, however, Sulla, diverted by the Civil War, came to a conference with Mithridates somewhere near the town of Dardanus in the Troas and negotiated peace on the condition that the king should retreat from Asia and those lands which he had

τῶν τῷ πολέμῳ κεκρατημένων. Ἔδεισε μὲν γὰρ κατόπιν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω μέγαν τε καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καταλιπεῖν, Μαρίου αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπῃωρημένου. **14** Οὐ μὴν ὑφῆκέ τι τοῦ φρονήματος * * * †οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἀπήγγειλε·† περινοστήσας μὲν τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ κοινῇ τε αὐτὴν δισμύρια τάλαντα εἰσπραξάμενος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἔς τε τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἐνδιαίτησιν τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καταναλώσας οἴκους, ἀπῆρεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου. Προσσχὼν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, ἐνδιέτριψέ τε τῇ πόλει χρόνου τινός, καὶ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος τοῦ Τηίου καταλαβὼν ἐνταῦθα βιβλιοθήκην ἀνείλετο, ἐν ᾗ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου βιβλίων ἦν, οὔπω τότε τοῖς πολλοῖς, ᾗ φησι Πλούταρχος, γνωριζόμενα, ἀλλὰ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκφοιτήσαντα γνῶσιν. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον χιλίαις καὶ σ' ναυσὶν ἐκ Δυρραχίου διαβαλὼν εἰς Βροντήσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον ὥρμητο πόλεμον. **15** Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καθ' ὃν ὁ Σύλλας περί τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν διῴκει πόλεμον, Μάριος, ὃς μικρῷ πρόσθεν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξελήλατο, καὶ Κορνήλιος Κίννας τῶν ὑπάτων ἕτερος κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἐμφύλιον αὖθις ἀνενεώσαντο ταραχήν, ἐν ὅπλοις τε χωρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐπισήμων τε καὶ ὑπατικῶν τοὺς μὲν οὐ σὺν δίκῃ διέφθειραν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξήλασαν τῆς πόλεως, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν οἰκίαν καθελόντες ἐς ἔδαφος, τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγαπητῶς ἀπελθεῖν σώους τοῦ ἄστεως ἠνάγκασαν. Τὸ γοῦν ὑπολελειμμένον τῆς βουλῆς φόβῳ τῶν γεγονότων ἐκλιπὸν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διατρίβοντα παραγίνεται, ἱκετεῦον ἀρῆξαι τῇ πατρίδι, τῶν ἔξω κινδύνων ἀφιέμενον. Οἷς ἀναφθεὶς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπεραιοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, κατὰ σπουδὴν τὸν ἐμφύλιον εὖ

Fr. 98.14: Plut. *Sulla* 25.4-26.1; 27.1 Fr. 98.15: Eutr. 5.7.3-5.7.4, Plut. *Sulla* 27.8-17

1 κατόπιν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πόλεμον I : corr. Lampros 1904 **3** post φρονήματος lacunam statuit Lampros 1904 **5** αὐτοῦ I : αὑτοῦ Lampros 1904 **6** ἰδιωτῶν Lampros 1904: ἰδιωτικῶν I **8** χρόνον τινὰ coni. Dragoumis 1904, 497 in mg. ὅρα ὅθεν τὰ ἀριστοτέλους βιβλία τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐκδόσεως ἔλαβον I^{1}_{GK} Ἀπελλικῶντος Lampros 1904 e *Suda* σ 1337 : ἀπ' ἐλλεκῶντος I **16** Κίννας Lampros 1904 : κίλλας I

Fr. 98.14: 6 ἀπῆρεν – 11 γνῶσιν *Suda* σ 1337, 456.8-13 ὅτι Σύλλας ὁ ὕπατος ἀπάρας ἐξ Ἐφέσου προσσχών τε ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐνδιέτριψε τῇ πόλει χρόνου τινὸς καὶ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος τοῦ Τηΐου καταλαβὼν ἐνταῦθα βιβλιοθήκην ἀνείλετο· ἐν ᾗ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου βιβλίων ἦν, οὔπω τότε τοῖς πολλοῖς, ᾗ φησι Πλούταρχος, γνωριζόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκφοιτήσαντα γνῶσιν.

seized in the war. For he was afraid to leave a war so great and violent behind him, when Marius had risen up from Italy again. **14** He of course did not abandon his resolution *** . He went round Ionia exacting from it twenty thousand talents out of public funds; privately he utterly ruined individual families by demanding accommodation for himself and his soldiers; after that he put to sea from Ephesus. Having landed in Athens he spent some time in the city where he found and seized for himself the library of Apellicon the Teian, which contained most of the treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus that at that time were yet unknown to the public, as Plutarch says, but henceforth came to public knowledge. A short time later he sailed with twelve hundred ships from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium, hastening to take part in the Civil War. **15** While Sulla was engaged in the Mithridatic War in Greece and Ionia, Marius, who had been forced to flee Rome a short time before, and Cornelius Cinna, one of the consuls, resumed the civil strife in Italy and, after advancing on Rome under arms, killed some of the nobility and men of consular rank without trial, and exiled some others; they even razed Sulla's house to the ground and compelled the members of his family to leave Rome, safe by a hair's breadth. The rest of the senate fled the city intimidated by the recent events and came to Sulla, who was still in Greece, begging that he should come to the aid of his country and pay no attention to external threats. Inflamed with anger at these events, he sailed for Italy,

θέμενος πόλεμον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο, πρῶτα μὲν Ὄρβαν τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων περὶ τὸ ὄρος τῆς Καμπανίας οἱ ὑπαντιάσαντα κατηγωνίσατο, ἑξακισχιλίους μὲν τῶν ἑπομένων τῷ ὑπάτῳ Ῥωμαίων καταβαλών, ἰσαρίθμους τε ζῶντας ἑλών, τῶν γε μὴν οἰκείων ρκʹ πρὸς ἑτέροις τέτρασιν ἀποβαλὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ. Πλούταρχος Μάρκον Λούκουλλον ἡγήσασθαι τῆς Σύλλα νίκης ἔφη, ἀδελφὸν ὄντα Λουκούλλου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Μιθριδάτην καταπολεμήσαντος, νικῆσαί τε πρὸς διπλασίους τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιταξάμενον. Ἐντεῦθεν Σύλλας ἐπὶ τὸν λειπόμενον τῶν ὑπάτων Σκηπίωνα τραπεὶς δίχα παντὸς φόνου τὴν νίκην ἀνείλετο, προσχωρησάσης οἱ φιλίως τῆς ἅμα Σκηπίωνι στρατιᾶς. **16** Ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ὄντων, Μάριος ὁ πρεσβύτης, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, ὁ μυρίους ἐργασάμενος φόνους καὶ φυγὰς τῆς πατρίδος αὖθις ἐπανῆλθε τῇ πόλει, καὶ συναγαγὼν πλῆθος ληστρικόν τε καὶ δουλικὸν ἑβδόμην τε περιβαλόμενος ὑπατείαν εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανῆλθε γνώμην· πολλούς τε διαφθείρας τῶν ἐν τέλει νόσῳ περιπίπτει πλευρίτῃ καὶ πρὸς ἑπτὰ διαρκέσας ἡμέρας ἀπολιμπάνει τὸν βίον. Ἑτέρων τε κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάτων ἀποδεδειγμένων, Μαρίου τε τοῦ παιδὸς Μαρίου καὶ Παπιρίου Κάρβωνος, ἀγῶνες αὖθις τὸν Σύλλαν διεδέχοντο μείζονές τε καὶ χαλεπώτεροι. Ὁ δὲ πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν νεώτερον ἦγε Μάριον, σὺν μεγάλῃ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ ἀφράστῳ τόλμῃ παραταττόμενον καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ μυρίους ἐπὶ ͵ε καταβάλλει τῶν ἐναντίων, υʹ αὐτὸς ἀποβαλών. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην εὐθὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλασεν, Μάριον δὲ τὸν παῖδα Μαρίου τοῦ μονάρχου κατακλείσας ἐν Πραινεστῷ εἰς αὐτόχειρα θάνατον ἐλθεῖν ἠνάγκασε. Πλούταρχος δέ, Φενεστέλλᾳ μάρτυρι χρώμενος, εὐτυχεστέραν νίκην ἑλέσθαι τὸν Σύλλαν ἱστόρησε. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Μάριον ἐξ ἀγρυπνίας μακρᾶς ὕπνῳ κατάσχετον γενόμενον μηδ᾽ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς, ἀδοκήτως γενομένης, τὸν δὲ Σύλλαν τῶν μὲν οἰκείων κʹ καὶ γʹ μόνους ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων δύο μυριάδας καὶ λαβεῖν ζῶντας ͵η καὶ τὸν Μάριον ἐν Πραινεστῷ κατακλεῖσαι, καθάπερ

Fr. 98.16: Eutr. 5.8.1, Plut. *Marius* 45.7, Plut. *Sulla* 28.14

1 ὄρβαν I : Νορβανὸν Lampros 1904 **2** post ὄρος verbum Τίφατον add. Vasis 1906, 125 e Plut. *Sulla* 27.8 et 10 **5** ἀποβαλὼν ἐν ταύτῃ κτλ. Lampros 1904 : ἀποβαλὼν. Ἐν ταύτῃ κτλ. Vasis 1906, 125 **7** in mg. ὅρα τὸν σύλλαν I^{1}_{GK} **15** πλευρίτῃ scripsi : πλευρίτιδι Lampros 1904 : πλευρίτη I_{GK} **18** in mg. ὅρα τὸν σύλλαν I^{1}_{GK} **27** in mg. ὅρα εὐτυχίαν τοῦ σύλλα I^{1}_{GK}

in haste to put an end to the Civil War. Upon his arrival he first fought against Orbas,[1] one of the consuls, at a mountain in Campania, killing six thousand of the Romans who followed the consul and capturing the same number alive; while out of his own men he lost a hundred and twenty four in this battle. Plutarch says that Marcus Lucullus was responsible for Sulla's victory; this Lucullus was the brother of the Lucullus who afterwards subdued Mithridates; Plutarch also says that Lucullus won a victory over enemy forces twice the size of his own. Then Sulla turned on the remaining consul Scipio and won a victory without bloodshed because Scipio's army went over to his side without fighting. **16** This was the state of the Civil War. Marius the elder, whom we have mentioned before and who had brought about death and exile from their homeland for countless people, came back to Rome where he gathered a mob of robbers and slaves, made himself consul for the seventh time and returned to his previous resolve. After putting to death many officials, he fell ill with pleurisy and died having lasted for seven days. However, when the new consuls had been appointed at Rome, viz. Marius, the son of Marius, and Papirius Carbo, even greater and more grievous fighting ensued for Sulla. First, he fought against the younger Marius, who opposed him with a large force and unspeakable courage, and won a victory, having killed fifteen thousand of Marius' men and lost four hundred of his own. After the victory he marched on Rome at once, while he shut up Marius, the son of Marius the dictator, in Praeneste and forced him to commit suicide. Plutarch, who cites Fenestella as his witness, narrates that Sulla won an even more successful victory: according to this account, Marius fell asleep because of a prolonged vigil and did not notice the preliminary engagement, which happened unexpectedly; and Sulla lost only twenty-three of his own men, whereas he killed twenty thousand of the enemy, took eight thousand prisoners and be-

[1] i.e. C. Norbanus.

δεδήλωται. **17** Οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον πρός τε Λαμπώνιον καὶ Κρινᾶτον (οὗτοι δὲ ἄρα τῆς Μαριανῆς ἤρχοντο στάσεως) ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως πρὸ τῆς Κολλωνῆς πύλης ἀγῶνα μέγιστον ἐστήσατο· ζʹ γὰρ μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν μάχην ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ Σύλλᾳ φασίν. Εἰς χεῖρας δὲ ἐλθόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μύριοι μὲν καὶ δισχίλιοι τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνδιδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀμαχεὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἔν τε τῇ παρατάξει καὶ τῇ τροπῇ, ἔν τε τοῖς φρουρίοις ἐμπολιορκηθέντες ἀπαναλώθησαν. Ὅ γε μὴν ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων Κάρβων μετὰ τὴν Μαρίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος τελευτὴν καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν περὶ Λαμπώνιον ἀπορῶν τοῖς ὅλοις ἀπῆρεν ἐξ Ἀριμίνου τῆς Ἰταλίας. Διαπλεύσας δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις τοῦ Μαρίου καταφυγών, ὑπὸ Γναίου Πομπηίου διωχθεὶς διαφθείρεται, ὃς νέος μὲν ἦν ἔτι καὶ πρὸς καʹ ἔτος ἄρτι τῆς ἡλικίας ἀφίκετο, διὰ δὲ ἀρετὴν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρίαν πολλῶν μὲν δυνάμεων ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ δεύτερος κατὰ ἀξίωσιν τοῦ Σύλλα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν. **18** Τοῦ δὲ Κάρβωνος ἀναιρεθέντος, εὐθὺς ἅπασαν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ Σικελίαν Πομπήιος κατεστήσατο, κἄπειτα δεξιῶς αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον κεχωρηκότων, ἐπέπλει τῇ Καρχηδόνι, Δομετίῳ τε τῷ τῆς Μαριανῆς ἐπειλημμένῳ στάσεως ἐναντία πολεμήσων καὶ Ἰουγούρθᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μαυρουσίων, τὰ Δομετίου τε καὶ Μαρίου πρεσβεύοντι. Κρατήσας δὲ ἀμφοῖν καὶ τὴν

Fr. 98.17: Eutr. 5.8.1-2 Fr. 98.18: Eutr. 5.9.1

1 Λαμπώνιον Lampros 1904 : λαμπρόνιον I Κρινᾶτον Lampros 1904 : κρινάτον I : Καρινάτην Roberto 2005 ex Eutr. 5.8.1 **3** κολλωνῆς I : Κολλίνης Roberto 2005 ex Plut. *Sulla* 27.4 ἐστήσατο Lampros 1904 : ἐστήσαντο I **4** φασίν Lampros 1904 : φησιν I **6** ἀμαχεὶ Lampros 1904 : ἀμαχί I **9** Λαμπώνιον Lampros 1904 : λαμπόνιον I **11** in mg. ὅρα τὸν μέγαν πομπήιον ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχόμενον I^{1}_{GK} **13** ἀφῖκτο Vasis 1906, 125 **16** in mg. εὐτυχίαν τοῦ σύλλα προς εὐτυχίαν ῥωμαίων I^{1}_{GK} δεξιῶς Lampros 1904 : δεξιῶ I **18** ἰουγούρθᾳ I : Ἰάρφθᾳ Roberto 2005 e Plut. *Pomp.* 12.6

sieged Marius in Praeneste, as previously described. **17** A short time later he fought a great battle near the city of Rome in front of the Colline Gate against Lamponius and Crinates,[1] who were the leaders of the Marian faction. It is reported that seventy thousand soldiers opposed Sulla in that battle. When the armies come to close quarters twelve thousand surrendered to Sulla without fighting, the rest were annihilated on the battlefield, in the rout or in the besieged camps. Carbo, the other consul, finding himself in a hopeless situation after the death of his colleague Marius and after after the misfortune of the men under Lamponius, left Italy from Ariminum. After he crossed over to Sicily, fleeing for refuge to the forces of Marius there, he was pursued and killed by Gnaeus Pompey, who, though still a young man of only twenty-one years of age, because of his zeal and military experience was already in charge of a large army and considered by the Romans second in rank only to Sulla. **18** When Carbo had been killed, Pompey immediately made all of Sicily subject to himself and, after the situation on the island had turned out in his favour, crossed over to Carthage in order to fight Domitius, who had been a member of the Marian faction, and Jugurtha,[2] King of Mauretania, who was supporting the cause of Domitius and Marius. Victorious over both

[1] i.e. C. Carinas.
[2] i.e. Hiarbas.

Λιβύην καταστησάμενος, ἐπανῄει πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην. **19** Μετὰ τοῦτό γε μὴν ὁ Σύλλας, τῶν ὑπεναντίων αὐτῷ πάντων ἐξῃρημένων, ἐνδόξως τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ πομπὴν ἐπόμπευσεν. Ἐπιλογισμόν τέ τινα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πράξεων ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ποιούμενος, οὐχ ἧττον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης συνενεχθεῖσι δεξιοῖς ἢ τοῖς ἀπὸ γνώμης τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἐμεγαλύνετο, ἐφ’ οἷς δὴ καὶ εὐτυχῆ προσαγορεύειν ἑαυτὸν διεκελεύσατο, ὃ καὶ προοίμιον ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Σύλλας Εὐτυχής, χαίροντι ὑπερφυῶς τῷ προσρήματι. Πλούταρχος δέ φησι, θέας ποτὲ μονομάχων οὔσης καὶ τῶν τόπων οὔπω διακεκριμένων, ἀλλ’ ἔτι τοῦ θεάτρου συμμιγοῦς ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ὄντος, Βαλλερίαν γυναῖκα παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἀφανῆ· Ὁρτησίου γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφὴ τοῦ ῥήτορος· ἐξόπισθεν τοῦ Σύλλου πορευομένην ἐπιβαλεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπᾶσαι. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος, «οὐδὲν δεινόν, εἰπεῖν, αὐτοκράτωρ· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι κἀγὼ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν». Τὸν δ’ ὑπερησθῆναί τε τῷ ῥηθέντι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀγαγέσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς γάμον, τῆς Μετέλλης ἤδη τεθνηκυίας. Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον. **20** Τότε

Fr. 98.19: Eutr. 5.9.1. Plut. *Sulla* 34.2-3; 35.5-8 Fr. 98.20: Eutr. 5.9.1-2

1 τοῦτό Lampros 1904 : τοῦτον I **8** χαίροντι Lampros 1904 : χαίρων I **13** in mg. ὅρα φρόνησιν γυναικός I^{l}_{GK} **14** αὐτοκράτωρ I : αὐτοκράτορ corr. Roberto 2005 post βούλομαι verba τῆς σῆς e *Suda* σ 1337 add. Roberto 2005

Fr. 98.19: 3 Ἐπιλογισμόν – 16 τεθνηκυίας *Suda* σ 1337, 456.13-20 ὅτι Σύλλας ὁ ὕπατος ἐπιλογισμὸν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πράξεων ποιήσας Εὐτυχῆ ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει καὶ ἔγραφε. καί ποτε Λαβερία, Ῥωμαία γυνὴ οὐκ ἀφανής, ἐξόπισθεν τοῦ Σύλλου πορευομένη ἐπιβάλλει τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κροκύδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπᾷ. τοῦ δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος, οὐδὲν δεινόν, εἰπεῖν, αὐτόκρατορ· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι τῆς σῆς κἀγὼ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν. τὸν δὲ ὑπερησθῆναί τε τῷ ῥηθέντι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀγαγέσθαι ταύτην γυναῖκα, τῆς Μετέλλης ἤδη τεθνηκυίας. | 9 θέας – 16 τεθνηκυίας *EPl* 40 Ὅτι Σύλλας ἑαυτὸν εὐτυχῆ προσαγορεύειν διεκελεύσατο· καὶ ποτὲ θέας οὔσης τὴν Ὁρτησίου φασὶ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀδελφὴν Βαλλερίαν ἐξόπισθεν τοῦ Σύλλου πορευομένην ἐπιβαλεῖν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κροκύδος τοῦ ἱματίου σπᾶσαι· τοῦ δὲ ἐπιστραφέντος, «οὐδὲν δεινὸν», εἰπεῖν, «αὐτόκρατορ, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι κἀγὼ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας μεταλαβεῖν». τὸν δ’ ὑπερησθῆναί τε τῷ ῥηθέντι καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀγαγέσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα πρὸς γάμον, τῆς Μετέλλης ἤδη τεθνηκυίας.

of them, he settled affairs in Libya and returned to Rome. **19** After this Sulla, whose enemies had all been killed, celebrated a triumph over Mithridates with great pomp and glory. While rendering an account of his deeds in the senate, he boasted no less of those resulting from good fortune than of those brought about by his skill and courage. By virtue of these deeds he decreed that he be addressed as the "Fortunate." This name served as the preamble of his letters, Lucius Cornelius Sulla the Fortunate, for he delighted exceedingly in this name. Plutarch reports that once, when a gladiatorial spectacle was being held, and since the seats for men and women were not yet separated, but the theatre had mixed places for men and women, a woman Valeria, who was not unknown among the Romans, for she was a sister of Hortensius the orator, passed along behind Sulla, put her hand upon him and plucked off a bit of nap from his mantle. When Sulla turned around, she said: "It's nothing of importance, Dictator, but I too wish to partake a little in your good luck." Sulla, who was exceedingly pleased at these words, married her after a short time, for Metella was already dead. But this would happen later. **20** At this time, in addition to Sulla, Gnaeus Pompey cele-

δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ Γναῖος Πομπήιος τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Μαυρουσίων κατήγαγε θρίαμβον, ὃς ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν ῾Ρώμῃ ἔτι μειράκιον ὂν καὶ ἔτι τελοῦν εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας ταύτης τετύχηκε τῆς ἀξιώσεως. Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ ἐτελεύτων τὸ πέρας οἱ πάντων ὀλεθριώτατοι καταστάντες ῾Ρωμαίοις πόλεμοι, ⟨ὅ⟩ τε πρὸς τοὺς Πικηνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ῾Ρωμαίων, ⟨ὃν⟩ ἰταλικὸν προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ πολιτικός, ἐπὶ δεκαετῆ μὲν διαπολεμηθέντες χρόνον, ἀπαναλώσαντες δὲ πολὺ μέρος τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐγενείας. ᾿Εν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις πλείους μὲν ἢ ιε′ μυριάδες ἄνδρες πίπτουσιν, ἄνδρες δὲ ὑπατικοὶ δ′ ἐπὶ τοῖς κ′, στρατηγικοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν προεδρίαις ξ′ ἄλλοι

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2 ἁπάντων I : α′ (=πρῶτος) πάντων coni. Vasis 1906, 125 ἔτι τελοῦν Lampros 1904 : ἐπιτελοῦν I **4** ὅ add. Lampros 1904 **5** τοὺς Πικηνοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Lampros 1904 : τῶν πικηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλῶν I_{GK} post ῾Ρωμαίων verbum ὑπηκόους add. Vogiatzidis 1905, 506 ὃν add. Lampros 1904 **7** in mg. ὅρα φθορὰν ῥωμ[αίων] I^{1}_{GK}

brated a triumph over Mauretania; of all the Romans he alone attained such an honour even though he was still a young man and belonged to the knights. So ended two of the most destructive wars ever waged by the Romans, the one against the Picentes and other Romans, which was called the Italian War, and thereafter the Civil War, which altogether lasted for ten years and destroyed a large part of the city's nobility. In these wars fell over a hundred and fifty thousand men, twenty-four men of consular rank, seven praetors, sixty former aediles and almost two hun-

τε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου οὐ μεῖον ἢ σʹ. **21** Ληξάντων δέ ποτε τῶν εἰρημένων πολέμων ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξιόντος τοῦ Σύλλου τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὡς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος, ᾗ Πλούταρχός φησί, νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοὺς ἐχθίστους οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι ἐγνωκώς, διὰ πάσης

Fr. 98.21: 3 ὡς – 4 ῬωμαίοιςPlut. *Sulla* 30.5; 142.3 λέγεται – 142.6 χωρίον Plut. *Sulla* 31.11; 142.7 Εἰ μὲν – 142.15 διεπράττετο Plut. *Sulla* 30.6; 142.15 οὐ μὴν – 144.7 Πομπήιον Plut. *Sulla* 34.6-9 Ad Catilinam *11.4* cf. Walton 1965, 238 n. 8

2 εἰρημένων I : ἐμφυλίων Roberto 2005 ex *EV* 18 post πολέμων verba φόνοι καὶ προγραφαὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων διεδέξαντο τὴν Ῥώμην ex *EV* 18 supplevit Roberto 2005 ἀντιστασιώταις Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M : ἀντισαστιώταις I

Fr. 98.21: *EV* 18, p.172.3–173.9 (= fr. 68 M) Ὅτι ληξάντων τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων φόνοι καὶ προγραφαὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων διεδέξαντο τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξιόντος τοῦ Σύλλου τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὡς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγήν, ἀλλὰ μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος νομισθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοὺς ἐχθίστους οἱ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι διεγνωκὼς διὰ πάσης ὠμότητος ἐπεξῄει τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. τελευτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οὓς ἢ χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων ἕνεκα ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων διέφθειρεν. λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ σώφρονα, οὐδετέρας μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκήτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν «οἴμοι τάλας» εἰπεῖν «διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον». καὶ ὀρθῶς γε Σαλούστιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος συγγραφεὺς ἔφη καλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρήμασιν κάκιστον ἐπενηνοχέναι τὸ τέλος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μαρίου καταβαλὼν δυναστείαν ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆθέν τε χαλεποῦ καὶ ἐπιτείναντος ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν παρέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν, θαυμαστὸς ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ μέτριος τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικὸς φανεὶς καὶ δόξαν δημωφελοῦς ἡγεμόνος παρασχὼν ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτησεν, αὐτὸς ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων ἦν. καὶ τυραννίδα φάσκων ἐλαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἑτέραν εἰσῆγε χαλεπωτέραν. δικτάτορα μὲν γὰρ ἀνεῖπεν ἑαυτόν· ἔμπληκτα δὲ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ἔς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηκόους ἐπὶ πολὺ διεπράττετο, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ οὕτω γε τῇ τύχῃ κατεπίστευσε πρὸς ἅπασαν αὐτῷ μεταβολὴν δεξιῶς ἑπομένῃ, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνῃρηκότα, καινότητα δὲ τοσαύτην εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσενεγκάμενον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὖθις τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσίων [ἀρχαιρεσίων Valois 1634 : ἀρχαισίων T] ἀποφῆναι κύριον, καίτοι Λεπίδου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν διὰ τὴν Πομπηίου περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα σπουδὴν προσδοκωμένου, ἀνδρὸς θρασυτάτου τε καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα πολεμίου. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐν ἰδιώτου τάξει καὶ ἰσηγορίᾳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἦν. ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ ὑπάτου Λεπίδου, χαίροντα τῷ γεγονότι τὸν Πομπήιον ἰδὼν «εὖγε» ἔφη «τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι καὶ Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν ἐμπληκτότατον· ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον.» τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε. μετ᾽ ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.

dred senators. **21** When the above mentioned wars had come to an end, Sulla took the utmost vengeance on his adversaries, which made the Romans believe that in the matter of tyranny the end of Marius meant an exchange but not a deliverance, as Plutarch remarks. At first, because he had decided to get rid of his bitterest enemies among the citizens, he proceeded against the city of Rome and the whole of Italy with utter cru-

ὠμότητος ἐπεξῄει τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν. Τελευτῶν δὲ ἔστιν οὓς χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων ἕνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ⟨διέφθειρε⟩. Λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ σώφρονα, οὐδὲ ἑτέρας μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκήτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν, «Οἴμοι, τάλας, εἰπεῖν, διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον». Καὶ ὀρθῶς γε Σαλούστιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος συγγραφεὺς ἔφη καλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρήμασι κάκιστον ἐπενηνοχέναι ⟨τὸ⟩ τέλος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Μαρίου καταβαλὼν δυναστείαν, ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆθέν τε χαλεποῦ καὶ ἐπιτείναντος ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν, παρέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν, θαυμαστὸν ἂν ἦν· νῦν δὲ μέτριος τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικὸς φανεὶς καὶ δόξαν δημωφελοῦς ἡγεμόνος παρασχών, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκράτησεν, αὐτὸς ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἦν, καὶ τυραννίδα φάσκων ἐλαύνειν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἑτέραν εἰσῆγε χαλεπωτέραν. Δικτάτωρα μὲν ⟨γὰρ ἀν⟩εῖπεν ἑαυτόν· ἔμπληκτα δὲ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ἔς τε τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπηκόους ἐπὶ πολὺ διεπράττετο· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω γε τῇ τύχῃ κατεπίστευε πρὸς ἅπασαν αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δεξιῶς ἑπομένῃ, ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνῃρηκότα, καινότητα δὲ τοσαύτην εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσενεγκάμενον, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὖθις τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἀποφῆναι κύριον, καίτοι Λεπίδου παρελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν διὰ τὴν Πομπηίου περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα σπουδὴν προσδοκωμένου, ἀνδρὸς θρασυτάτου τε καὶ αὐτῷ μάλιστα πολεμίου· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν

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1 in mg. ὅρα τὰ… τοῦ σύλλα I^{1}_{GK} **3** διέφθειρε add. Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M **4** οὐδετέρας Roberto 2005 e *EV* 18 **6** Ῥωμαῖος Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M : ῥωμαίων I **7** τὸ add. Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M **10** θαυμαστὸς Vasis 1906, 125 **11** δημωφελοῦς ex *EV* 18 Lampros 1904 : δημοτελοῦς I **13** δικτάτωρα I : δικτάτορα Roberto 2005 γὰρ ἀνεῖπεν add. Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M : εἶπεν I **16** τῇ τύχῃ Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M : ἡ τύχη I **19** ἀρχαιρεσιῶν I : ἀρχαιρεσίων Roberto 2005 ex *EV* 18 a Valois 1634 emend.

Fr. 98.21: 140.2 ἐς πᾶν – 140.4 Ῥωμαίοις, 1 Τελευτῶν – 6 χωρίον *EPl* 41 Ὅτι Σύλλου καὶ Μαρίου στασιασάντων καὶ τυραννικώτερον τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπτομένων μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μαρίου τελευτὴν ἐς πᾶν ἐπεξῄει Σύλλας τοῖς ἀντιστασιώταις, ὡς τὴν Μαρίου τελευτὴν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγήν, ἀλλὰ [οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀλλὰ om. M] μεταβολὴν τυραννίδος νομισθῆναι· πάσῃ γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς ὠμότητι χρώμενος τελευτῶν ἔστιν οὓς χρημάτων ἢ κτημάτων ἕνεκα ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. λέγεται γοῦν Κόιντον ἄνδρα ἐπιφανῆ, ἐπιεικῆ τε καὶ σώφρονα, οὐδετέρας μὲν γεγονότα στάσεως, ἀδοκήτως δὲ ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις θεασάμενον ἑαυτόν, «Οἴμοι τάλας, εἰπεῖν, διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανοῖς χωρίον.»

elty. In the end, there were those who were put to death because of their money or possessions to the [subsequent] benefit of their friends. It is reported that when Quintus, a distinguished, kind and discreet person, who had never belonged to either of the two factions, unexpectedly saw his own name on the list of the proscribed, he said, "Ah! Woe is me! My Alban estate is prosecuting me." Sallust, a Roman writer, correctly remarked that Sulla obtained the worst possible result from a good undertaking. If he had overthrown the regime of Marius, who had been cruel in the beginning and only intensified his natural disposition while in power, and turned the government over to the senate and the people, it would have been admirable. He, however, appeared to be moderate and to act in a constitutional manner at first, leading men to expect in him a leader a leader who would benefit the common people, but after prevailing over his enemies he became like they had been, and while maintaining that he was putting an end to a tyrannical regime in Rome, he in fact established another one that was even more oppressive. For he called himself a Dictator: he acted towards the citizens and other subordinates in a way that was for the most part unpredictable and inhuman; he was so confident, however, that his good luck would follow upon any vicissitude of fortune that after he had slaughtered so many people and introduced great novelties into the constitution, he laid down his dictatorial power and put the consular elections into the hands of the people, even though it was likely that Marcus Lepidus, a daring man and a bitter enemy of his, would be chosen consul because of Pompey's zeal on his behalf; nevertheless he behaved like an ordinary citizen, equal to every-

ἰδιώτου τάξει καὶ ἰσηγορίᾳ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἦν. Ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ ὑπάτου Λεπίδου, χαίροντα τῷ γεγονότι Πομπήιον ἰδών, «Εὖγε, ἔφη, τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι ⟨καὶ⟩ Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν ⟨ἐμπληκτότατον⟩ ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον». Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε. Μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος, πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον.

22 Κινήσεώς τε αὖθις ἐμφυλίου γενομένης, Σύλλαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἡ ῾Ρωμαίων βουλὴ προεβάλετο· τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων ἅμα πάντων συμφραξαμένων καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἤ περ ἄρχεσθαι βουλομένων, πολλάκις τε σὺν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ ἐς ἐναντίωσιν ἐλθεῖν πειρωμένων, οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἐν τέλει. ῾Ο μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην αὖθις διελθὼν ἀρχήν, σύνθημα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ἀνδράσι, λαθὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς τῆς ῾Ρώμης, ἔδωκεν, ἐγχειρίδιά τε αὐτοὺς ξίφη κομιζομένους εἰσελ-

Fr. 98.22: fontem non inveni

3 καὶ add. Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M **4** ἐμπληκτότατον add. Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M **8** in mg. ὅρα πάλιν τὸν ἐν ῥώμῃ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον I^{l}_{GK} **14** αὐτοὺς – κομιζομένους vel αὐτοῖς – κομιζομένοις Dragoumis 1904, 497f.

Fr. 98.21: 1 Ἀποδειχθέντος – 7 Πομπήιον *EPl* 42 Ὅτι ἀποδειχθέντος ὑπάτου τοῦ Λεπίδου χαίροντα Σύλλας τῷ γεγονότι Πομπήιον ἰδών, «Εὖγε, ἔφη, τῆς σπουδῆς, ὦ νεανία, ὅτι Κατούλου πρότερον ἀνηγόρευσας Λέπιδον τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου πολιτῶν· ὥρα μέντοι σοι σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἰσχυρὸν γεγονότα καταγωνίσῃ τὸν ἀντίπαλον.» τοῦτο μὲν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε· μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ἐις τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Λέπιδος πολέμιος κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον. Fr. 98.22: *EV* 18, p. 173.10-26 (= fr. 68 M) Κινήσεώς τε αὖθις ἐμφυλίου γενομένης Σύλλαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἡ ῾Ρωμαίων βουλὴ προεβάλετο. τῶν γὰρ ἱππέων ἅμα πάντων συμφραξαμένων οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἐν τέλει. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σύλλας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐλθὼν ἀρχὴν σύνθημα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ἀνδράσι λαθὼν ἅπαντας τοὺς τῆς ῾Ρώμης ἔδωκεν, ἐγχειρίδιά τε αὐτοὺς ξίφη κομιζομένους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν προσέταξεν, ὁπηνίκα τῆς ῾Ρέας ἡμέραν πανηγυρίζουσι ῾Ρωμαῖοι, ὡς ἂν δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς* τῆς πόλεως ἱππεῦσι* [τοῖς – ἱππεῦσι T et Büttner-Wobst 1906b : τοὺς – ἱππεῖς Müller 1851] διαχρήσηται. ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν ὄχλος ἐναντία τοῖς στρατιώταις φρονῶν κατὰ τὴν ὡρισμένην ἀπήντησεν. ἀρξάμενός τε τῆς ἐμφυλίου κινήσεως ἅμα τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσλαβόμενος πολλοὺς τῶν ἱππέων διέφθειρεν. τούτων δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πραττομένων, ὁ Σύλλας βουληθεὶς τὸν ὄχλον τῆς ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς ἀποστῆσαι, διεσοφίσατο μηνύσεις τινὰς ἐκ τῶν πανταχόθεν ὑπηκόων, βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομὰς ἐπιφαινούσας. καὶ εὐθέως ἀναλαβὼν ἅπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπιστήσας τε αὐτοῖς στρατηγοὺς τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξεν.

one else in his political rights. After Lepidus had been chosen consul and Sulla saw that Pompey was delighted at this, he said: "It is admirable, this zeal of yours, young man, to elect Lepidus in preference to Catulus, the most unpredictable instead of the best of citizens! Now surely it is the right time for you to consider how to prevail against your adversary who has been strengthened." And in saying this Sulla was something of a prophet: a short time later Lepidus became insolent in power and turned hostile towards Pompey and his followers. **22** "Upon the renewal of civil strife the Roman senate proposed that Sulla be granted dictatorial powers. For all the knights had banded together, wishing to rule rather than be ruled, and since they repeatedly attempted to oppose the senate the situation was intolerable to the government. Accordingly Sulla, having again attained this office, made a secret agreement with men throughout Italy, unbeknown to anyone at Rome, and ordered them to arm themselves with daggers and enter the city on the

θεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει προσέταξεν, ὁπηνίκα τὴν Ῥέας ἡμέραν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος πανηγυρίζειν ἄρξεται· αὕτη δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς εἴωθεν ἄγεσθαι· ὡς ἂν δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἱππεῖς διαχρήσηται. Ὁ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δῆμος ἐναντία τοῖς στρατιώταις φρονῶν κατὰ τὴν ὡρισμένην ὑπήντησεν. Ἀρξάμενός τε τῆς ἐμφυλίου κινήσεως, ἅμα τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον προσλαβόμενος πολλοὺς τῶν ἱππέων διέφθειρεν. Τούτων δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πραττομένων μηνύσεις ἐκ τῶν πανταχόθεν ὑπηκόων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκοντο, βαρβάρων τε ἐπιδρομὰς ἀποφαίνουσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ῥωμαίων τὴν ταχίστην καταλαβεῖν τὰς χώρας ὑπομιμνήσκουσαι. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν Πλουτάρχου εἰρήκαμεν. Ὡς δέ φησι Διόδωρος, οὐδὲν τούτων ἀπηγγέλθη, ἀλλ' ὁ Σύλλας, βουληθεὶς τὸν ὄχλον τῆς ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς ἀποστῆσαι, ταῦτα διεσοφίσατο. Καὶ εὐθέως ἀναλαβὼν ἅπαντα τὰ στρατεύματα, ἐπιστήσας τε αὐτοῖς στρατηγούς, τοῦ παντὸς πλήθους τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξε. **23** Καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον, κεραυνοῦ κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεχθέντος, ὅ τε ἱερὸς οἶκος ἐνεπρήσθη καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σκεύη χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ πάσης πολυτελοῦς ὕλης ἡρπάγη, οἵ τε τῶν Σιβυλλείων χρησμοὶ διεφθάρησαν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως οἴκων συγκατεφλέχθησαν· ὡς καὶ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τινὰς ἐλάσαντας συγχώρησιν τῶν ὀφλημάτων λαβεῖν, ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Ἀντιόχου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Κυζικηνοῦ. Ἐφ' οὗ, σεισμοῦ μεγίστου κατὰ τὴν ἕω γενομένου, πολλαὶ μυριάδες τῶν Σύρων διεφθάρησαν ἥ τε κατὰ τὴν παράλιον Τύρος ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κατεκλύσθη, κομήτης τε ἐπὶ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐκλάμψας τούτῳ μὲν τὸ τοῦ θανάτου προεσήμανε τέλος. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον Φιλίππου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξαμένου ἡ τῶν Σύρων ἀρχὴ ὑπὸ Γαβινίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ κατελύθη ἔτεσι σλʹ ἀπὸ τῆς Σελεύκου διαρκέσασα βασιλείας, ἐπαρχία τε τοῦ Ῥω-

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Fr. 98.23: fontem non inveni

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1 ἐν τῇ πόλει I : ἐς τὴν πόλιν Lampros 1904 τὴν Ῥέας ἡμέραν Vasis 1906, 125: τὴν Ῥέαν ἡμέρα I : τὴν Ῥέαν μητέρα coni. Lampros 1904 **2** in mg. ὅρα την ῥέας ἑορτήν I^{1}_{GK} αὕτη τε I : corr. Dragoumis 1904, 498 **3** τοὺς – ἱππεῖς Lampros 1904 e *EV* 18 a Müller 1851 emend. : τοῖς – ἱππεῦσι I **4** δῆμος I : ὄχλος Lampros 1904 e fr. 68 M **10** τῶν I Walton 1965, 244f. : τοῦ Lampros 1904 **15** ἐνεχθέντος Lampros 1904 e *EPl* 43 : ἐναχθέντος I **17** Σιβυλλείων Lampros 1904 : σιβυλλίων I

Fr. 98.23: 15 κεραυνοῦ – 17 διεφθάρησαν *EPl* 43 Ὅτι κεραυνοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεχθέντος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ οἱ τῶν Σιβυλλείων χρησμοὶ διεφθάρησαν.

day when the Roman people would be starting to celebrate the festival of Rhea (this normally occurs about the first of January), so that with their help he might destroy the urban knights. Since the Italian rabble was hostile to his soldiers they duly appeared on the appointed day, began to riot, and by enlisting the help of the populace did away with a large number of knights. While these events were taking place in the city, reports from the subject peoples everywhere reached Rome, announcing incursions of barbarians and suggesting that the Roman consuls and praetors should occupy their territories with all speed. I give this on the authority of Plutarch. Diodorus, however, says that no such reports existed, and that Sulla concocted them as means of distracting the people and ending the disorders. For he promptly enrolled all the armies and assigned them commanders, and thus rid the city of the whole multitude."[1] **23** At this time, because lightning struck the Capitol, the temple caught fire and the objects of silver, gold and other costly material perished; the Sibylline oracles were destroyed and many houses in the city burned down, so that some who were reduced to poverty obtained a remission of their debts. At this time Antiochus surnamed Kyzikenos was ruling in Syria, in whose reign a great earthquake happened in the East and a countless number of Syrians perished; the city of Tyre on the coast was submerged into the sea and a comet shone for several days, announcing to him his death. A short time after Philip succeeded him in power, the kingdom of Syria that had existed for two-hundred and thirty years since the reign of Seleucus was dissolved by the Roman general Gabinius and declared a

[1] I quote the translation by Walton (1965, 245).

μαίων δήμου προσηγορεύθη. **24** Ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Κλεοπάτραν ἐπιπλάστοις ἐγκλήμασι κατακτείνας ἀπελαύνεται ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῆς χώρας, Ῥωμαίοις τε ἱκέτης καταφεύγει. Τοῦτον ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπήιος ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπανάγει, φόβῳ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταπλήξας. Ὑρκανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡγούμενοι, νεωτερίζειν ἀρξάμενοι, βασιλικὸν περιεβάλλοντο κόσμον. Ἐξ οὗ γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ τοῦ βασιλέως Μήδων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα κατήχθησαν π[άλιν] τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν βασιλεῦσιν ὑπείκειν ἠναγκάζοντο. Ἐτῶν δὲ δʹ καὶ πʹ πρὸς τοῖς υʹ ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰχμαλωσίας διαγεγονότων αὐτοί τε καινοτομεῖν ἤρξαντο καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρα, ἐφ᾽ ὧν καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων πράγματα συνεχύθη.

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ Εʹ

25 Μάρκου τε καὶ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου καί Κυντίλου Κατούλου κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τρόπους τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν κληρωσαμένων, ἄρτι τοῦ Σύλλα μετὰ τὴν ἐμφύλιον ταραχὴν καθισταμένου τὴν πολιτείαν, πολλοί τε καὶ ἀθρόοι παρὰ τὸ δοκηθὲν ἐξήφθησαν πόλεμοι, ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἕτερος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Λυκίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Ἰσαυρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, τρίτος δὲ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν, ὁ δὲ δʹ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα. Σερτώριος μὲν γάρ, ὃς τῆς Μαριανῆς ὑπελέλειπτο στάσεως, δείσας τὰς τῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων Μαρίου φίλων τε καὶ συνωμοτῶν τύχας, ἅπασαν ἐκίνησε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν. Ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἐστάλησαν στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων Λούκιος Δομέτιος καὶ Κόιντος Κεκίλιος Μέτελλος, Μετέλλου παῖς τοῦ πάλαι κατὰ τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἄριστα τῷ Ἰουγούρθᾳ προσπολεμήσαντος. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν Δομέτιος Βοϊετολίῳ συμπεσὼν ὑποστρατήγῳ τινὶ διαφθείρεται τοῦ Σερτωρίου μακρῷ προσπολεμήσας χρόνῳ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ Δομετίου διεφθαρμένου μο* * *

Fr. 98.24: fontem non inveni Fr. 98.25: Eutr. 6.1.1-2

8 πάλιν suppl. Dragoumis 1904, 498 : π[. . .] I et Lampros 1904 **13** post Μάρκου τε verbum καὶ del. Roberto 2005 Κυντίλου Κατούλου I et Lampros 1904 in textu : Κοΐντου Κατούλου in app. coni. Lampros 1904 : Κύντου Λουτατίου Κατούλου coni. Vasis 1906, 125 **16** in mg. ὅρα πολέμων πλῆθος I^{l}_{GK} Ἰβηρίαν coni. Lampros 1904 : ἰσαυρίαν I **18** ὁ δὲ Lampros 1904 : ἐν δὲ I Σερτώριος Lampros 1904 : σερτόριος I **22** Κεκίλιος Lampros 1904 : Κεκίλλιος I **24** διαφθείρεται τοῦ Σερτωρίου I : τοῦ Σερτωρίου διαφθείρεται οὐ coni. Dragoumis 1904, 498 Σερτωρίου Lampros 1904 : σερτορίου I

province of the Roman people. **24** Because he had murdered Cleopatra on false charges, King of Egypt Ptolemy was driven out of the country by the Egyptians and came to the Romans seeking aid. He was restored to power by the general Pompey, who struck the Egyptians with fear. Hyrcanus and Aristoboulus, the rulers of Judaea, started a rebellion and assumed royal atire. From the time they were carried off to Babylonia by Nabuchadnezzar, the king of Media, . . . [they] were forced again to obey the rulers of Syria. Four hundred and eighty-four years after that captivity they started making changes [in the state] and after that Alexander and Alexandra [came to power], under whom the Jewish state suffered a crisis.

Fifth Book of Consuls

25 After Marcus and Aemilius Lepidus and Quintius Catulus[1] had been elected consuls, as previously described, and when Sulla had re-established the constitution after the disorder of the Civil War, several unexpected wars broke out at once: one in Iberia, another in Isauria, Cilicia, Lycia and Pamphyllia, a third in Macedonia and a fourth in Illyria. Sertorius, who remained from the Marian faction and feared the fate of the friends and fellow conspirators of Marius already destroyed, stirred up the whole of Iberia. The Roman generals Lucius Domitius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the son of the Metellus who in the past had fought bravely in Numidia against Jugurtha, were sent to oppose him. However, Domitius skirmished with [Sertorius'] legate Boietolius and was killed after a long fight. After Domitius was killed. . .

[1] This is the reading of the Greek text. Of course Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Catulus are referred to.

99

EPl 44 Ὅτι Λούκουλλος ἔλεγεν ὡς ἕνα βούλοιτο ἂν ἐξελέσθαι κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ἢ πάντα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχεὶ λαβεῖν.

100

Suda λ 688 Ὅτι Λούκουλλος, ὁ ὕπατος, Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ τοῦ Πόντου βασιλεῖ ἐπολέμει καὶ προσσχὼν Τρῳάδι καὶ σκηνῶν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τέμενος ἔδοξε τὴν Ἀφροδίτην νύκτωρ ἐπιστᾶσάν οἱ τόδε εἰπεῖν· τί κνώσσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δέ τοι ἐγγύς. Καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς καὶ πυθόμενος ὡς εἴη πλησίον ναυλοχῶν ὁ βασιλικὸς στόλος, ἐπέπλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ κρατήσας τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ διαφθείρει πάντας καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰσίδωρον. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης φεύγει πρὸς Τιγράνην τὸν τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος καὶ πρὸς Τιγράνην ἐξενεγκὼν πόλεμον πόλεις τε εἷλε πλείστας ὅσας καὶ τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐπολιόρκει. Ὁ δὲ Τιγράνης ἀπιδὼν ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ λογισάμενος εὐαρίθμητον εἶναι, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θρυλλούμενον ἀπεφθέγξατο, ὡς εἰ μὲν πρεσβευταί, πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, εἰ δὲ στρατιῶται, ὀλίγοι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθὼν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων ἔγνω τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖν δυνάμενον. Ἀντίοχος γοῦν ὁ

Fr. 99 = *EPl* 44 (Boissevain 1895-1901, I, cxxiii) = fr. 146 R; Mai 1827, 551 | LHKMR
Fr. 100 = Adler 1928, iii, 285.2-22 = fr. 147 R Cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 76

Fr. 99: Plut. *Luc.* 8.3 Fr. 100: 5 Λούκουλλος – 10 Ἰσίδωρον Plut. *Luc.* 12.1-2; 12 Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος – 13 ἐπολιόρκει Cass. D. 36.1^{b}; 15 τὸ θρυλλούμενον – 16 ὀλίγοι Plut. *Luc.* 27.4; 16 Ἀλλ' ὅμως – 17 δυνάμενον Cass. D. 36.1^{b}.3.1 ; 17 Ἀντίοχος – 152.7 ἡττωμένων Plut. *Luc.* 28.8 (→ FGrHist 91 fr. 9, Livii perioche 98)

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2 λούκουλος LH **6** καὶ pr. ex A^{Suda} solo παρὰ A^{Suda} : περὶ GVM^{Suda} τέμενος A^{Suda} : ἱερόν GVM^{Suda} **8** τοι A^{Suda} : τι GVM^{Suda} **9** πλησίον A^{Suda} : ἐγγὺς GVM^{Suda} **17** γοῦν A^{Suda} : οὖν GVM^{Suda}

Fr. 100: 5 Λούκουλλος – 10 διαφθείρει *Suda* κ 1885 Λούκουλλος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τὸν Μιθριδάτην καταστρεψάμενος καὶ προσσχὼν τῇ Τρῳάδι καὶ σκηνῶν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τέμενος ἤκουσε χρησμοῦ τοιοῦδε· τὶ κνώςσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δέ τοι ἐγγύς. καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς καὶ πυθόμενος ὡς εἴη πλησίον ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπιπεσὼν διαφθείρει αὐτόν.

99

Lucullus said that he would rather save one Roman from danger than take all the enemy's possessions without fighting.

100

The consul Lucullus was waging war against Mithridates, king of Pontus. After going ashore in the Troas, he encamped near the temple of Aphrodite, where (as he thought) Aphrodite approached him at night and directed these words to him: "Why dost thou slumber, great lion? the fawns are near for thy taking." Rising from sleep and learning that the king's fleet was lying in wait in a nearby harbour, he sailed against it, won a naval victory, and killed everyone, including the commander Isidorus. Mithridates fled to Tigranes, king of Armenia. Lucullus went to war against Tigranes as well, captured many cities and besieged Tigranocerta. Looking out upon the Romans and considering them to be few in number, Tigranes uttered that famous saying, "If they have come as ambassadors, they are too many; if as soldiers, too few." Nevertheless he offered the Romans battle and had to acknowledge that his multitude of soldiers was of no use. The philosopher Antiochus mentions this battle, saying

φιλόσοφος ταύτης ἐπιμνησθεὶς τῆς μάχης οὐκ ἔφη τοιαύτην ἄλλην ἑωρακέναι τὸν ἥλιον· Στράβων δὲ οὕτως ἀκονιτί φησι τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον ἐργάσασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φόνον, ὡς μετὰ τὴν πεῖραν καταγελᾶν ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράποδα τοιαῦτα ὅπλοις χρησαμένων. Καὶ Λίβιος ἔφη τήνδε τὴν μάχην ἐκπληττόμενος, οὐδέποτε γάρ φησι τοσόνδε πολεμίων ἀποδέοντας Ῥωμαίους παρατάξασθαι· εἰκοστὸν γὰρ δὴ μέρος οἱ νικῶντες ἦσαν τῶν ἡττωμένων.

101

Suda π 2024 Ὅτι Πομπήιος ὁ Μέγας ἐπικληθείς, ὕπατος καὶ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, τὸν πρὸς Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην πόλεμον ἀνεδέξατο. Καὶ τὸν μὲν Μιθριδάτην κατὰ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν νυκτομαχίᾳ κατηγωνίσατο, ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι καὶ τρεῖς μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν καταβαλεῖν. Ὁ οὖν Μιθριδάτης γυμνωθεὶς παντάπασι τῆς δυνάμεως διαφεύγειν ἀγαπητῶς ἅμα τῇ γαμετῇ καὶ δύο τισὶν ἀκολούθοις ἱκανὸς γέγονεν· εἶτα καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Φαρνάκου παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις καὶ πρὸς θάνατον ἀναγκαῖον ἐλαθείς, φάρμακον δηλητήριον ἐκπιὼν τελευτᾷ περὶ τὸν Βόσπορον. Ὁ δὲ δὴ παῖς αὐτῷ Φαρνάκης γίνεται διάδοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἄγει τὴν στρατιάν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ λυσιτελὲς ἡγησάμενος, ἐνδιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀφίκετο πρὸς Πομπήιον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς γόνασιν αὐτοῦ πεσὼν καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσὶ κατέθετο. Οἷς δὴ καμφθεὶς τὸν θυμὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν καὶ

Fr. 101 = Adler 1928, iv, 169.1-29 = fr. 70 M = fr. 148 R; Droysen 1879, 99

Fr. 101: Eutr. 6.12.2-14.2

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2 δὲ GVM, Plut. *Luc.* 28.8*Suda* : τε A*Suda* **5** τοσόνδε Kust.*Suda* : τοσῶνδε omnes*Suda* **11** τὴν om. V*Suda* **12** αὐτῷ V*Suda* **15** Φαρμάκου V*Suda* **17** δὴ om. G*Suda* αὐτοῦ GV*Suda* **22** τὸν θυμὸν om. GM*Suda* ἀνίστησί τε Adler 1928 : ἀνεστήσατο V*Suda*

Fr. 101: 14 εἶτα – 17 Βόσπορον *EI* 29 (= fr. 69 M) Ὅτι Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Πόντου βασιλεὺς χαλεπὸς ὢν καὶ τραχὺς καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Φαρνάκου παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις στρατιώταις, πρός τε θάνατον ἀναγκαῖον συνελασθείς, φάρμακον δηλητήριον ἐκπιὼν τελευτᾷ περὶ τὸν Βόσπορον.

that the sun never looked down on such another. Strabo says that the Romans were able to make all that carnage so easily, that after the action they laughed at themselves for having used arms arms against such slaves. And Livy also remarked in reference to this battle that the Romans had never deployed for battle when so outnumbered by the enemy: the victors were a twentieth part of the vanquished.

101

Pompey the Great, consul and general of the Romans, undertook a war against Mithridates and Tigranes. He defeated Mithridates in a night battle in Armenia Minor, plundered his camp and killed thirty thousands of his soldiers. Mithridates, deprived of his forces altogether, barely managed to escape with his wife and two companions. Afterwards he was brought down by a revolt among his own soldiers stirred up by his son Pharnaces, and was forced to commit suicide. He drank poison and died near the Bosporus. His son Pharnaces succeeded him to the throne. Thereafter Pompey turned his forces on Tigranes. The Armenian did not think it would be wise to fight the Romans and came to Pompey to surrender, prostrating himself at his knees, and then taking the diadem from his head he placed it in Pompey's hands. Pompey was moved by

τὸ διάδημα πάλιν ἀποδίδωσιν, αὐτὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τοῦτο περιθεὶς κεφαλῇ τά τε ἄλλα διὰ τιμῆς τὸν ἄνδρα ἦγεν, ἀφαιρέσει δὲ ὅμως μέρους τινὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐζημίωσε τὸν Ἀρμένιον. Συρίαν τε γὰρ καὶ Φοινίκην ἀπετέμετο καὶ πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τῷ Ῥωμαίων δικαίῳ, ἅτε χειρῶν ἀδίκων ἀρξάμενον, προσηνάγκασε. Μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλβανοὺς ὑπέταξε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰβήρων Ἀρσάκην φεύγειν ἠνάγκασε καὶ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν Δηϊοτάρῳ τῷ δυνάστῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐδωρήσατο Ἄτταλόν τε καὶ Πυλαιμένεα ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν τῆς Παφλαγονίας κατήγαγεν, ἐξεληλαμένους πρὸς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Κόλχοις τε ἐφίστησιν ἡγεμόνα. Ἐφ' οἷς Σύρους τε καὶ Ἄραβας κατεστρέψατο καὶ Ἰουδαίους τρίτῳ μηνὶ παρεστήσατο. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναθημάτων οὐδὲν διήρπασεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἀναγραφὴν ποιησάμενος Ἀριστοβούλῳ παρέδωκεν· Ὑρκανὸν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξέπεμψε δέσμιον.

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1 αὐτὸν V*Suda* **3** πολλῆς V*Suda* : πολλοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν G*Suda* **4** γὰρ om. G*Suda* τῷ Ῥωμαίων δικαίῳ V*Suda* : καταβαλεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμιῳ Wolf*Suda* : τῷ Ῥωμαίων δοῦναι (vel διδόναι) κοινῷ Hemst.*Suda* : τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ (vel δημοσίῳ) καταβαλεῖν Bhd.*Suda* **6** Ἀρτάκην corr. Müller 1851 **7** Δηιοταύρῳ V*Suda* **8** τε Adler 1928 : δὲ V*Suda* **11** τοῦ om. G*Suda*

these gestures, raised him and returned the diadem to him. Pompey placed it on his head with his own hands and bestowed other honours on him, but forced him to give up some parts of his kingdom and imposed a large fine on him: Syria and Phoenice were taken away, and he had to give five thousands talents of silver as compensation to the Romans for starting an unjust war. Afterwards Pompey subdued the Albani and forced Artaces, King of the Iberians, to flee. He gave Armenia Minor as a gift to Deiotarus, King of Galatia, and restored Attalus and Pylaemenes to their own rule of Paphlagonia, since they had been expelled by Mithridates. He also appointed a ruler of the Colchians. Subsequently he defeated the Syrians and Arabs and in three months won a victory over the Jews. He did not plunder the votive offerings in the temple, however, but handed them over to Aristobulus after recording them in a register, and sent Hyrcanus to Rome in chains.

102

EV 19 Ὅτι Λούκιος Σέργιος Κατιλῖνος, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ὢν ἐπιφανεστάτου, ἄλλως δὲ πονηρὸς τὴν φύσιν, τολμητής τε καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ τὸ ἦθος ποικίλος ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πατρίδος συνώμοσε, τοὺς θρασυτάτους καὶ τολμηροτάτους τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν ἐνδησάμενος. Λέγεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπον καταθύσας γεῦσαι τοῦ αἵματος τοὺς συνωμότας, περιάγων ἐς πάντας τὴν κύλικα πλήρη οἴνου τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείου αἵματος, εἴτε καταγοητεύων τοὺς ἄνδρας τῷ τοιῷδε ὅρκῳ εἴτε καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τόλμημα καὶ πᾶσαν ἐθίζων ἀνοσιουργίαν, ἅτε οἰκείῳ καὶ πολιτικῷ ἐπιχειρῶν αἵματι καὶ μεταγαγεῖν τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τυραννίδα φόνῳ τε πολλῷ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ καταπρήσει τῆς πόλεως μηχανώμενος. Ἐπῆρεν δὲ ἄρα τὸν Κατιλῖνον ἐς ταύτας τὰς ἀτόπους ἐννοίας βάρη τε ὀφλημάτων

Fr. 102 = fr. 71 M = fr. 149 R; Valois 1634, 797, Droysen 1879, 103 | T (f. 89[rv])

Fr. 102: 2 Ὅτι – 3 φύσιν, 4 ἐπ' – 5 ἐνδησάμενος, 158.8 αὐτὸν – 158.8 πόλεως et 158.11 Οἱ – 158.12 ἔτυχον Eutr. 6.15 3 τολμητής – 4 ποικίλος Plut. *Cic.* 10.3 5 Λέγεται – 8 ὅρκῳ cf. Plut. *Cic.* 10.4 et Cass. D. 37.30.3 atque Sotiroudis 1989, 109 158.3 καὶ θυγατρὶ – 158.3 συνελθὼν cf. Plut. *Cic.* 10.3 158.3 Δι' – 158.4 αἱρεθέντος cf. Plut. *Cic.* 11.1-2 158.9 Ὁ μὲν – 158.10 ᾤχετο cf. Plut. *Cic.* 16.1 et Cass. D. 37.33.1-2

2 Κατιλῖνος corr. Müller 1851 : Κατιλινὸς T **9** ἀνοσιουργίαν T : τὴν ἀνοσιουργείαν Valois 1634

Fr. 102: *Suda* λ 686 Λούκιος Σέργιος Κατιλῖνος, ἀνὴρ γένους μὲν ὢν ἐπιφανεστάτου, ἄλλως δὲ πονηρὸς τὴν φύσιν, τολμητής τε καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ τὸ ἦθος ποικίλος, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πατρίδος συνώμοσε, τοὺς θρασυτάτους καὶ τολμηροτάτους τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν ἐνδησάμενος. λέγεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπον καταθύσας γεῦσαι τοῦ αἵματος τοὺς συνωμότας, περιάγων ἐς πάντας τὴν κύλικα πλήρη οἴνου τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείου αἵματος, εἴτε καταγοητεύων τοὺς ἄνδρας τῷ τοιῷδε ὅρκῳ εἴτε καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τόλμημα καὶ πᾶσαν ἐθίζων ἀνοσιουργίαν, ἅτε οἰκείῳ καὶ πολιτικῷ ἐπιχειρῶν αἵματι καὶ μετάγειν τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τυραννίδα φόνῳ τε πολλῷ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ καταπρήσει τῆς πόλεως μηχανώμενος. ἐπῆρε δὲ ἄρα τὸν Κατιλῖνον ἐς ταύτας τὰς ἀτόπους ἐννοίας βάρη τε ὀφλημάτων νικῶντα τὸ τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας καὶ συνειδὸς ἐκθέσμων καὶ μυσαρῶν πράξεων. τόν τε γὰρ παῖδα τῆς Ἀριστίλλης διέφθειρε· δι' ἃ δὴ καὶ ὑπατείαν μετιὼν ἀπηλάθη, Κικέρωνος ἐς τὴν τοῦδε χώραν αἱρεθέντος. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀτοπώτατα τῶν δραμάτων ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλετο, τῶν κακῶν οὐδαμοῦ ἱστάμενος οὐδὲ ἀναπαύων τὴν γνώμην. ὁ δὲ Κικέρων εἰπεῖν τε δεινὸς ὢν καὶ τἀληθὲς ἀνευρεῖν ἱκανὸς γνῶναι τε τὸ μέλλον ὀξύτατος, πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀποφήνας ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως.

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Lucius Sergius Catilina, a man of very noble family, but of a most corrupt disposition, a daring person disposed to forming great designs and wily by nature, conspired to destroy his fatherland by attaching to himself the boldest and most audacious of the patricians. It is said that he sacrificed a man and made the conspirators taste his blood by passing around to everybody the drinking-cup filled with wine and human blood, either to put the men under an oath through the power of witchcraft, or to habituate them to any kind of daring and wicked deed, since he was making plans to murder some of his relatives as well as some of his fellow-citizens, and to establish a tyrannical regime by committing numerous murders of the best citizens and by setting fire to the city. Catilina was induced to these monstrous undertakings by heavy debts that were greater than

νικῶντα τὸ τίμημα τῆς οὐσίας καὶ συνειδὸς ἐκθέσμων καὶ μυσαρῶν πράξεων. Τόν τε γὰρ υἱὸν ἔτι παῖδα ὄντα τοῦ τῆς Ἀρεστίλλης ἕνεκα γάμου διέφθειρεν, καὶ θυγατρὶ παρθένῳ συνελθών. Δι' ἃ δὴ καὶ ὑπατείαν μετιὼν ἀπηλάθη, Κικέρωνος ἐς τὴν τοῦδε χώραν αἱρεθέντος. 'Εξ οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀτοπώτατα τῶν δραμάτων ὁ Κατιλῖνος ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλετο, οὐδαμοῦ τῶν κακῶν ἱστάμενος οὐδὲ ἀναπαύων τὴν γνώμην. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ὁ Κικέρων εἰπεῖν τε δεινὸς ὢν καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνευρεῖν ἱκανὸς γνῶναί τε τὸ μέλλον ὀξύτατος πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀποφήνας ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπομείνας τοὺς ἐλέγχους, φεύγων ὡς Μάλλιον τὸν συνωμότην ᾤχετο, συχνὰς ἤδη δυνάμεις περί τε Ἀπουλίαν καὶ Τυρρηνίαν ἠθροικότα. Οἱ δὲ κοινωνήσαντες αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ τῆς Ῥώμης βουλευμάτων δίκης τῆς προσηκούσης ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἔτυχον.

103

EI 30 **1** Ὅτι Κάσσιος ὁ ταμίας πρῶτος τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλετο τοὺς περὶ Βροῦτον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἔργου κοινωνίαν προελόμενος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κράσσου συμφορὰν ὁ πολιτικὸς διεδέξατο πόλεμος, ἐπάρατός τε καὶ πολλῶν δακρύων γεγονὼς αἴτιος, ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς κατ' αὐτὸν συμβεβηκυίαις συμφοραῖς καὶ ἡ τύχη τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μετέστη πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον. Γάιος δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀναστρέφων ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀλκίμων ἐθνῶν νικητὴς ὑπατείαν ἐπήγγελλεν, ἀναμφιλόγως οἱ διὰ τῶν πεπραγμένων προστεθήσεσθαι ταύτην ὑπολαμβάνων. Ἀντειπόντων δὲ τῇ ἐξαιτήσει Μαρκέλλου τε τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ Βιβούλου ἔτι τε Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κάτωνος, ἐπανιέναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὰς δυνάμεις διαφεὶς παρα-

Fr. 103 = de Boor 1905, 70.5-75.17 = fr. 72 M; 14 Ὅτι – 170.3 ἀναλίσκεται = fr. 150.1 R; 170.3 ἐτῶν – 170.4 γεγονότων = fr. 151,1 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 15-21, Droysen 1879, 105-113 | P (f. 104r-f. 107v) S (f. 112v-f. 115v)

Fr. 103: Eutr. 6.19-25 Fr. 103.1: Eutr. 6.19.1-2

2 Ἀρεστίλλης T : 'Ορεστίλλης Valois 1634 **3** θυγατρὶ corr. Valois 1634 : θυγάτριον T **9** Μάλλιον P et Valois 1634 : Μάνλιον Müller 1851 **14** Κάσσιος P : βάσσιος S **17** ὅτι sic scriptum in PS, quasi novi excerpti initium fieret : ὅτε coni. Müller 1851 **22** προστεθήσεσθαι corr. Müller 1851 : προσθήσεσθαι PS **24** post παρατάττεται lacunam susp. Roberto 2005

his fortune and by his awareness that he had committed horrible and foul crimes. He had killed his son while still a child on account of his marriage to Arestilla,[1] and had had intercourse with his virgin daughter, as a result of which he lost the consular election, Cicero being elected in his stead. It was chiefly at this time that Catilina set his mind on these most horrible deeds without stopping at any crime or abandoning his purpose. However, Cicero, who was an outstanding orator, capable of discovering the truth and very keen in discerning the coming events, declared him a public enemy and expelled him from the city. Catilina did not wait for the investigation and fled to his fellow-conspirator Manlius who had already assembled numerous forces in Apulia and Etruria. The participants of his conspiracy against Rome paid the just punishment in prison.

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1 Cassius the quaestor was the first to set his mind to the murder of Caesar,[2] drawing Brutus and his associates into the plot. After the disaster of Crassus the accursed civil struggle followed, which caused many tears because in addition to the other adversities it also brought about a change of fortune for the Roman people, whose sovereignty was reduced to submission. When Gaius Caesar returned from Gaul victorious over many strong nations, he demanded the consulship on the assumption that it should be bestowed on him without any dispute because of his achievements. After the consul Marcellus,[3] Bibulus, Pompey and the philosopher Cato opposed his request, he refused to disband his troops

[1] i.e. Orestilla.

[2] *See* Plut. *Brut.* 9.1

[3] Santini (1992) identifies him in the *Index nominum* with C. Claudius Marcellus, *dkP* I, 1207, n. 13. Müller (1995, 218 n.) contradicts, "…Ich bezweifle allerdings, daß dies richtig ist: m.E. müßte dessen gleichnamiger Vetter, cos. 50, KP I 1206; Brou. II 247 gemeint sein (der im folgendem Jahr zu Caesar überging und dann politisch nicht mehr in Erscheinung trat, während der Konsul von 49 als Caesars Gegner bekannt blieb); denn die Widersprüche gegen Caesars Verlangen gehören vor den Bürgerkrieg, ins Jahr 50."

τάττεται. **2** Οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπατείαν, ἀλλὰ θριάμβου καταγωγὴν αἰτοῦντι τῷ Καίσαρι ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον· οἱ δὲ προσθήκην τινὰ τοῦ ὡρισμένου χρόνου λαβεῖν βουλόμενον, ἐπὶ τῷ πάντας ὁμοῦ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταγωνίσασθαι, οὐ προσδεχθῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς. Κουρίωνος δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνο δημαρχοῦντος μόνου ψηφισαμένου, διαλύει μὲν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον ὁ Καῖσαρ, θυμωθεὶς δὲ πολέμια κατὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονεῖν ἤρξατο. **3** Ἄρας δὲ ἐξ Ἀριμηνοῦ πόλεως, οὗ τὰς δυνάμεις εἶχεν ἠθροισμένας, συντεταγμένην ἐπῆγε τῇ πόλει τὴν στρατιάν. Οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἅμα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παντὶ τῶν ἀστῶν γνωριμωτέρῳ, καταδείσαντες τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁρμὴν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον φεύγοντες ᾤχοντο. **4** Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα δυνάμεις ἤθροιζεν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηρτύετο, Καῖσαρ δὲ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, οὐδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου, καὶ ἀποδείξας ἑαυτὸν δικτάτορα, τούς τε δημοσίους θησαυροὺς ἀναρρήξας, ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκένωσεν. Καὶ εὐθέως πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ δυνάμεις τοῦ Πομπηίου τρέπεται, ὡς μηδεὶς ὑπολείποιτο κατὰ νώτου πολέμιος. **5** Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος ἔγνω προκατειλῆφθαι τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐπὶ τὸ Βριττήσιον στρατοπεδεύσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Καίσαρι γίνεται. Διαμαρτήσας δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος, αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον καταφεύγει, πολύν τε διατρίψας χρόνον ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζετο, καίτοι πρὸς μικρὸν ἀναβαλλόμενος ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ πολεμίῳ ἕνεκεν σημείων τινῶν. **6** Αἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις μετέωροι πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἀλλήλων διέκειντο μάχην· ἥ τε σύγκλητος τὰ δίκαια τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τὴν Θετταλονίκην μεταγαγοῦσα προεκάθητο τῶν πραττομένων· αὐτός τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκρίνοντο. **7** Τρεῖς δ' οὖν στρατιὰς ἐνταῦθα καὶ μεγάλας Καῖσαρ καταγωνισάμενος ὑφ' ἡγεμόσι ταττομένας Λουκίῳ τε Ἀφρενίῳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Πετρο-

Fr. 103.2: fontem non inveni   Fr. 103.3: Eutr. 6.19.2-3   Fr. 103.4: Eutr. 6.19.3-6.20.1   Fr. 103.5: fontem non inveni   Fr. 103.6: fontem non inveni   Fr. 103.7: Eutr. 6.20.1-6.21.2

1 post Οἱ δὲ verbum φασιν add. Roberto 2005   **3** βουλόμενον Müller 1851 : βουλόμενοι PS   **5** ἀντιψηφισαμένου in app. coni. Müller 1851   **7** ἄρας S Müller 1851 : ἄρα P   Ἀριμινοῦ Müller 1851 Roberto 2005   **18** Βριττήσιον PS de Boor 1905 : Βρεντήσιον Müller 1851 Roberto 2005   **22** πολεμίῳ Müller 1851 : πολέμῳ PS   **24** προεκάθητο Müller 1851 : προσεκάθητο S : προσεκάθη P   **27** ἡγεμόσι Müller 1851 : ἡγεμόνας PS   Λουκίῳ corr. Cramer 1841 : Λουβίῳ P   Ἀφρενίῳ S : ἀφρενίᾳ P : Ἀφρανίῳ Cramer 1841 Roberto 2005   Πετροκίῳ PS : πετρηίω in mg. S^3

and return to the city. 2 Some [say] that it was not Caesar's request for a consulship, but for a celebration of a triumph that met with opposition from Pompey's partisans; others assert that the senate did not assent to Caesar's desire to obtain an extension of his term of office in order to conquer all the barbarians once and for all. Because only the tribune Curio voted against this, Caesar ended the war with the barbarians but, enraged, started to feel hostility toward the senate. 3 Setting out from the town of Ariminum, where he had gathered his forces, he advanced on the city of Rome with his troops in order of battle. The consuls and Pompey, together with the senate and all the nobility of Rome, in fear of Caesar's advance, left the city and fled to Macedonia and Epirus. 4 Pompey and his senatorial supporters were gathering their forces there and preparing for war; facing no opposition, Caesar marched into the city of Rome, appointed himself dictator, broke into public treasury, distributed the money to his soldiers and immediately set out against the forces of Pompey in Iberia, in order not to leave any enemies in his rear. 5 When Pompey realised that Iberia had already fallen into Caesar's hands, he took up position at Brundisium and met Caesar in battle, but his hopes were frustrated and he took refuge in Dyrrachium again. Having spent much time there, he prepared everything for war and yet briefly hesitated to set out against the enemy because of some omens. 6 The Roman forces were apprehensive about fighting each other. The senate transferred to Thessalonica the legal procedures of the city of Rome, and was in charge of the proceedings, but it was Caesar in person and Pompey who decided [their dispute] by means of arms.[1] 7 There Caesar overcame in a short time three very powerful armies under the command of the generals Lucius Afranius, Marcus Petreius, and Marcus Varro, and

[1] The passage presents some difficulties. Müller (1851) remarked, "Ceterum male haec contracta sunt. Quid voluerit auctor, fusius explicat Dio XLI, 43, quem Noster in compendium redegit."

κίῳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Βάρωνι ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, διὰ μάχης ἐλθὼν τῷ Πομπηίῳ φεύγει τὸ πρῶτον ἐλαττωθεὶς καὶ μικρὸν ἀποσχὼν ἐλαττωθῆναι παντάπασιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑπεξέδυ τὸ κακόν, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐπιγενομένη τῷ ἔργῳ τὸν μὲν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις τῶν οἰκείων διέσωσεν, Πομπήιον δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάγειν θᾶττον ἢ δεῖ παρεσκεύασεν κατὰ σκότος ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν οὐ προελόμενον. Φασὶ γοῦν τὸν Καίσαρα παρ' ὅσον ἦλθε κινδύνου λογιζόμενον πολλάκις εἰπεῖν, ὡς μάχεσθαι μὲν ἀγαθὸς εἴη Πομπήιος, νικᾶν δὲ ἀμαθῶς ἔχοι· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑτέρῳ χρόνῳ ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἁλώσιμος. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πόλεως Θεσσαλικῆς Φαρσάλου πλησίον μεγάλας αὖθις ἑκάτεροι δυνάμεις ἀγείραντες συνήεσαν. Πομπηίῳ μὲν οὖν τέσσαρες μυριάδες ὁπλιτῶν ἦσαν, καὶ ἱππεῖς πλείους ἢ τετρακισχίλιοι καθ' ἑκάτερον τῶν κεράτων νενεμημένοι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἑῴων ἐθνῶν συμμαχικόν, καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἦν ἐπίσημον Ῥωμαίων εἵπετο, οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πλῆθος οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον ὄν, συνετάττοντο, ἐν ⟨οἷς⟩ στρατηγικοί τε καὶ ὑπατικοὶ ἄνδρες ἦσαν, πολλῶν ἤδη στρατοπέδων ἐξηγησάμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς διαπεπραγμένοι πολέμους. Καίσαρί γε μὴν οὐδὲ ὅλαι τρεῖς μυριάδες ἀπεπλήρουν τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς χίλιοι. Οὐδεπώποτε δὲ τοσαίδε Ῥωμαϊκαὶ συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ δυνάμεις, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ βελτίοσιν ἡγεμόσι ταττόμεναι· αἳ ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἅπασαν ἐσχατιὰν τῆς γῆς ὑποκύψαι Ῥωμαίοις ἠνάγκασαν, εἰ πρὸς ὀθνείους ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἐμφυλίους ἀγῶνας ἤχθησαν. **8** Τότε δ' οὖν συνελθόντες ἐμάχοντο καρτερῶς, οὐδέτεροι διά τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀπέχθειαν εἴκοντες. Πολλῆς τε διαφθορᾶς ἀφ' ἑκατέρων γενομένης, τέλος οἱ περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐκλείπουσι, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ πίπτουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ σποράδες ἀπεχώρουν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον διαρπάσαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις παραδόντες. Αὐτὸς δὲ Πομπήιος ὀλίγοις ἅμα τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀπεχώρει, Αἴγυπτον καταλαβεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιούμενος, ὡς ἂν δοθείη οἱ πρὸς τοῦ τότε δυναστεύοντος ὠφέλεια, οὗπερ δὴ πάλαι τὸν πατέρα ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν φυγαδευθέντα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκατέστησεν. **9** Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀναπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ

Fr. 103.8: Eutr. 6.21.2-3 Fr. 103.9: 164.2 πρὶν – 164.5 ἀπώλετο Cass. D. 42.4.4-5 cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 93f.

3 μὴ νὺξ P : μὴν ἐξ S **5** ἢ δὴ παρεσκεύασεν S **9** Θεσσαλικῆς Müller 1851 : θεσσαλωνίκης PS **11** μὲν τὸ οὖν S **14** ἀπὸ om. S lacuna indicata : ἐπὶ S[3] **15** οἷς add. Müller 1851 **23** διαφθορᾶς Müller 1851 : διαφορᾶς PS **28** οἱ πρὸς – ὠφέλεια Müller 1851 : οἱ τῇ πρὸς – ὠφελείᾳ PS

met Pompey in battle. At first he was defeated and fled, barely escaping complete destruction: he would not have evaded his doom, had the nightfall not put an end to the fighting and saved him and the remaining soldiers by making Pompey—who decided not to undertake the pursuit in the dark—withdraw his army faster than necessary. It is reported that Caesar realised what danger he had escaped for he used to say that Pompey was good at fighting but did not know how to win, since it was on that day and at no other time that he [i.e. Caesar] could have become prey to his enemies. After that, having collected vast forces on both sides they met in battle again near the Thessalian city of Pharsalus. Pompey had forty thousand infantry and more than four thousand cavalry distributed between each of the wings, and in addition auxiliaries from the whole east, all the nobility of Rome, some senators, and a countless number of other people among whom there were former praetors and former consuls who had previously been in charge of campaigns and had waged many wars. Caesar had not quite thirty thousand infantry in his battle line and a thousand cavalry. Never before had such great Roman forces come together in one place or under better generals: these forces would have easily subdued the furthest parts of the world to the Romans, had they been led against foreign nations and not against the people of Rome. **8** They then came together and fought with tremendous effort, neither side giving ground, on account of their bravery and hatred for the enemy. After many losses on both sides Pompey's army finally gave way, many of his soldiers fell and others retreated in a disorganised fashion, leaving a deserted camp to be plundered by the enemy. Pompey himself with a few friends and family retreated and headed toward Egypt, counting on assistance from the king who was in power there at the time, whose father he had restored to power after the former had been driven out of the country by the people.[1] **9** Following the advise of Theodotus of Chi-

[1] In this last sentence John of Antioch deviates from the account given in Eutropius and inserts a reference to an earlier episode from his chronicle: *see* Fr. 98.24. The episode could be a paraphrase of Cass. D. 42.2.4 as well.

Θεοδότου τοῦ Χίου, πονηροῦ τὸν τρόπον ῥήτορος, τῆς τῶν κρατούντων γενέσθαι μοίρας, ἐν οὐδενὶ δὲ θέσθαι τὰ τῶν φίλων ἀτυχούντων, πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι μηδὲν μήτε εἰπόντα μήτε ὀδυρόμενον ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Πομπήιον. Ὡς γὰρ ᾔσθετο ὅτι οὔτε λαθεῖν οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δύναται, συνεκαλύψατο ἅμα καὶ ἀπώλετο. Ἀνοσίᾳ τε πράξει μεῖζον ἔτι προστιθεὶς ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀσέβημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν ἄνδρα. **10** Μετὰ δὲ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Πομπηίου παρῆν εὐθὺς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, πάλαι μὲν διώκων τὸν πολέμιον, τότε δὲ ὡς παρὰ φίλον τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀφιγμένος. Ὁ δὲ ἄρα παραπλήσια καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβουλεύετο, ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα λόχῳ διεγνωκώς. Ἀνοιχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, πολέμιος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἀναφαίνεται καὶ διὰ μάχης ἐλθὼν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα διαφθείρεται. Μικρὸν γοῦν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ἀνευρέθη κρικωτὸν θώρακα χρυσοῦν περικείμενος. Αἴγυπτον δὲ Καῖσαρ ἑλὼν Κλεοπάτρᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδίδωσιν, ἀδελφῇ μὲν τοῦ πρότερον βασιλεύοντος οὔσῃ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὥρας αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος ἐγνωσμένῃ. Φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷδε πρώτῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐς κοινωνίαν λέχους ἐλθεῖν. Ἐνδημοῦντος δὲ διὰ ταύτην τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, λόγος κατέσχε τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς καὶ ἐπανάστασιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων γενέσθαι, καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὅπλων ἐντεῦθεν διαφθαρῆναι. **11** Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀκούσας τὸν Μιθριδάτου παῖδα Φαρνάκην αὖθις νεωτερίζειν ἀρξάμενον ἀπῆρε μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· καὶ καταστρατευσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ περικλείσας ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ τῆς Θετταλίας, πρὸς αὐτόχειρα θάνατον τοῦτον ἐλθεῖν ἠνάγκασεν, ἐς ταύτην αὐτὸν ἀγαγὼν τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐς ἣν αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν πατέρα συνήλασεν. **12** Ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, τρίτον ἑαυτὸν ὕπατον ἀνειπὼν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς προσελόμενος Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον, ὃς κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ μοναρχίαν ἐξηγουμένῳ. Πολλούς τε τῶν Πομπηιανῶν ἀνακαλεσάμενος τῷ τε δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ ἀφέσεις χρεῶν χαρισάμενος, στρατηγούς τε τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς ὑπὲρ τὸ νενομισμένον καταστήσας τῇ πόλει, τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχας ἄλλους τέ τινας καταλέξας, Σαλουστίῳ τὴν πολιτικὴν διοίκησιν καταλιμπάνει καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακό-

Fr. 103.10: Eutr. 6.22.1-2   Fr. 103.11: Eutr. 6.22.2   Fr. 103.12: Eutr. 6.23.1-2

3 μήτε εἰπόντα S : deest in P : recte suppl. Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 42.4
15 ἐγνωσμένῃ Müller 1851 : ἐγνωσμένης PS   **16** πρώτῳ P : πρώτων S
32 σαλουσστίῳ ex σαλοσστίῳ corr. S

os,[1] a rhetorician of bad character, who proposed sharing in the destiny of the victors and to disdaining friends when they have bad luck, Ptolemy had Pompey murdered before he sailed into the harbour. Pompey did not utter a word and made no complaint, but as soon as he recognised that he would not be able to hide himself or escape, he veiled his face and perished. To this wicked deed Ptolemy added the greater crime of beheading the man. **10** Directly after the death of Pompey Caesar too came to Egypt. In the past he used to persecute Ptolemy as his enemy, but now he came to him as to a friend. However, Ptolemy decided to take a similar action against Caesar as well, attempting to kill him by an ambush. When the plot was disclosed, Ptolemy overtly became an enemy, engaging the Romans in a war in which he lost his life. A short time later he was found among the dead, clad in a ringed gilded cuirass. Caesar took possession of Egypt and gave power to Cleopatra, the sister of the previous ruler, who became known to him on account of her physical beauty. It is reported that she shared the bed with this first man among the Romans. While Caesar was staying in Egypt because of her, there were rumours among the people which led to the revolt of the local population against him; and a countless number perished by Roman arms on that occasion. **11** Having learned that Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, had started a rebellion again, Caesar departed from Egypt and after taking the field surrounded him somewhere in Thessaly and forced him to commit suicide, thus driving Pharnaces to the same death which the latter had inflicted on his own father.[2] **12** Having done this, Caesar returned to Rome and made himself consul for the third time with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had also been his *magister equitum* the year before during his dictatorship. He recalled many of Pompey's followers, showed many favours to the people of Rome by making lavish gifts and granting a remission of debts, appointed some officials to take care of the necessary business, ordained a higher than customary number of priests for the city, enrolled a number of knights, centurions and other people, left to Sallust the administration of the state and the veterans,

1 *See* Plut. *Pomp.* 77.3-7.

2 Müller (1851) mentions several historical inaccuracies in this account: Pharnaces was not defeated in Thessaly, but at Zela in southern Pontus, and he did not commit suicide.

τας στρατιώτας, αὐτός τε ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπεραιοῦτο, ἔνθα τὸ πολὺ καὶ γνωριμώτατον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς εὐγενείας συνελθὸν συμμάχῳ τε χρώμενον Ἰώβᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἀνενεοῦτο τὸν πόλεμον. **13** Ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ἐκ τοῦ παλαιτάτου μὲν γένους Σκιπίωνος Ἀφρικανοῦ γεγονώς, κηδεστὴς δὲ Πομπηίου τυγχάνων, καὶ Μάρκος Πετρήιος καὶ Κόιντος Βάρος καὶ Μάρκος Πόρκιος Κάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλου τοῦ μοναρχήσαντος παῖς ὤν. Οἷς ἀντιταξάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πολλὰς προσβολὰς καὶ διαφόρους τῶν πραττομένων τύχας κρατεῖ παντάπασιν, ὡς Κάτωνα μὲν καὶ Σκιπίωνα, Πετρήιόν τε καὶ Ἰώβαν αὐτόχειρας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖν, Φαῦστόν τε τὸν παῖδα Σύλλου συνοικοῦντα θυγατρὶ Πομπηίου πρὸς αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι τοῦ Καίσαρος. **14** Ἐνιαυτὸν δὴ οὖν ὕστερον ἀναστρέψας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Γάιος, τέταρτον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέδειξεν ὕπατον, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβὼν εὐθὺ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐχώρει. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Πομπηίου παῖδες, ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καθεστῶτες ὁμώνυμοι, Γναῖος Πομπήιος καὶ Σέξτος Πομπήιος, μεγάλας ἐγείραντες αὖθις δυνάμεις ἀνενεοῦντο τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν Καῖσαρ ἀφίκετο, πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ καρτεραὶ συνίσταντο μάχαι, ἐσχάτη δὲ πόλεως Μούνδης πλησίον γίνεται· καθ’ ἥν φασι παρὰ τόσον ἐλθεῖν κινδύνου τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς, παρερρηγμένης ἤδη τῆς οἰκείας φάλαγγος, σπάσαι καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ξίφος τεθνάναι βουλόμενον, πρὶν μετὰ τοσήνδε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων δόξαν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δύω μειρακίων πέσοι ἀνὴρ ἤδη πρὸς γῆρας σχεδὸν ἀφιγμένος. Ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ ὅμως τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ τὰς τάξεις ἀνανεωσάμενος ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ κρατεῖ περιφανῶς. Τῶν δὲ Πομπηίου παίδων ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἐν τῇ παρατάξει διαφθείρεται, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος ἀγαπητῶς διασώζεται. **15** Ὁ τοίνυν Καῖσαρ, ἁπάντων ἤδη τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων κατειργασμένων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνεστρέφετο, τό τε φρόνημα ταῖς συνεχέσιν ἀνδραγαθίαις ἐξωγκωμένος καὶ παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἀλαζονευόμενος. Ἐπεὶ γοῦν τάς τε τιμὰς καὶ τὸ κῦρος τοῦ δήμου παρελόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπέτρεπεν οἷς ἐβούλετο, καί, τῆς βουλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰούσης, οὐχ ὑπαν-

Fr. 103.13: Eutr. 6.23.2-3 Fr. 103.14: Eutr. 6.24 Fr. 103.15: Eutr. 6.25

3 Ἰώβᾳ τῷ Cramer 1841 : ἰώβατῶ PS **5** Σκιπίων – γένους deest in P **6** Κόιντος Müller 1851 : κύντος PS **14** εὐθὺ τῆς Kambylis : εὐθὺ τὰς PS edd. : εὐθὺ ἐπὶ τὰς coni. Müller 1851 **29** τῆς – ἐλευθερίας in app. coni. de Boor 1905 **30** κῦρος S : κύριος P

and crossed over to Libya, where the largest and most distinguished part of Roman aristocracy had made an alliance with Juba, King of Mauretania, and resumed the war. **13** In charge of the Roman forces gathered there, were: Publius Cornelius Scipio from the most ancient family of Scipio Africanus (father-in-law of Pompey), Marcus Petreius, Quintus Varus, the philosopher Marcus Porcius Cato and Cornelius Faustus, son of the dictator Sulla. Caesar started the war against them and after many engagements and varying successes gained a complete victory, such that Cato, Scipio, Petreius and Juba committed suicide and Faustus, the son of Sulla who was married to Pompey's daughter, was killed by Caesar himself. **14** After a year Caesar returned to Rome, made himself consul for a fourth time, and set out for Spain with his army. For the sons of Pompey, both of whom had the same name as their father, Gnaeus Pompey and Sextus Pompey, had gathered large forces again and resumed the war. Upon Caesar's arrival, there were many heavy battles, the last of which took place at the city of Munda. It is reported that Caesar was in such great danger that, when his line of battle was broken, he drew out his sword against himself, wishing to die in order that he, nearly an old man who had obtained great military glory, may not fall into the hands of the two youngsters. Nevertheless, he rallied the fleeing soldiers, restored the ranks, attacked the enemy and gained a conspicuous victory. The elder of Pompey's sons was killed in the battle, the younger barely escaped. **15** After all the civil wars came to end Caesar returned to Rome. His many noble achievements filled him with pride and, contrary to the custom of Roman liberty, he started to act arrogantly towards those he encountered. Since he had assumed the civic honours and the supreme power of the people himself, he started to bestow them on whomever he wished; he did not rise for the senate when it ap-

ἵστατο, ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς εἴτε ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν τυραννικοῖς χαίρων δῆλος ἦν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν (εἰκόνας τε γὰρ καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ ἀφιδρύματά τινες αὐτῷ τῶν κολάκων προσέφερον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ βασιλέα προσηγόρευον), οὕτω τοίνυν πάντων τῶν ἐν μνήμῃ ῾Ρωμαίων κρείττων φανεὶς διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δύναμιν θεὸς ὠνομάσθη. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐπὶ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ἐνιαυτοὶ χίλιοι ρκδʹ. **16** Ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑπερόγκῳ φρονήματι ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον διεγένετο, βουλεύουσι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ θάνατον, φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου, ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ ξʹ τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας τελούντων, ὅρκῳ τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ σύστασιν βεβαιωσάμενοι. Ἐνῆγον δὲ ἄρα μάλιστα πάντων τοὺς συνωμότας ἐς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν Βροῦτοι δύω, γένους ὄντες ἀνέκαθεν αὐστηροτάτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν Βροῦτον τοῦ αἵματος ἀνέφερον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὃς τοὺς τυράννους ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτάτω χρόνοις ἐκβαλὼν πρῶτος ἀπεδείχθη παρὰ ῾Ρωμαίοις ὕπατος. **17** Καίτοι φασί τινες δημοτικοῦ γεγενῆσθαι πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄρτι καὶ πρώην ἐς ἄρχοντας παρεληλυθότος· οὐ γὰρ τῷ παλαιῷ γε Βρούτῳ λειφθῆναι γένος ἀνελόντι τοὺς υἱέας· οἷς ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀντιλέγων Ποσειδώνιος τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ φησὶν ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Βρούτου παῖδας, τρίτον δὲ λειφθῆναι νήπιον, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸ γένος εἰς τούσδε καθήκειν. Μήτηρ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀδελφὴ τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κάτωνος, ὃν μάλιστα ῾Ρωμαίων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐζήλωσε Βροῦτος θεῖον ὄντα καὶ κηδεστὴν ὕστερον γενόμενον. Πορκίᾳ γὰρ δὴ τῇ Κάτωνος συνῴκησε θυγατρί, γυναικὶ σώφρονι καὶ γενναίᾳ. **18** Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Βρούτοις Γάιος Κάσσιος ἦν {ὁ} ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ, ὁ Κράσσῳ ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους συστρατευσάμενος, καὶ Σερβίλιος Κάσκας, ὃς δὴ καὶ πρῶτος σπάσαι τὸ ξίφος κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος λέγεται. Ἐπιστάντος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ, καθ᾽ ὃν ἔδει τὴν βουλὴν συνελθοῦσαν χρηματίσαι τι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, παρῆν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον μεθέξων τῶν γινομένων. ῾Ως δὲ τὰ ξίφη διεκόμισαν ἐν κιβωτίῳ τινὶ κατακρύψαντες, τρόπῳ δὲ συμβολαίων παρὰ τὸ συνέδριον ἤγαγον, αὐτίκα ἀναστάντες καὶ περιστάντες τὸν Καίσαρα κατετίτρωσκον, ἐπιθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διώθει τοὺς ἐπιόντας καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ἠμύνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν

Fr. 103.16: Eutr. 6.25 Fr. 103.17: Plut. *Brutus* 1.6-7 Fr. 103.18: Eutr. 6.25

2 ἀνιδρύματά Müller 1851 **11** Βροῦτοι in mg. rep. PS **13** ὃς Müller 1851 : οὓς S : deest in P **15** αὐτοὺς Müller 1851 : αὐτοῦ PS **17** οἷς Müller 1851 : οὓς PS **22** Κάτωνος – γενναίᾳ deest in P **23** ὁ uncis incl. Müller 1851

proached him, but obviously took pleasure in royal, or one might more truthfully say, tyrannical ways (some flatterers dedicated images, statues and temples to him, others addressed him as king); he seemed greater than any Roman of the past and so he was called a god because of his superhuman power. From the Trojans to Caesar there are one thousand one hundred and twenty-four years. **16** Because Caesar continued to treat the senate with excessive pride, more than sixty people of the senators and those who were numbered among the knights formed a conspiracy to kill him, out of envy for that which was his due and out of hatred for the excessive honours that were paid to him, and cemented it with an oath. It was the two Bruti above all who impelled the conspirators towards the attempt; they belonged to a *gens* known of old for its austerity, tracing their origin to that old Brutus who in ancient times had expelled the kings and had been appointed the first consul by the Romans. **17** However some say that they were born of a plebeian father, who had only recently risen to power, for the old Brutus left no descendants since he had killed his sons. The philosopher Poseidonius,[1] however, contradicts this, saying that the two sons of Brutus who were in the prime of life perished, but that a third son was left, an infant, from whom the family continued down to these men [i.e. the Bruti]. The mother of the two Bruti was a sister of the philosopher Cato; the elder Brutus admired his uncle, who later became his father-in-law, more than any other Roman. He married Porcia, the daughter of Cato, a noble and virtuous woman. **18** Besides the Bruti, Gaius Cassius was in the conspiracy (the one who had accompanied Crassus in his campaign against the Parthians), and Servilius Casca, who is said to have been the first to draw his sword against Caesar. At the time when a regular meeting of the senate was to take place, Caesar arrived at the senate house to participate in the proceedings. [The conspirators] had smuggled in some swords hidden in a small chest, which they carried into the council chamber as if they were some contracts; they stood up at once, surrounded Caesar and stabbed him. When the conspirators attacked him, he tried to repel the attackers and defended himself as best he could, but when he saw

1 *See FGrH* 87 F 40.

Βροῦτον γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει ἐπ’ αὐτὸν χωροῦντα καὶ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις τεταγμένον ἐθεάσατο, ἐγκαλυψάμενος παρέδωκε παίειν τὸ σῶμα. Τρεῖς γοῦν καὶ κ′ πληγὰς ἀναδεξάμενος ἀναλίσκεται· ἐτῶν {δὲ} τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὸν ἀνοικισμὸν ἐννέα που πρὸς τοῖς ψ′ γεγονότων.

104

Suda οι 4 Τὴν κεφαλὴν Πομπηίου κομισθεῖσάν οἱ.

105

EI 30 ᾿Επειδὴ Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρέθη κατὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, αὖθις ἐμφύλιος ἀνήφθη πόλεμος. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐθέντας τοῦ Καίσαρος, οἷα τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας προστάτας, περιεῖπε τὸ συνέδριον· ὅ γε μὴν ὕπατος Ἀντώνιος τοῖς ἀχθομένοις τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτῇ προσθέμενος πιέζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ καταναλίσκειν ἐκ παντὸς ἐπενόει τρόπου, καὶ οὐ καθῆκεν, ἄχρις οὗ φυγάδας τῆς πόλεως τοὺς περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον κατέστησεν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπεξῆλθον δείσαντες τὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δύναμιν δημαγωγοῦντος κατ’ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἀρχάς τε καὶ τιμὰς τοῖς ἀνδράσι προσένειμεν ἄρχειν Συρίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ψηφισαμένη. Ταραχθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἑαυτῇ, πολλά τε καὶ ἔκνομα τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαπραττόμενον, πολέμιον ἀνεῖπεν ἡ βουλή, ἐπί τε τῇ συλλήψει τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἤδη τῆς πόλεως σὺν ταῖς οἰκείαις δυνάμεσιν ἀπεληλυθότος Πάνσαν τε καὶ Ἵρκτιον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκπέμπει, τρίτον ἡγεμόνα τούτοις ἐπιτάξασα τὸν ᾿Οκταούιον ἔτι νέον ὄντα.

Fr. 104 = Adler 1928, iv, 614.13-14; cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 76), Roberto (2005, CI n. 213) Fr. 105 = de Boor 1905, 75.18-33 = fr. 74 M = fr. 151,2-14 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 21, Droysen 1879, 113, 115 | P (f. 107v) S (f. 115v)

Fr. 104: cf. Cass. D. 42.7.2 Fr. 105: Eutr. 7.1

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3 δὲ uncis incl. Müller 1851 **14** ὑπεξῆλθον Müller 1851 : ἐπεξῆλθον PS **21** post ὄντα verbum ζητ habet P : ζητ ἐν τῷ περὶ καισάρων atramento nigro in S, qui reliquas eiusmodi annotationes rubro descriptas exhibet, sicut de Boor 1905

Brutus approaching him sword in hand and the other conspirators with him, he covered himself up and yielded to their blows. He was stabbed with twenty three strokes and died.[1] This happened seven hundred and nine years after the foundation of the city.

104

They brought him [i.e. Caesar] Pompey's head.[2]

105

After Caesar was murdered in the senate house, civil war flared up again. The assassins of Caesar were treated with honour by the senate as champions of public freedom. The consul Antony, however, siding with those who lamented his murder, planned to crush [the culprits] altogether and did not rest until he exiled Brutus and his followers from the city. They withdrew because they were afraid of Antony's power, since he was stirring the population against them. The senate bestowed honours and public offices on the assassins, appointing them governors of Syria and Macedonia. While the city was in a state of anarchy, Antony was declared a public enemy by the senate for committing many crimes, and the consuls Pansa and Hirtius together with a third general, a young man Octavian, were dispatched to seize Antony, who had already left the city with his forces.

1 *See* Plut. *Brut.* 17.

2 The placement of this fragment presents some difficulties, since it narrates the event following Pompey's death, the account of which is found in the previous fragment (Fr. 103.9).

106

EV 20 **1** Ὅτι Φολουία ἡ Ἀντωνίου γυνὴ Κικέρωνος τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀποτεμοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι λαβοῦσα πολλὰ μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξυβρίσαι καὶ ἐμπτύσαι. Τέλος δὲ τὸ αὐτῆς διανοίξασα στόμα ἐκείνου τε τὴν γλῶτταν ἐξελκύσαι καὶ τῇ βελόνῃ τῇ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατακεντῆσαι. Πολλά τε καὶ μιαρὰ προσφθεγξαμένη ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τεθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἵν' ὅθεν κατ' αὐτῆς δημηγορῶν ἠκούετο, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ὁρῷτο. **2** Οὗτοί γε μόνοι ἐσώθησαν τότε, παρ' ὧν γε πλείονα ἔλαβον ἤπερ τελευτησάντων εὑρεῖν ἤλπισαν. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ κεναὶ ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασι τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ χῶραι ὦσιν, ἑτέρους ἀντέγραψαν ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Ἀντώνιος. Τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τὰς σφαγάς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οὐσίας συνέβαινεν. Καίτοι ταῖς τε γυναιξὶ τῶν ἀναιρουμένων τὰς προῖκας καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις τὸ δέκατον τῆς οὐσίας μέρος παρεῖχεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπορθεῖτο γοῦν πάντα ἀδεῶς. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐνοικίων οἱ κτήτορες ἀφῃροῦντο 〈τὸ ὅλον,〉 τῶν δὲ προσόδων τὸ ἥμισυ. Καὶ πρός γε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπ-

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Fr. 106 = fr. 75 M = fr. 152 R; Valois 1634, 798, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 750 | T (f. 89^{v}-f. 90^{r})

Fr. 106: 2 Ὅτι – 10 Ἀντώνιος Cass. D. 47.8.3; 47.8.4; 47.8.3; 47.8.5 11 Τοιαῦτα – 13 Καῖσαρ Cass. D. 47.14.1 13 ᾿Επορθεῖτο – 15 ἥμισυ Cass. D. 47.14.2 15 Καὶ – 174.1 προῖκα Cass. D. 47.14.3 174.1 Δεκάτας – 174.2 μέρος Cass. D. 47.16.5 174.2 Αὐξήσεως – 174.5 ἐπλούτουν Cass. D. 47.17.4 174.5 Οἱ μὲν – 174.10 αἰτῆσαι Cass. D. 47.17.5; 47.17.6

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2 post Ὅτι verbum λέγεται in app. coni. Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 750 **4** ἐμπτύσαι *Suda* φ 567 Valois 1634 Büttner-Wobst 1906b : ἐμπτῦσαι T et Müller 1851 αὐτῆς (i.e. τῆς τοῦ Κικέρωνος κεφαλῆς) A^{Suda} Cass. D. 47.8.4 Müller 1851 : ἑαυτῆς T Valois 1634 GM^{Suda} **7** ὁρῷτο *Suda* φ 567 Cass. D. 47.8.3 : ὁρᾶτο T Valois 1634 **8** ἤπερ Valois 1634 : εἴπερ T **10** Καῖσαρ Müller 1851 : Καίσαρ T et Valois 1634 **13** Καῖσαρ Müller 1851 : Καίσαρ T et Valois 1634 **14** οἱ κτήτορες Valois 1634 : οἰκτήτορες T ἀφῃροῦντο τῶν T : ἀφῃροῦντο τὸ ὅλον τῶν Büttner-Wobst 1906b e Cass. D. 47.14.2 : τὸ ὅλον ἀφῃροῦντο τῶν Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 47.14.2 **15** ἀπέτρεφον Valois 1634 : ἀπέστρεφον T

Fr. 106: 2 Ὅτι – 7 ὁρῷτο *Suda* φ 567 Φολουΐα, Ἀντωνίου γυνή. αὕτη Κικέρωνος τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀποτεμοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι λαβοῦσα πολλὰ μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξυβρίσαι καὶ ἐμπτύσαι· τέλος δὲ τὸ αὐτῆς διανοίξασα στόμα ἐκείνου τε τὴν γλῶτταν ἐξελκύσαι καὶ τῇ βελόνῃ τῇ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν κατακεντῆσαι· πολλά τε καὶ μιαρὰ προσφθεγξαμένη ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τεθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἵν', ὅθεν κατ' αὐτῆς δημηγορῶν ἠκούετο, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ὁρῷτο.

106

1 Fulvia, Antony's wife, had the head of the orator Cicero cut off, took it on her knees and insulted it and spat at it for a long while; then finally she opened its mouth, pulled out the tongue and pierced it with her hairpin. She addressed it at length in revolting terms, and then ordered it to be placed on the speaker's rostrum, so that it could be seen where he used to be heard speaking against her. **2** The only people who were safe at that time were those from whom they got more money than they could expect to obtain by their death. And in order that the tablets of names might have no empty spaces, Caesar, Lepidus and Antony inscribed others in their stead. These events relate to murders, but many [other] things happened in connection with the property of the others.[1] Even though Caesar gave to the widows of the slain their dowries, and to the children a tenth of the property of their fathers, everything was plundered with impunity. The house-owners were deprived of the entire amount of the house-rent, and of half of the amount of their additional income.[2] [And it was agreed upon that] they [i.e. the house-owners] should provide

[1] i.e. of those who were not proscribed.

[2] *See* the original passage in Cass. D. 47.14.2, where the meaning is quite different from that of the abridged version of John of Antioch.

έτρεφον προῖκα. Δεκάτας τε αὖθις εἰσφέρειν τῶν προσόδων ἐπιτραπέντες μόλις αὐτοὶ δέκατον ἐκαρποῦντο μέρος. Αὐξήσεως γὰρ τῶν τελῶν πολλῆς γενομένης, καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπαιτούμενοι παῖδας, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ὠνούμενοι ἐδίδοσαν. Τάς τε ὁδοὺς οἰκείοις δαπανήμασιν ἐπεσκεύαζον. Μόνοι δὲ οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες ἐπλούτουν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν τελευτησάντων ὅλας καὶ ᾔτουν καὶ ἐλάμβανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν ζώντων ἔτι γερόντων τε καὶ ἀτέκνων γένη ἐσεβιάζοντο. Ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπληστίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας ἐχώρησαν, ὥστε τινὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος μητρὸς ἀποθανούσης τότε καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταφῇ τιμηθείσης ⟨οὐσίαν⟩ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰτῆσαι. Ταῦτα οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐποίουν Καῖσαρ καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Ἀντώνιος.

107

EI 31 Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον τοὺς αὐθέντας Καίσαρος τὸν Αὔγουστον καὶ διαλαχεῖν κλήρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντώνιος ὁ ὕπατος πόλεμον ἔγνω κινεῖν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμφύλιον. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου, τοῦ σὺν Καίσαρι Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ συμπολεμήσαντος. Οὐ πολλῷ γε μὴν χρόνῳ ἐν Περουσίῳ πόλει Τυρρηνικῇ σφόδρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείᾳ πιεσθεὶς ἥλω μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀνῃρέθη, ἀλλ' ἐξηλάθη τῆς Ῥώμης πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος σὺν τῇ γαμετῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φολουίᾳ· οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤλασεν ὡς νεωτεροποιοὺς καὶ πολυπράγμονας.

Fr. 107 = fr. 76 M = fr. 153 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 22, Droysen 1879, 115 | P (f. 107v-f. 108r) S (f. 115v-f. 116r)

Fr. 107: Eutr. 7.3.2-4

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4 ἐδίδοσαν Valois 1634 : ἐδίδωσαν T **9** Ἀττίας Valois 1634 : αἰτίας T **10** οὐσίαν add. Valois 1634 e Cass. D. 47.17.6 **11** ταῦτα T Cass. D. 47.18.1 Wollenberg 1861, 11 : τοιαῦτα Valois 1634 Müller 1851 Καῖσαρ Müller 1851 : Καίσαρ T et Valois 1634 **13** καίσαρος S : καίσαραν P

food for the soldiers at their own expense.[1] And again, they were ordered to contribute a tenth of their income, but [in reality] they were hardly able to retain a tenth part of it [for themselves]. For although there was a great increase in taxes, they were also forced to provide slaves[2] for the navy; there were some who had to buy them first [in order to be able to fulfill this obligation.] They had to repair the roads at their own expense. Only those who bore arms gained some wealth. Some would ask for and receive all the property of those who had died, and others would force their way into the families of those who were still alive but were old and childless. For they had reached such a degree of greed and shamelessness that one man actually asked Caesar himself for the property of Atia, his mother, who had died at that time and had been honoured with a public funeral. These were the deeds of the *triumviri*, Caesar, Lepidus and Antony.

107

After Augustus had killed the assassins of Caesar, Brutus and Cassius, and assigned the offices of state by lot, the consul Antonius decided to start a civil war in Italy. Antonius was the brother of Mark Antony, who had fought with Caesar against Brutus and Cassius. A short time later, suffering from a scarcity of supplies in Perugia, a city in Etruria, he was captured, but not killed; he and his wife Fulvia were driven into exile from Rome by Caesar,[3] who accused them of being actively involved in preparing a revolution.

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1 This sentence is even further removed from the source Cass. D. 47.14.3 and is even harder to understand in its abridged form.

2 The original passage Cass. D. 47.17.4 uses the word οἰκέτας. J.of A. replaces it with παῖδας. The word παῖς can also be used in reference to the crew of a ship, *see LSJ*, παῖς III.

3 i.e. Caesar Octavian Augustus.

108

EV 21 Ὅτι μετὰ τὰς σπονδάς φασι δειπνεῖν παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῷ παιδὶ Πομπηίου τόν τε Καίσαρα Ἰούλιον καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐν τῇ στρατηγίδι νηὶ παρασκευασαμένῳ τὸ δεῖπνον. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφη αὐτῷ μόνον καταλελεῖφθαι πατρῷον οἶκον. Ἤδη δὲ ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ τῆς συνουσίας ἀκμαζούσης Μηνᾶν τὸν πειρατὴν τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῷ Πομπηίῳ ὑπηρετοῦντα καὶ τότε προσελθεῖν τε αὐτῷ ἡσυχῇ καί «βούλει» φάναι «τὰς ἀγκύρας τῆς νηὸς ὑποτεμὼν ποιήσω σε μὴ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδῶνος, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κύριον;» τὸν ⟨δὲ⟩ Πομπήιον ἀποκρίνασθαι· «ἔδει σε, ὦ Μηνᾶ, τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ προειπόντα ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν. Νῦν δὲ οὐ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιορκεῖν· τὰ παρόντα στέργωμεν.»

Fr. 108 = fr. 77 M = fr. 154 R; Valois 1634, 798, 801 | T (f. 90r)

Fr. 108: 5 τῆς συνουσίας – 11 στέργωμεν Plut. *Ant.* 32.6-7

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3 Καίσαρα edd. : καίσαρ T **9** δὲ e *Suda* π 2025 add. Valois 1634 **11** στέργωμεν Valois 1634 : στέργομεν T

Fr. 108: *Suda* π 2025 Πομπήιος, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός· περὶ οὗ φασιν ὅτι μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς δειπνεῖν τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον παρὰ Πομπηίῳ τῷ παιδὶ Πομπηίου ἐν τῇ στρατηγίδι νηὶ παρασκευασαμένῳ τὸ δεῖπνον· τοῦτον γὰρ ἔφη μόνον αὐτῷ καταλελεῖφθαι πατρῷον οἶκον. ἤδη δὲ ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ τῆς συνουσίας ἀκμαζούσης, Μηνᾶν τὸν πειρατὴν τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῷ Πομπηίῳ ὑπηρετοῦντα καὶ τότε προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἡσυχῇ καί, βούλει, φάναι, τὰς ἀγκύρας τῆς νηὸς ὑποτεμὼν ποιήσω σε μὴ Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδῶνος, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κύριον; τὸν δὲ Πομπήιον ἀποκρίνασθαι· ἔδει σε, ὦ Μηνᾶ, τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι μὴ προειπόντα ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν. νῦν δέ, (οὐ πρὸς ἡμῶν γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖν) τὰ παρόντα στέργωμεν. | 10 Νῦν δὲ – 11 στέργωμεν *Suda* σ 1056, 429.21-22 νῦν δὲ (οὐ πρὸς ἡμῶν γὰρ ἐπιορκεῖν) τὰ παρόντα στέργωμεν. | 6 Μηνᾶν – 6 ὑπηρετοῦντα *Suda* τ 106 Τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῷ Πομπηίῳ ὑπηρετοῦντα Μηνᾶν τὸν πειρατήν.

108

They say that after the truce Caesar and Antony were dining with Pompey, the son of Pompey, who had prepared the banquet on board his flagship, saying that this was the only paternal house left to him. When they were inside and the banquet was at its peak, Menas the pirate, who had been doing Pompey worthy service, then came to him quietly and said, "Do you want me to cut the anchor cables and make you master not [just] of Sicily and Sardinia but of the whole empire of the Romans?" But Pompey answered, "Menas, you should have done this without telling me ahead of time of your enterprise. But as it is – since it is not in my character to break an oath – let us acquiesce in things as they are."

109

Suda τ 551 Τιβέριος, Ὀκταβίου υἱός, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ἐμπλήκτως καὶ ἀνοήτως τὴν ἀρχὴν διῳκήσατο, φοβερᾷ μὲν ὠμότητι, μυσαρᾷ δὲ καὶ ἀθέσμῳ πλεονεξίᾳ αἰσχρᾷ τε ἡδυπαθείᾳ χρησάμενος. Στρατείαν μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαν αὐτὸς ἠρνήσατο, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων γλίσχρως καὶ ῥᾳθύμως τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπολεμῶν. Κακοήθης δὲ ὢν ἔστιν οὓς τῶν συμμάχων βασιλέων τῶν οἰκείων ἀρχῶν ἀπάτῃ μετελθὼν ἀφείλετο· ὧν Ἀρχέλαος ἦν ὁ Καππαδόκων βασιλεύς, ὃν ἠπίοις καὶ θεραπευτικοῖς καλέσας ὡς ἑαυτὸν λόγοις, οὐκέτι πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπονοστῆσαι συνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπαρχίαν τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀπέφηνε καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν τῇδε πόλεων Μάζακα ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐποίκων ὀνομαζομένην, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φέρειν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπέταξεν· ἥπερ δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς Καίσαρός ἐστιν ἐπώνυμος. Ἐς γῆρας δὲ ὅμως μακρὸν προελθὼν θνήσκει.

Fr. 109 = Adler 1928, iv, 545.10-22 = fr. 159.2 R; Droysen 1879, 123

Fr. 109: Eutr. 7.11

6 προσπολεμῶν verbum finitum desiderat Bhd.*Suda* ἔστιν om. V*Suda* **8** ἠπίοις – οἰκείαν om. V*Suda* **9** παρεχώρησεν G*Suda* **10** ἔπαρχου V*Suda* : ὑπαρχίαν A*Suda* **13** ὅμως – θνήσκει Adler 1928 : μακρὸν ἐλάσας ἀποθνήσκει V*Suda*

Fr. 109: 2 τὴν ἀρχὴν – 4 χρησάμενος *EV* 22, 178.2-4 (= fr. 79.10 M) οὕτω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχὴν διῳκήσατο, φοβερᾷ μὲν ὠμότητι, μυσαρᾷ δὲ πλεονεξίᾳ, αἰσχρᾷ τε ἡδυπαθείᾳ χρησάμενος. | 7 Ἀρχέλαος – 13 ἐπώνυμος cf. *Suda* κ 1201 Καισάρεια, ἡ μητρόπολις, ἀπὸ Καίσαρος Τιβερίου Ὀκταβίου· ἣν ἀφείλετο Ἀρχέλαον, πρότερον Μάζακα ἐπονομαζομένην, ἔπειτα Καισάρειαν κληθεῖσαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ προσηγορίᾳ.

109

Tiberius, son of Octavian, emperor of the Romans. He ruled impulsively and without reason, employing fearful cruelty and loathsome and lawless greed as well as shameful hedonism. While refusing to lead military campaigns in person, he fought against his enemies through his subordinate commanders in a slack and careless manner. And, as he was of bad character, there were some allied kings whom he deceitfully deprived of their kingdoms. One of these, Archelaus, was the king of the Cappadocians, whom Tiberius summoned with wheedling and flattering words and then never let him return to his homeland but declared Cappadocia a province, and the largest of the cities there, which was then called Mazaka after its inhabitants, he instructed to take its name from him. This city, in fact, still in our day is named after Caesar. But nevertheless, when he died he had reached a great old age.

110

EV 22 Ὅτι Τιβέριος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ἰδιωτάτῃ φύσει ἐκέχρητο· οὔτε γὰρ ὧν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτό τι καὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐβούλετο· ἀλλὰ ἐναντιωτάτους τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λογισμοὺς ποιούμενος πᾶν ὃ ἐπόθει ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐμίσει προσετίθετο. Τοιοῦτος δή τις ὢν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οὓς ὑπὲρ τὸ διατεταγμένον λαμβάνοντας εὕρισκεν ἢ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ εἰσφέροντας ἐκόλαζε λέγων· «κείρεσθαί μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ'

Fr. 110 = fr. 79 M; 2 Ὅτι – 184.8 βασιλείας = fr. 159.1 R 184.8 Οὕτω – 184.10 ὑπέστρεψεν app. ad fr. 159.2 R; Valois 1634, 801f., Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 751f | T (f. 90r-f. 91r)

Fr. 110: 2 Ὅτι – 5 προσετίθετο Cass. D. 57.1.1 5 Τοιοῦτος – 182.1 βούλομαι Cass. D. 57.10.5 182.1 Οὕτω – 182.6 ἐπαγόμενος Cass. D. 57.11.6-7 182.6 Ἀλλὰ – 182.7 χρᾶσθαι Cass. D. 57.15.1 182.8 πολλὰ – 182.9 δαπανήσας Cass. D. 57.17.8 182.9 Τῶν τε – 182.11 ἐξήλασεν Cass. D. 57.18.5[a] 182.11 Τοιοῦτος – 182.11 μετεβλήθη cf. Cass. D. 57.19.1 182.12 ὥστε – 182.13 δαιμονίου cf. Cass. D. 57.23.3 182.13 Πολλοῦ – 182.17 εἰργασμένοις Cass. D. 58.1.1[a] 182.17 Ὁ αὐτὸς – 182.19 ἐποιεῖτο Cass. D. 58.3.8, "verba τῶν μιαρῶν πράξεων ad Dionem referenda non videntur" Boissevain 1895-1901, ii, 592 n. 182.19 Ἐπὶ – 182.21 φιλίαν Cass. D. 58.4.7 182.21 Σεϊανόν – 182.24 παρεσκευάκει ex Cass. D. 58.3.9; 58.4.1; 58.5.1; 58.6.2 fluxerunt, cf. Boissevain 1895-1901, ii, 599 182.25 καὶ ὃν – 184.1 κατιδεῖν Cass. D. 58.11.1-2 184.1 Σεϊανὸς – 184.4 διαρκεῖν Cass. D. 58.14.1, cf. Cass. D. 58.20.4, "verba ὡς τοσοῦτον... διαρκεῖν de suo (sc. Ioann. Antioch.) videtur addidisse" Boissevain 1895-1901, ii, 602 n. 184.4 τοῦτο δὴ – 184.8 βασιλείας Cass. D. 58.23.4 184.8 Οὕτω τοίνυν – 184.9 χρησάμενος Eutr. 7.11.1 184.9 Καὶ – 184.10 ὑπέστρεψεν fontem non inveni

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3 οὐδὲν ὡς Valois 1634 : οὐδενὸς T AV*Suda* **5** προσετίθετο T : προετίθετο Müller 1851 : προετείνετο Cass. D. 57.1.1 **6** ὑπὲρ τὸ διατεταγμένον Valois 1634 : διατὸ ὑπερ τε ταγμένον T τῷ δημοσίῳ εἰσφέροντας T : τὰ δημόσια σφετερίζοντας Valois 1634

Fr. 110: 2 Ὅτι Τιβέριος – 182.13 δαιμονίου, 184.4 Παρακαλούμενός – 184.8 βασιλείας *Suda* τ 552 Τιβέριος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. οὗτος ἰδιωτάτῃ φύσει ἐκέχρητο· οὔτε γὰρ ὧν ἐπεθύμει προσεποιεῖτό τι καὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν οὐδενὸς εἰπεῖν ἐβούλετο· ἀλλ' ἐναντιωτάτους τῇ προαιρέσει τοὺς λογισμοὺς ποιούμενος, πᾶν ὃ ἐπόθει ἠρνεῖτο καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐμίσει προσετίθετο. τοὺς περισσὰ ἐπαίροντας ἄρχοντας ἐκόλαζε, λέγων, κείρεσθαί μου τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' οὐ ξυρᾶσθαι βούλομαι. οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἴσος, ὥστε ὀρχηστήν τινα ποτὲ ἐλευθερωθῆναι βουληθέντα, μὴ πρότερον συνεπαινέσαι, πρὶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ πεισθῆναι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαβεῖν. τοῖς γὰρ ἑταίροις ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ ἦν καὶ συνηγωνίζετο, φρουρὰν μὴ ἐπαγόμενος. καὶ παρήγγειλε σηρικῇ ἐσθῆτι μὴ χρῆσθαί τινα. αἰφνιδίως δὲ εἰς τὴν χείρονα γνώμην μετετέθη, ὥστε παραφρονεῖν νομισθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐφθέγξατο· ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί. καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον ἐμακάριζεν, ὅτι μετὰ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπώλετο.

110

The Roman emperor Tiberius had a peculiar nature: he never let what he desired appear in his conversation, and what he said he wanted he usually did not desire at all: his considerations indicated the exact opposite of his real purpose; he denied all interest in what he longed for, and urged the claims of what he hated. Being of such a disposition, he would punish officials, who, as he discovered, had collected more money or were putting into the public treasury greater sums than was stipulated, saying "I want my sheep shorn, not shaven." In all respects he was so fair

οὐκ ἀποξυρᾶσθαι βούλομαι.» Οὕτω τε ἐς πάντα ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος ἦν, ὥστε ὀρχηστήν τινα τοῦ δήμου ἐλευθερωθῆναί ποτε βουληθέντος μὴ πρότερον συνεπαινέσαι, πρὶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ πεισθῆναι καὶ τὴν τιμὴν λαβεῖν. Τοῖς γε ἑταίροις ὡς καὶ ἐν ἰδιωτείᾳ συνῆν, δικαζομένοις συναγωνιζόμενος καὶ θύουσι συνεορτάζων νοσοῦντάς τε ἐπισκεπτόμενος, μηδεμίαν φρουρὰν ἐπαγόμενος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δόγμα προέθηκεν, ὥστε μήτε αὐτὸν μήθ' ἕτερόν τινα σηρικῇ ἐσθῆτι χρᾶσθαι, τόν τε χρύσεον ὅλον κόσμον γυναιξὶ μόναις ἐπιτρέψας, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐπανορθώσεις τῶν πόλεων δαπανήσας. Τῶν τε Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συνελθόντων καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἔθη μεθιστάντων, τοὺς πλείονας ἐξήλασεν. Τοιοῦτος οὖν τις ὢν αἰφνιδίως εἰς τὴν χείρονα γνώμην μετεβλήθη, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ παραφρονεῖν νομισθῆναι καὶ ὑπό τινος ἐλαύνεσθαι δαιμονίου. Πολλοῦ τε πάθους αἴτιος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ προσαναλίσκων τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν κυνηγίων θέας τῆς πόλεως ἀπελάσαι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό τινες ἔξω ταύτας τελεῖν πειραθέντες αὐτοῖς συνδιεφθάρησαν τοῖς θεάτροις ἔκ τινων σανίδων εἰργασμένοις. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν ἐνυβρίζων γυναῖκας ἅπαντα δι' αὐτῶν τὰ κοινὰ κατεμάνθανε καὶ πρός γε συνεργοὺς αὐτὰς τῶν μιαρῶν πράξεων, ὡς καὶ γαμηθησομένας, ἐποιεῖτο. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τε Μουκίαν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἄνδρα ἅμα δυσὶ θυγατράσιν ἀνεῖλεν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα φιλίαν. Σεϊανόν τε ἄνδρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀξιώμασι προαχθέντα αὐτοκράτορά τε ψηφισθέντα παρὰ τὰς ἁπάντων ἐλπίδας διέφθειρεν. Ὃν γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδα καὶ διάδοχον ἐπεκάλει, τοῦτον ἕλκεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρεσκευάκει· καὶ ὃν ἅπαντες οἱ τῆς βουλῆς ἐδορυφόρουν, τοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐπὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπήγαγον, ἀντὶ στεφάνου δεσμὰ καὶ ἀντὶ ἁλουργίδος τριβώνιον περιθέντες, ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτου αὖθις τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀσθένε-

2 βουληθέντος Valois 1634 e Cass. D. 57.11.6 : βουληθέντα T **7** χρᾶσθαι T : χρῆσθαι Müller 1851 **15** κυνηγίων Büttner-Wobst 1906b : κοινηγίον T **17** ἐνυβρίζων corr. Müller 1851 : ἀνυβρίζων T

and impartial that once, when the populace wanted a certain actor manumitted,[1] he would not approve their demand until the man's master had given his consent and had received payment for him. His relations with friends were such as he would maintain in his private life: he stood by them when they were involved in law-suits and joined them in offering sacrifice on festal occasions; he visited them in their sickness, taking no guard with him. He also decreed that neither he himself nor any other man should wear silk clothing, and reserved golden jewelry for the exclusive use of women; he spent large sums on the improvement of cities. As the Jews had flocked to Rome in great numbers and were converting many of the natives to their ways, he banished most of them. Even though he was endowed with this disposition, he suddenly changed for the worse, so that he was even thought to have gone mad and to be possessed by some demon. He caused the Romans a great deal of suffering, since he wasted the lives of men both in the public service and for his private whim. For example, he decided to banish the hunting spectacles from the city; and when in consequence some persons attempted to exhibit them outside, they perished in the ruins of their own theatres, which had been constructed of timber. He debauched the wives of distinguished men and learned through them all the common gossip; he also made them accessories to his foul deeds by promising to marry them.[2] Besides, he destroyed Mucia and her husband and two daughters on account of her friendship with his mother. Contrary to what everybody expected, he killed Sejanus, the man who had been advanced by him and by the senate to the highest position of power and given the imperial title by vote. It was this man, whom he used to call his son and successor, that he was ready to drag through the market-place. It was he, who was wont to be escorted by all the senators, that was led by them from the senate to the prison, was put in chains instead of receiving the crown, and was dressed in rags instead of the purple, so that by virtue of these facts one might see once again a proof of human frailty. This was

[1] The text as we have it differs from the account in Cass. D. 57.11.6 in the form of the participle βουληθέντα, which is Genitive in Cass. D. 57.11.6 and Accusative here. The accusative form would require to take this participle out of the Gen. abs. construction and associate it with the Acc. subject of the sentence (i.e. Tiberius), which would create a logical contradiction with the following συνεπαινέσαι.

[2] The original passage Cass. D. 58.3.8 is about Sejanus, not Tiberius.

ιαν κατιδεῖν. Σεϊανὸς μὲν δὴ μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δυνηθεὶς τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος. Φίλοι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀδίκως διεφθείροντο, ὡς τοσοῦτον ἐκλεῖψαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς τὰς κατ᾽ ἔθος ἀρχαιρεσίας διαρκεῖν. Παρακαλούμενός τέ ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐφθέγξατο·

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον ἐμακάρισεν, ὅτι μετὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἀπώλετο καὶ τῆς βασιλείας. Οὕτω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχὴν διῳκήσατο, φοβερᾷ μὲν ὠμότητι, μυσαρᾷ δὲ πλεονεξίᾳ, αἰσχρᾷ τε ἡδυπαθείᾳ χρησάμενος. Καὶ στρατεύσας κατὰ Περσῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ὑπέστρεψεν.

3 κατέθος T

the end of Sejanus, who had attained the greatest power of all [who held this position] before him. His friends and relatives perished without justice, with the result that the senate shrank so significantly that there were not enough [people] to hold the customary elections. Once, when questioned by some friends, he uttered that old saying:

> "When I am dead, let fire o'erwhelm the earth."[1]

Often enough he used to declare Priam fortunate, because he had perished together with his country and his throne. This was how he ruled: with terrible cruelty, abominable avarice and infamous licentiousness. He started a campaign against the Persians but returned after making a truce.

[1] Nauck 1889, adesp. 513, p. 940.

111

EV 23 Ὅτι ὁ Γάιος μιαρώτατός τις καὶ ἀνοσιώτατος ἐγένετο. Καὶ τοσοῦτον ὁρμαθὸν κακῶν συνειληφὼς ἐπεκάλυψε τὰ Τιβερίου μειονεκτήματα. Ὅσα γὰρ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ περιεποιήθη, οὗτος ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπεκτήσατο. Μοιχικώτατός τε ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ γυναῖκας ἡρμοσμένας καὶ γεγαμημένας ἐλάμβανεν. Τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ τιθήνην ἐπιτιμήσας ἀνοίας ἐς ἀνάγκην ἑκουσίου θανάτου κατέστησεν. Ἐχρῶτο δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παρανόμων ἐκοινώνει μίξεων, ὡς καὶ πατὴρ ἀνοσίας καταστῆναι γονῆς ἐκ μιᾶς αὐτῷ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀποκυηθείσης. Ναούς τε καὶ θυσίας ὡς ἡμιθέῳ γίνεσθαι παρεσκεύαζεν. Τοιούτῳ τε αὐτοκράτορι

Fr. 111 = fr. 82 M = fr. 162.1 R; Valois 1634, 802, 805, Droysen 1879, 123 | T (f. 91rv)

Fr. 111: 2 Ὅτι – 3 μειονεκτήματα Eutr. 7.12.1 4 Ὅσα – 5 ἀπεκτήσατο Cass. D. 59.3.2 5 Μοιχικώτατός – 6 ἐλάμβανεν Cass. D. 59.3.3 6 Τήν τε – 7 κατέστησεν Cass. D. 59.3.6 7 Ἐχρῶτο – 9 ἀποκυηθείσης Eutr. 7.12.3 9 Ναούς – 10 παρεσκεύαζεν Cass. D. 59.4.4 10 Τοιούτῳ – 188.6 τραγῳδῶν Cass. D. 59.5.1-3 188.6 πολλάκις – 188.7 μετακαλούμενος Cass. D. 59.5.5 188.7 Εἰκοστὸν – 188.7 ἔτος Cass. D. 59.6.2 188.7 τὴν προτέραν – 188.9 Καλπουρνίῳ Cass. D. 59.8.7 188.9 Πολλούς – 188.11 ἐξήρκει Cass. D. 59.10.7 188.11 Αὖθις – 188.14 λάβῃ Cass. D. 59.12.1 188.14 Ἐκ δὲ – 188.16 ἐπεκλήθη Cass. D. 59.25.5[a] 188.16 Ἐπαρθείς – 188.17 ἐλέγετο cf. Cass. D. 59.26.5 188.17 καὶ τὰς – 188.17 μετερρύθμιζεν Cass. D. 59.28.3 188.17 Ταῖς τε – 188.19 ἀντηκόντιζεν Cass. D. 59.28.6

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9 post Ναούς τε verbum ἑαυτῷ e Cass. D. 59.4.4 add. Roberto 2005 **10** τοιούτῳ τε T : Τοιούτῳ τότε e Cass. D. 59.5.1 coni. Valois 1634

Fr. 111: 2 Ὅτι ὁ Γάιος – 188.3 παρήνεγκαν *Suda* γ 12, 503.27-504.4 Οὗτος μιαρώτατός τε καὶ ἀνοσιώτατος ἐγένετο καὶ τοσοῦτον ὁρμαθὸν κακῶν συνειληφὼς ἐπεκάλυψε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου μειονεκτήματα. ὅσα γὰρ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ περιεποιήθη, οὗτος ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπεκτήσατο. μοιχικώτατός τε ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος καὶ γυναῖκας ἡρμοσμένας καὶ γεγαμημένας ἐλάμβανε. τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ τιθήνην ἐπιτιμήσας ἀνοίας ἐς ἀνάγκην ἑκουσίου θανάτου κατέστησεν. ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παρανόμων ἐκοινώνει μίξεων, ὡς καὶ πατὴρ ἀνοσίας καταστῆναι γονῆς ἐκ μιᾶς αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπογεννηθείσης. ναούς τε καὶ θυσίας ὡς ἡμιθέῳ γίνεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε. τοιούτῳ αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρεδόθησαν, ὥστε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα καίπερ χαλεπώτατα δόξαντα γεγονέναι τοσοῦτον τὰ Γαίου, ὅσον τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου παρ' ἐκείνῳ παρήνεγκαν. | 2 τοσοῦτον – 5 ἀπεκτήσατο *Suda* ο 596 Τοσοῦτον ὁρμαθὸν κακῶν συνειληφὼς ἔκρυψε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου μειονεκτήματα. ὅσα γὰρ Αὐγούστῳ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ περιεποιήθη, οὗτος ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπεκτήσατο.

111

Gaius was a most brutal and impious man, whose series of crimes effaced [even] Tiberius' disgraceful activities. He squandered on a single day as much as Augustus had saved up over a long time. He was the most libidinous of men and used to seize betrothed and married women. He reproached his nurse for her folly and forced her to seek death by her own hand.[1] He assaulted his sisters too and had incestuous intercourse with them so that, after he made one of them pregnant, he even became father of a foul offspring. He made provision for temples [to be erected] and sacrifices to be offered [to himself as] to a demigod. The Romans were delivered into the hands of an emperor who was so bad that the

[1] The meaning of the source is completely altered by the chance of textual transmission: the original text (Cass. D. 59.3) has the word τήθη, *grandmother* instead of τιθήνη, *a nurse;* in addition the loss of the final αν of the participle ἐπιτιμήσας that immediately precedes the word starting with the same syllable (ἀνοίας) makes the participle agree with the subject instead of the object. The sentence in the source had the following meaning: He forced his grandmother to commit suicide because she had reproached him for his folly. Since it is impossible to determine whether this corruption occurred before or after John of Antioch integrated a passage of Cassius Dio into his chronicle I refrain from restituting the 'original' reading.

οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρεδόθησαν, ὥστε τὰ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἔργα καίπερ χαλεπώτατα δόξαντα γεγονέναι τοσοῦτον * * * τὰ τοῦ Γαΐου, ὅσον τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνα παρήνεγκαν. Τιβέριος μὲν γὰρ αὐτός τε ἦρχε καὶ ὑπηρέταις τοῖς ἄλλοις πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βούλημα ἐχρῆτο· Γάιος δὲ ἤρχετο μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁρματηλατούντων καὶ ὁπλομαχούντων καὶ σκηνικῶν καὶ τραγῳδῶν, πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὴν βουλὴν πρὸς ἀνάγκας μετακαλούμενος. Εἰκοστὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ εʹ ἄγων ἔτος τὴν προτέραν γαμετὴν ἐκβαλὼν τὴν Κορνηλίου Ὀρέστου ἥρπασε θυγατέρα αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις ἐγγεγυημένην Καλπουρνίῳ. Πολλούς τε διὰ ταῦτα συκοφαντῶν ἀνῄρει· τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς διὰ τὰς οὐσίας. Οἵ τε γὰρ θησαυροὶ ἐξανάλωντο, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐξήρκει. Αὖθις δὲ ταύτην ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενος Λολλίαν Παυλῖναν ἠγάγετο, αὐτὸν τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς Μεμνόνιον Ῥήγουλον ἐγγυῆσαί οἱ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀναγκάσας, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἀνέγγυον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους λάβῃ. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν μοιχειῶν, ὡς καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Κελτικὴν καὶ Βρεττανικὴν κεχειρωμένος, αὐτοκράτωρ τε πολλάκις καὶ Γερμανικὸς καὶ Βρεττανικὸς ἐπεκλήθη. Ἐπαρθείς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις Ζεύς τε ἐλέγετο καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου στήλας ἐς αὐτὸν μετερρύθμιζεν. Ταῖς τε γὰρ βρονταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς τινος ἀντεβρόντα καὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἀντήστραπτεν· ὅπου δὲ κεραυνὸς κατέπεσε, λίθον ἀντηκόντιζεν.

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2 lacunam statuit Büttner-Wobst 1906b : παρὰ reddit Wollenberg 1861, 12 coll. Cass. D. 59.5.1 **3** παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνα Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 59.5 : παρ᾽ ἐκείνου T : παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ *Suda* γ 12 παρήνεγκαν T : παρενεγκεῖν Valois 1634 e Cass. D. 59.5.2 **6** post βουλὴν verbum ὡς in app. coni. Müller 1851 **8** post θυγατέρα verbum ἐν add. Valois 1634 e Cass. D. 59.8.7 **9** Καλπουρνίῳ corr. Valois 1634 : καλπουρίνωι T **15** ante Γερμανικὸς verbum καὶ om. Müller 1851 **17** εἰς Müller 1851 ἑαυτὸν in app. corr. Büttner-Wobst 1906b **18** ἀντήστραπτεν corr. Valois 1634 : ἀντέστραπτεν T

deeds of Tiberius, though they had been felt to be very harsh, appeared as far superior to those of Gaius as the deeds of Augustus had been to those of Tiberius. For Tiberius always kept the power in his own hands and used others as agents for carrying out his wishes; whereas Gaius was ruled by the charioteers, gladiators, actors and others connected with the stage, and often gave performances himself, compelling the senate to attend. In his twenty-fifth year he put away his first wife and seized the daughter of Cornelius Orestus during the marriage festival which she was celebrating with her betrothed, Calpurnius. On account of this he brought false charges against many people and put them to death, but in reality, he did it because of their fortunes, since his treasury was empty, and nothing was enough for him. But he put her away too and married Lollia Paulina after compelling her actual husband, Memmius Regulus, to betroth her to him, so that he should not break the law by taking her without any betrothal. In consequence of his adulteries, he was frequently styled *imperator* as well as Germanicus and Britannicus, as if he had overpowered the whole of Germany and Britain. Growing conceited on account of these deeds, he had himself called Zeus and remodelled Zeus' statues to resemble himself. By means of a mechanical device he gave answering peals when it thundered and sent return flashes when it lightened; whenever a bolt fell, he would hurl a rock in return.

112

EI 34 Ὅτι ποτὲ τὸν δῆμον συνελθόντα ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρομίῳ καὶ τοῦτον ἐλέγχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διέφθειρεν· ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ἐσιώπησαν, ἄχρις οὗ Κάσσιός τε καὶ Χεραίας, Κορνήλιός τε καὶ Σαβῖνος, καίτοι χιλιαρχίας παρ' αὐτοῦ πεπιστευμένοι, συνωμόσαντο, πάντες τε ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπέρ τε σφῶν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐκινήθησαν· καὶ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐρχόμενον, ὅτε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παῖδας ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ὕμνον μετεπέμπετο, ἐν στενωπῷ τινι τόπῳ προσπεσόντες τιτρώσκουσιν, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγεύσαντο. Εὐθέως τε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα διεχρήσαντο. Καὶ τὰ μὲν Γαΐου τοιαῦτα τρισὶν ἔτεσι καὶ μησὶ θ' ἡμέραις τε η' καὶ κ' βασιλεύσαντος. Καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς ἔργοις ὡς οὐκ ἦν θεὸς ἐξέμαθεν, ὑφ' ὧν τε καὶ μὴ παρὼν προσεκυνεῖτο, τότε κατεπτύετο, καὶ ὑφ' ὧν τε Ζεὺς καὶ θεὸς ὠνομάζετό τε καὶ ἐγράφετο, σφάγιον ἐγίνετο· ἀνδριάντες τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνες ἐσύροντο, μεμνημένου μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου ὧν ἐπεπόνθει δεινῶν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὅσοι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μέρους ἦσαν, ἐθορύβουν τε καὶ ἐστασίαζον, ὥστε καὶ σφαγὰς ποιεῖν· ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλως πως ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐποιήσαντο, πεισθέντες τοῖς ὅρκοις ἡσύχασαν. Τούτων δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον πραττομένων, Σέντιός τε καὶ Σεκοῦνδος οἱ ὕπατοι εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον μετεκόμισαν, φύλακάς τε τοὺς πλείους τῆς γερουσίας ἐπέστησαν καὶ στρατιώτας ἱκανούς, ἵνα μὴ διαρπαγὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους γένηται. Οὗτοί τε ἅμα τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σαβῖνον καὶ Χεραίαν τὸ πρακτέον ἐσκοποῦντο.

Fr. 112 = fr. 84 M = fr. 164 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 22f., Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 752f. | P (f. 108rv) S (f. 116rv)

Fr. 112: 2 Ὅτι – 3 ἐσιώπησαν Cass. D. 59.28.11 4 ἄχρις – 6 ἐκινήθησαν Cass. D. 59.29.1; 59.29.1a 6 καὶ τηρήσαντες – 9 τιτρώσκουσιν Cass. D. 59.29.6 9 ἄλλοι τε – 10 διεχρήσαντο Cass. D. 59.29.7 10 Καὶ τὰ – 17 ποιεῖν Cass. D. 59.30.1; 59.30.1a; 59.30.1b 17 ὅσοι δὲ – 23 ἐσκοποῦντο Cass. D. 59.30.3

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2 τῷ S : deest in P **4** Κάσσιός τε καὶ Χεραίας, Κορνήλιός τε καὶ Σαβῖνος PS : Κάσσιός τε Χαιρέας καὶ Κορνήλιος Σαβῖνος Müller 1851 Σαβῖνος de Boor 1905 : Σαβίνος P : Σάβινος S **9** Εὐθέως… διεχρήσαντο S : deest in P

112

Once when people had come together in the hippodrome and were objecting to his conduct, he had them slain by the soldiers. After this all kept quiet until Cassius, Chaerea, Cornelius and Sabinus,[1] – even though they had been entrusted with tribunates by him – formed a conspiracy; practically all his courtiers were involved, both on their own account and for the common good. They waited until he came out of the theatre (at the time when he had summoned some boys from Greece to sing his own hymn), and then they assaulted him in a narrow passage and killed him. And some even tasted of his flesh. They also promptly slew his wife and daughter. And this was what Gaius had accomplished in three years, nine months and twenty-eight days of his reign.[2] He himself learned by experience that he was not a god; now he was spat upon by those who had been accustomed to do him reverence even when he was absent; and he became a sacrificial victim at the hands of those who were wont to speak and write of him as "Zeus" and "god." His statues and images were dragged from their pedestals; for the people in particular remembered the distress they had endured. Those soldiers who belonged to the Germanic corps fell to rioting and quarrelling, which led to bloodshed, but those who in any way acknowledged the authority of the senate were true to their oaths and remained quiet. While these events were taking place around Gaius, the consuls Sentius and Secundus immediately transferred the funds from the treasuries to the Capitol. They stationed most of the senators and plenty of soldiers as guards over it to prevent any plundering by the populace. And so these men, together with the prefects and the followers of Sabinus and Chaerea, deliberated over their next course of action.

[1] Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus have become four persons in John's account.

[2] The Greek sentence is possibly incomplete, *see* the parallel passage in Cass. D. 59.30.1.

113

EV 24 Ὅτι Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν οὐ φαῦλος ἐγεγόνει ἐν παιδείᾳ τε ἤσκητο, ὡς καὶ συγγράψαι τινά, τό δὲ σῶμα νοσώδης ἦν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ὑποτρέμων. Ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τῷ φρονήματι ἐσφάλλετο. Τοιοῦτός τε ὢν ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, αἷς συνεκάθευδεν, ἐκακύνετο. Περιφανέστατα γὰρ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη καὶ ἐδουλοκρατήθη, ἅτε ἐκ παίδων ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ τραφείς. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσεποιεῖτο, ὅπερ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησεν. Καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τηθῇ τῇ Λιουίᾳ, πολὺν δὲ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῇ Ἀντωνίᾳ τοῖς τε ἀπελευθέροις συνδιαιτηθεὶς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐν συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἐλευθεροπρεπὲς ἐκέκτητο. Ἐπετίθεντο δὲ αὐτῷ ἔν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις μάλιστα καὶ ἐν ταῖς συμμίξεσιν. Πάνυ γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις διέκειτο καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ

Fr. 113 = fr. 85 M = fr. 165 R; Valois 1634, 805f., Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 753f | T (f. 91v)

Fr. 113: 2 Ὅτι – 5 ἐσφάλλετο Cass. D. 60.2.1-2 5 Τοιοῦτός – 194.3 ἐνέβαλλον Cass. D. 60.2.4-7 194.3 Τοιοῦτος – 194.5 ἐγίνετο Cass. D. 60.3.1

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3 τό δὲ corr. Valois 1634 : τό τε T **4** φρονήματι Valois 1634 : φρωνήματι T Büttner-Wobst 1906b : φωνήματι Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 60.2.2 **7** ἀσφαλείᾳ T : ἀθενείᾳ Wollenberg 1861, 13 **8** εὐήθειαν T : εὐηθείας Valois 1634 προσεποιεῖτο Valois 1634 e *Suda* κ 1708 : ἐποιεῖτο T τοῦτο T *Suda* κ 1708 : που Valois 1634 Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 753 **9** τῇ τηθῇ τῇ Wollenberg 1861, 13 : τῆι τθητηι T : τῇ τηθῇ Valois 1634 **10** συνδιαιτηθεὶς Müller 1851 e *Suda* κ 1708 : ἐνδιαιτηθεὶς T Valois 1634

Fr. 113: 6 Περιφανέστατα – 194.5 ἐγίνετο *Suda* κ 1708, 125.23-34 περιφανέστατα γὰρ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη, ἅτε ἐκ παίδων ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ τραφείς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιπλέον τῆς ἀληθείας εὐήθειαν προσεποιεῖτο, ὅπερ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγησε, καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον τῇ τιτθῇ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ συνδιαιτηθεὶς καὶ συνουσίαις γυναικῶν πλείοσι γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἐλευθεροπρεπὲς ἐκέκτητο. ἐπετίθεντο δὲ αὐτῷ ἔν τε τοῖς συμποσίοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς συμμίξεσι· πάνυ γὰρ ἀπλήστως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις διέκειτο, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ εὐάλωτος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ δειλίαν εἶχεν, ὑφ᾽ ἧς πολλάκις ἐκπληττόμενος οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρποῦντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος ἐνέβαλλον. οὗτος οὖν τοιοῦτος ὤν, οὐκ ὀλίγα δεόντως ἔπραττεν, ὁσάκις ἔξω τῶν εἰρημένων παθῶν ἐγίνετο. | Cf. etiam *Suda* κ 1708, 125.15-23, quae ex aliquo titulo Constantiniano hausta sunt neque cum Müllero ad Ioannem referri posse apparet, Büttner-Wobst 1906b, 179 n., cf. de Boor 1920, 19

113

The Roman emperor Claudius was not mentally deficient and had been trained [during childhood] to write compositions; but he was sickly in body, his head and hands shaking slightly, and therefore he was lacking in self-confidence. Being like this, he was harmed by both the slaves and the women with whom he slept. For he was very clearly ruled by women and slaves, as he had been reared from childhood amidst safety and fear.[1] For this reason he simulated simplicity to a greater extent than he actually possessed it, which he admitted himself. Having lived a long time with his wet-nurse Livia, his mother Antonia and some freedmen, and having associated mostly with women, he had acquired nothing befitting a free man. They beset him at parties and in bed. For he behaved insatiately in both and was easy prey in these situations. And furthermore he was a

[1] The text of Xiph. (Cass. D. 60.2.1) uses the word νοσηλείᾳ: From a child he had been reared a constant prey to *illness* and great terror.

καιρῷ τούτῳ εὐάλωτος. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ δειλίαν εἶχεν, ὑφ' ἧς πολλάκις ἐκπληττόμενος οὐδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐξελογίζετο. Ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ἐκφοβοῦντες ἐξεκαρποῦντο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος ἐνέβαλλον. Τοιοῦτος οὖν δή τις ὢν οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεόντως ἔπραττεν, ὁσάκις ἔξω τῶν εἰρημένων παθῶν ἐγίνετο.

114

EI 35 Ὅτι ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων τόν τε Χεραίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, καίπερ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Γαΐου θάνατον ἡσθείς, πρῶτα μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐδολοφόνησεν. Οὐ γὰρ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων πρᾶξιν εἰλήφει χάριν αὐτοῖς εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐτόλμησαν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποσφάξαι ἐδυσχέραινεν.

115

EV 25 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ταῖς ὁπλομαχίαις ἀκορέστως προσκείμενος οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δοριαλώτων καὶ κατακρίτων κατανήλισκε σώματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων. Ταῖς τε τῆς γαμετῆς Βαλερίας Μεσσαλίνης γυναίου ἀκολάστου καὶ τυραννικοῦ διαβολαῖς ὑπαγόμενος συχνοὺς τῶν ἐπισήμων

Fr. 114 = fr. 86 M = fr. 167 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 23, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 754 | P (f. 108v) S (f. 116v) Fr. 115 = fr. 88 M = fr. 168 R; Valois 1634, 806, 809, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 754 | T (f. 91v-f. 92r)

Fr. 114: Cass. D. 60.3.4 Fr. 115: 13 Ὅτι – 15 ἀπελευθέρων Cass. D. 60.13.1-2 15 Ταῖς τε – 196.4 κατακεχρημένης cf. Cass. D. 60.14.1sqq. 196.4 Τὰς γοῦν – 196.5 ἡμαρτηκότας Cass. D. 60.18.4; 60.31.7 196.6 καὶ τούς – 196.8 προκατελάμβανεν Cass. D. 60.18.3 196.8 ὡς – 196.11 διατάξαι Cass. D. 60.17.8 196.12 Οὐ μὴν – 196.15 διαφθείρεται Cass. D. 60.18.1 196.15 Ἐπεὶ – 196.18 ἀνδράσιν Cass. D. 60.31.1 196.18 ἐνταῦθα – 196.21 ἀπολωλέκει Cass. D. 60.31.4-5 196.21 Μεθ' ἣν – 196.22 διέφθειρεν Cass. D. 60.31.5[a]

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8 τῆς P : τὰς S

Fr. 115: 196.1 Ἀπείχετο – 196.1 αἵματος cf. *Suda* α 4568 Ἀφ' αἵματος· τουτέστι συγγενῶν. ὁ δὲ συχνοὺς ἐφόνευσεν· ἐφείδετο δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος.

coward, which often caused him, out of fright, to fail to consider anything that was appropriate. For they would scare him and reap the rewards and cast fear upon others. Even though he was like this, he did not a few things properly at the times when he was not beset by the aformentioned passions.

114

Even though the Roman emperor Claudius was pleased at the death of Gaius, he first drove Chaerea and the others out of the city and then treacherously killed them. For he did not feel grateful to them because he had gained the throne through their deed, but was displeased with them because they had dared to slay an emperor.

115

Because he was an insatiable enthusiast of gladiatorial spectacles, he killed not only prisoners and those sentenced to death but also some freedmen. Influenced by the calumnies brought forward by his wife Valeria Messalina, a licentious and tyrannical virago, he put to death numerous

τῆς βουλῆς διέφθειρεν. Ἀπείχετο δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος. Καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἔστιν οἳ ἀπώλοντο, τοῦ μὲν ἀβασανίστως τὰς διαβολὰς δεχομένου, τῆς δὲ ἀφ' ἑτέρου εἰς ἕτερον ἀγούσης τὸν Κλαύδιον τῇ τε κουφότητι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατακεχρημένης. Τὰς γοῦν δύο ἀδελφὰς διαβληθείσας ἀνεῖλεν αὖθίς τε τοὺς γαμβροὺς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας. Ἐκείνους γὰρ μάρτυρας τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἡ Μεσσαλῖνα ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς τὸ κράτος ἔχοντας· καὶ τούς τι δυναμένους μηνῦσαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς πραττομένων οὓς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις, οὓς δὲ τιμωρίαις προκατελάμβανεν, ὡς οὐ τὴν πολιτείαν μόνην ὑπ' αὐτῆς διοικεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐπιτροπὰς πάντα τε ἀφειδῶς πωλεῖν καὶ καπηλεύειν. Ἐξ οὗπερ ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Κλαύδιον, εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον τοῦ πλήθους συνελθόντος, ἀπὸ βήματος τιμὰς διατάξαι. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτή γε εἰς πᾶν ἀκολασίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος παρελθοῦσα καὶ μιγνυμένη μὲν ἀναίδην οἷς ἐπιθυμήσειεν, ἀναιροῦσα δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμιλούντων αὐτῇ συχνοὺς μόλις πρὸς τοῦ Κλαυδίου τῆς ἀτοπίας αἰσθομένου διαφθείρεται. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῇ μοιχεύεσθαι πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκήματος σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γυναιξὶ καθεζομένῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπεθύμησε κατὰ νόμον δὴ καὶ συμβόλαια πλείοσι συνοικεῖν ἀνδράσιν, ἐνταῦθα καταμηνυθεῖσα τῷ Κλαυδίῳ πρὸς Ναρκίσσου τινὸς ἀπελευθέρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναιρεῖται, τῶν μὲν βασιλείων ἐξωσθεῖσα, περὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἀσιατικοὺς κήπους πλανωμένη, ὧν ἕνεκα τὸν δείλαιον Ἀσιατικὸν μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἀπολωλέκει. Μεθ' ἣν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὁ Κλαύδιος ὑβρίσαντά τινα τῶν ἐν ἀξιώσει διέφθειρεν.

6 Μεσσαλῖνα corr. Büttner-Wobst 1906b : Μεσσαλίνα T **9** ἐπιτροπὰς Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 754 : ἐπιτροπᾶς T : ἐπιτροπείας Valois 1634 πάντα τε Valois 1634 : πάντες T : πάντα τε τἄλλα Müller 1851 **11** ἀπὸ βήματός om. Valois 1634 Müller 1851 τιμὰς scripsi e Cass. D. 60.17.8 : τινα T : τῶν ὠνίων τὰς τιμὰς add. et τινα del. Büttner-Wobst 1906b Roberto 2005 : τὰς τιμὰς Müller 1851 **13** προελθοῦσα Valois 1634 **20** ἐξωσθεῖσα Valois 1634 : ἐξωθεῖσα T Ἀσιατικοὺς T Büttner-Wobst 1906b : Ἀσιατικοῦ Valois 1634 Roberto 2005

prominent senators. He did not refrain from [killing] his own relatives. Some of these people perished because he would accept the accusations without due examination, and she would direct Claudius from one person to another, taking advantage of his lack of character. Two sisters were slandered and put to death, their husbands immediately followed, even though all were innocent. Messalina made those in power witnesses to the accusations; and she won over those who could provide any information about her activities by either showing them favours or inflicting punishments upon them, so that not only was the administration of the state in her own hands, but also without restraint she kept offering for sale and peddling military commands and procuratorships. Because of this, when the people had gathered together in the Campus Martius, Claudius was forced to fix the prices from a raised platform. But in fact after she reached the pinnacle of licentiousness and cruelty, shamelessly having intercourse with anyone she fancied and putting to death many of those with whom she kept company, her monstrosities attracted Claudius' attention and, with some difficulty, she was put to death. For when it was not enough for her to commit frequent adultery and to prostitute herself in company with the other wives of prominent men, and she conceived a desire to be lawfully married to several husbands by a legal contract, she was denounced to Claudius and killed by Narcissus, a freedman of the emperor, after being expelled from the imperial palace and while she was strolling around in the gardens of Asiaticus, because of which she had destroyed the wretched Asiaticus. After her Claudius also destroyed his own slave for insulting one of the prominent men.

116

EI 36 Ὅτι Κλαύδιος ὑπὸ Ἀγριππίνης ἀναιρεῖται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Αὕτη γὰρ φάρμακον δηλητήριον ὑπὸ Λουκούστης ἀνελομένη ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις μύκησιν ἐνέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης διαίτης μηδέν τι τοιοῦτον ὑποπτεύων ἐπεβουλεύθη· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ συμποσίου ὡς καὶ ὑπερκορὴς μέθῃ ἐξεκομίσθη, διά τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησε, βιώσας ἔτη ξ′ καὶ γ′ καὶ μῆνας β′ ἡμέρας ιγ′, αὐταρχήσας δὲ ἔτη ι′ καὶ γ′. Ταῦτα ἡ Ἀγριππίνα ποιῆσαι ἠδυνήθη, ὅτι τὸν Ἄρκισσον συνέβη μὴ παρεῖναι, ἐπεὶ παρόντος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδεδράκει τοῦτο· τοιοῦτός τις φύλαξ τοῦ δεσπότου ἦν. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλαυδίου, καὶ αὐτὸς εὐθὺς διεφθάρη παρὰ τῷ τῆς Μεσσαλίνης μνημείῳ ἔκ τινος συντυχίας, ὅπερ εἰς τιμωρίαν ἐκείνης ἐνομίσθη. Καὶ Κλαύδιος μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγριππίνης τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς τε ἀδελφῆς, δι᾽ ἣν τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐπιόρκησεν, ἐπεβουλεύθη ἐν τῷ σιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρη κακῶς, ἵνα τε ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς μοναρχήσῃ, καὶ ὁ Βρεττανικὸς αἵ τε ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπόλωνται.

Fr. 116 = fr. 89 M = fr. 171 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 23f., Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 754f. | P (f. 108v-f. 109r) S (f. 116v)

Fr. 116: 2 Αὕτη – 10 ἦν Cass. D. 60.34.2-4 10 διεφθάρη – 12 ἐνομίσθη Cass. D. 60.34.6 12 Καὶ – 15 ἀπόλωνται Cass. D. 61.1.1

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2 ἀγριππίνης P : ἀγριπίνης S **5** συμποσίου ex συνωμοσίου corr. S[2] ut vid. **6** μέθῃ PS : μέθης Müller 1851 βιώσας P : καὶ βιώσας S **8** ἄρκισσον PS : Νάρκισσον corr. Cramer 1841 μὴ om. P **9** οὐκ ἂν ἐδεδράκει Müller 1851 **11** τῆς om. P **13** ἀδελφῆς PS : ἀδελφιδῆς Roberto 2005 τά τε ἄλλα verbum excidisse putat Müller 1851

116

Claudius was killed by Agrippina in the following manner: She obtained some poison from Lucusta and put it in [the vegetables] called mushrooms.[1] Not suspecting anything because of wine and his general habits of life, he fell victim to this plot; he was carried from the banquet apparently quite overcome by strong drink and died during the night, having lived for sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days and having been emperor thirteen years. Agrippina was able to do this deed because Narcissus happened to be absent, for had he been present, she would never have accomplished it, so carefully did he guard his master. After the death of Claudius he too perished immediately beside the tomb of Messalina on account of some accident; it was assumed, however, that his death was a result of her vengeance. And Claudius fell victim to the plot by his wife and his sister[2] Agrippina (on account of her he had committed perjury among other things) during a banquet and died a violent death, so that her son could become emperor; Britannicus and his sisters perished as well.

1 *See* the explanation for this expression in the original passage Cass. D. 60.34.2 by Cary (1914-1927, viii, 29 n. 2): Dio probably says "called" here because the Greek word he uses for "mushrooms" has many other meanings, such as the snuff of a wick, a scab, a knob, etc.

2 Agrippina was, of course, Claudius' niece (ἀδελφιδῆ). However, I print and translate the transmitted text.

117

EV 26 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρότερον τοιαῦτα ἔπραττεν ὁ Νέρων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τρυφαῖς καὶ κώμοις καθημερινοῖς ὁ Νέρων ἐντραφεὶς πράττειν τε τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφ' ἧς ἑαυτὸν ἠξίου, ταχὺ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὸ ἄκοσμόν τε καὶ ταπεινὸν μεταβέβληκεν, ἀήθη τινὰ μετιὼν καὶ δαπανηρὸν ἀκολασίας τρόπον, ἐκθέσμοις τε καὶ παρανόμοις ἐγχειρῶν δράμασι· λουτρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ζηλοῦντι τῆς πολυτελείας καὶ ἐκδιαιτήσεως τὸν Καλλιγούλαν οὐχ ὕδωρ, ἀλλὰ μύρον, τὸ μὲν θερμαινόμενον, τὸ δὲ ψυχόμενον, καὶ εἰς ἑκατέραν τὴν χρείαν τοῦ λουτροῦ παρασκευαζόμενον. Ἐχρῆτο δὲ δικτύοις παρὰ τὰς ἄγρας τῶν ἰχθύων χρυσοῖς, ἐξέλκων τοὺς κόλπους τῶν δικτύων καλῳδίοις ἐξ ἐρίου πεποιημένοις, ἀστράπτουσι τῇ βαφῇ τῆς κόχλου. Εἰς τοῦτό γε μὴν προϊὼν ἀτοπίας ἐλήλυθεν, ὡς παριέναι μὲν εἰς τὴν σκηνήν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ πάντων ὄψει ὀρχεῖσθαί τε καὶ ᾠδάς τινας διεξιέναι, ἀναλαμβάνοντα σκευὴν νῦν μὲν κιθαριστῶν, νῦν δὲ τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτῶν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλυμαίνετο, γέλωτά γε ὅμως καὶ ἡδονὴν παρεῖχεν

Fr. 117 = *EV* 26, pars secunda, i.e. Büttner-Wobst 1906b, 182.5-184.19 = fr. 90 M, pars secunda = fr. 172,27-88 R; Valois 1634, 810, 813f., Droysen 1879, 125; cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 49f. | T (f. 92^{v}-f. 93^{v})

Fr. 117: 2 Ἐπεὶ δὲ – 4 ἠξίου Cass. D. 61.4.1 cf. Boissevain (1895-1901, iii, 22): Dionis memor scripsit 4 ταχὺ – 15 ὑποκριτῶν Eutr. 7.14 202.1 Τὸ δὲ πάντων – 202.5 ἰέναι Cass. D. 61.17.3 202.6 Καὶ εἶδον – 202.9 ἠνείχοντο Cass. D. 61.17.4 202.10 Αἰλία – 202.13 ἱστάμενοι Cass. D. 61.19.2 202.13 Ἐπετέλει – 202.16 δοκοῦντα Cass. D. 61.21.1 202.16 ἀλλ' – 202.20 κολάζων cf. Cass. D. 62.24.2 quae fere ipsius Joannis sunt ut Boissevain (1895-1901, iii, 64) 202.23 Τόν τε – 202.27 καλοῦντες Cass. D. 61.7.3^{a}-4 202.27 Καὶ τὴν – 204.2 ἀπέκτεινεν Cass. D. 62.13.1 204.2 Καὶ ἐν – 204.5 χρώμενος Cass. D. 61.9.2 204.5 τάς τε – 204.7 χρώμενος aliunde ex Dione desumpta videntur ut Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 29 204.7 Ἡ δὲ – 204.9 ἐπέστελλεν Cass. D. 61.3.2 204.9 Ἀλλὰ – 204.20 σωματοφυλάκων Cass. D. 61.11.2,3; 61.13.3,5 204.20 Οὗ – 204.23 ἔτεκεν Cass. D. 61.13.5

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3 τε del. Müller 1851 ἐφ' ἧς del. Müller 1851 **5** μετεβέβληκεν Müller 1851 **6** τρόπον corr. Valois 1634 : τρέπον T **8** τὸν Καλλιγούλαν Büttner-Wobst 1906b auctore Wollenberg 1861, 13 : τοῦ καλλιγούλα T : τοῦ Καλλιγόλα Valois 1634 : τοῦ Καλιγόλα Müller 1851 **14** σκευὴν νῦν μὲν Valois 1634 : σκηνὴν νῦν μετὰ T

Fr. 117: 202.21 ἄλλο μὲν – 202.22 ἐγενέσθην *Suda* ε 2351, 358.24-26 ἀνεῖλε δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπικαλῶν, πλὴν ὅτι σοφώ τε καὶ ἀρίστω τὼ ἄνδρε γενέσθην.

117

At first Nero did these things. However, Nero, who had been brought up amidst luxurious extravagancies and daily festivities, deeming himself worthy of carrying out the affairs of government on these grounds, quickly debased and threw into disarray the majesty and magnificence of the Roman Empire. He was living an odd and extravagant life of luxury, engaging in horrible and lawless activities. Emulating Calligula in extravagance and waywardness, he used perfumes, sometimes hot, sometimes cold, instead of water for washing, which were prepared for the particular requirements of his bath. He fished with golden nets and drew out the net bags using glittering purple cords made of wool.[1] In his folly he went as far as to appear on the stage, dancing and performing songs in the sight of all while wearing at times the costume of a cithara-player or a tragic actor. But even though these activities significantly dishonoured the imperial office, they pleased his spectators and made them laugh all

[1] The source (Eutropius) speaks of *blattinis funibus,* i.e. *silk* cords.

τοῖς θεωμένοις. Τὸ δὲ πάντων αἴσχιστον καὶ δεινότατον ὅτι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας οὐ μόνον τῶν εἰς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς τελούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως νέους, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκότας ὁπλομαχεῖν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἠνάγκαζεν καὶ θηρία φονεύειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ ᾄδειν καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἀσχημοσύνης ἰέναι· ἵνα δὲ δὴ εὐπρεπὲς εἴη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ θέατρον παρῄει. Καὶ εἶδον οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι τὰ γένη τὰ μεγάλα, τοὺς Φορίους, τοὺς Ὁρατίους, τοὺς Φαβίους, τοὺς Πορκίους, τοὺς Βαλερίους κάτω ἑστηκότας καὶ τοιαῦτα δρᾶν ἀναγκαζομένους, ὧν ἔνια οὐδὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων γινόμενα πρόσθεν ὁρᾶν ἠνείχοντο· Αἰλία γοῦν Κατέλλα γυνὴ τοῦτο μὲν γένει, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ προήκουσα πρὸς γῆράς τε μακρὸν ἀφιγμένη (ὀγδοηκοντοῦτις γὰρ ἦν) ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ὠρχήσατο, οἵ τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ διὰ γῆρας ἢ νόσον οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ ποιῆσαι δυνηθέντες ᾖδον κατὰ χοροὺς ἱστάμενοι. Ἐπετέλει δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἐκθέσμους θέας ἐπί τε τῷ γενείῳ πρῶτον ψιλωθέντι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς μητρὸς φόνῳ· ἀπολελοίπει γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὸ φονικόν τε καὶ ἀπηνές, καίτοι γε παίζειν δοκοῦντα· ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν καθάπαξ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις ἔγκοτος. Τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ κράτιστον ἐπὶ παραλόγοις αἰτίαις ἀπανηλώκει τῆς βουλῆς μέρος, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι εὐγενεῖς, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι περιουσίας ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι σώφρονες ἦσαν μισῶν τε καὶ κολάζων. Μουσώνιόν τε καὶ Κορνοῦτον μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἀποκτεῖναι, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης ἐξήλασεν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπικαλῶν, ὅτι δὲ σοφοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι βίον ἐγενέσθην. Συγγενῶν τε φόνοις ἑκάστης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐμιαίνετο τῆς ἡμέρας. Τόν τε γὰρ Βρεττανικὸν ἀδελφόν οἱ εἶναι δοκοῦντα πρῶτα μὲν εἰς τὴν ὥραν ἀσελγῶς ὕβρισεν, ἔπειτα δὲ παρὰ δεῖπνον δηλητηρίῳ φαρμάκῳ διέφθειρεν, ὡς δεινὸν μὴ μόνον ὁρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούεσθαι· πελιδνὸς γὰρ ὅλος ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνεῳγμένοι καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους πρὸς τιμωρίαν καλοῦντες. Καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γαμετὴν Ὀκταβίαν

1 θεωμένοις corr. Valois 1634 : δεομένοις T **2** τῶν Valois 1634 : τὸν T ἱππεῖς τελούντων corr. Valois 1634 : ἵππους τελούντας T **7** Φουρίους coni. Müller 1851 **10** Αἰλία Müller 1851 cum Cass. D. 61.19.2 : δειλαια (s. acc.) T : Δείλαια Valois 1634 Boissevain 1895-1901 : Aelia Valois 1634 lat. **12** οἱ διὰ T cum Cass. D. 61.19.2 : ἢ διὰ Valois 1634 post ἢ verbum διὰ add. Valois 1634 : om. T cum Cass. D. 61.19.2 **14** πρῶτον T : τῷ πρῶτον Valois 1634 : τὸ πρῶτον Müller 1851 **19** ἔχοντες coni. Boissevain 1895-1901, III, 64 ad Cass. D. 62.24.2 **20** Μουσόνιόν T Boissevain 1895-1901, l.c. **22** τὸν βίον Müller 1851 **23** βρετανικὸν T Boissevain 1895-1901 **25** ἀκούεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι Valois 1634 e Cass. D. 61.7.4

the same. The most disgraceful and terrible thing was that men and women, not only of the populace and the equestrian order, but even of the senatorial dignity, not only the young ones, but also the elder ones, were forced to appear as performers in the gladiatorial combats in the theatre, to kill the wild beasts, to dance, to sing and to commit all sorts of utterly disgraceful acts; to make it decent, he himself would come to the theatre. So men of that day saw the great families—the Furii,[1] the Horatii, the Fabii, the Porcii, the Valerii—standing down there and being forced to do things, some of which they formerly would not even bear to watch when performed by others. Aelia Catella, a woman not only prominent by reason of her family and wealth but also advanced in years (she was an octogenarian), danced on stage. Other prominent men, who on account of old age or illness could not do anything by themselves, sang in choruses. He ordered these outrageous spectacles to celebrate the first shaving of his beard and the murder of his mother; the murderous and cruel sentiments [never] left hold of him, even when he seemed to be playing. He felt a deep-seated resentment toward virtuous and educated men. He liquidated the largest and best part of the senate on absurd charges; he hated and punished some because they were of noble birth, some others because of their extraordinary wealth, and some others because they were prudent. Having almost put to death Musonius and Cornutus, he banished them from Rome on no other grounds than that they were wise and virtuous in their lives. He polluted himself, so to say, every single day through murders of his relatives. He first violated Britannicus (who was regarded as his brother) on account of his youth and then killed him using a powerful poison while at dinner, so that the crime was known by what people saw as well as by what they heard. For he became livid all over and his eyes were wide open, calling upon the magistrates for vengeance. He first divorced and afterwards put to death

1 For the Greek rendering of the Roman names containing an *-u-* sound *see* Dittenberger 1872.

τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα, δι᾽ ἣν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἥκιστα παρεληλύθει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔπειτα καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν. Καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ ἐκώμαζε κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν, ὑβρίζων τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ ἀσελγαίνων ἐς τὰ μειράκια, ἀποδύων τε τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, παίων, τιτρώσκων, φονεύων. Καὶ ἐδόκει λανθάνειν ἀλλοτρίαις ἐσθῆσι χρώμενος, τάς τε τῶν ἐλευθέρων γυναῖκας ἐξ ἐπηρείας αἰσχύνων καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις ὡς καὶ ἑταιρίσιν μετὰ τῶν φίλων χρώμενος. Ἡ δὲ Ἀγριππῖνα ἔς τε τὰ συνέδρια ἐφοίτα ταῖς τε πρεσβείαις ἐχρημάτιζεν καὶ ἐπιστολὰς δήμοις καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπέστελλεν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Ἀγριππῖνα ἔπραττεν, ἄχρις οὗ ὁ Νέρων τὴν Σαβίνην ἠγάγετο. Τότε γὰρ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐφόνευσεν. Αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας τῆσδε γεγενῆσθαι Σαβῖναν γυναῖκα γένους ἐπιφανοῦς· ἧς ἐρασθεὶς ὁ Νέρων πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὴν πρὸς βίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ποπλίου ἀπήγαγεν· ἔπειτα σὺν ταῖς παλλακίσιν τάττειν οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἀλλὰ γαμετὴν ποιήσασθαι διεγνωκὼς τὴν μὲν Ἀγριππῖναν ἀφαιρεῖται τιμήν, Αὐγούσταν δὲ τὴν Σαβῖναν ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀνόσιόν τι καὶ μιαρώτατον ἔργον τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ μελετῆσαι. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν θεῖον αὐτῆς τὸν Κλαύδιον εἰς ἔρωτα φαρμακείαις εἰσήγαγεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην δυσσέβειαν παρέτρεψεν. Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως καὶ μετὰ τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις διαβληθεῖσάν οἱ πρὸς τῆς Σαβίνης Ἀνικήτῳ τινὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων πρὸς διαφθορὰν ἐξέδοτο. Οὗ γενομένου ἔγνω τε ἐκείνη καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν ἐκ τῆς κλίνης τήν τε ἐσθῆτα περιερρήξατο καὶ τὴν γαστέρα γυμνώσασα, «παῖε» ἔφη «ταύτην, Ἀνίκητε, ὅτι Νέρωνα ἔτεκεν.» Καὶ τὰς περιττὰς μιαρίας προεγράψαμεν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Δίωνος περί τε τῆς μητροκτονίας καὶ τοῦ Σπόρου τοῦ ἐρωμένου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

1 τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου θυγατέρα om. Valois 1634 Müller 1851 **3** τὴν πόλιν Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 61.9.2 **6** αἰσχύνων T : ὑβρίζων Valois 1634 **7** Ἀγριππῖνα Wollenberg 1861, 14 e Cass. D. 61.3.2 : ἀγρίππα T : Ἀγριππίνη Valois 1634 **9** ἡ om. Müller 1851 αγριπ (s. sp. et acc.) T : Ἀγριππίνη Valois 1634 **11** Σαβῖναν corr. Büttner-Wobst 1906b : σαβίναν T **14** Ἀγριππῖναν Boissevain 1895-1901 : ἀγρίππα T : Ἀγριππίνης Valois 1634 **17** φαρμακείαις corr. Valois 1634 : φαρμακείας T **22** περιερρήξατο corr. Valois 1634 e Cass. D. 61.13.5 : πο ἐρρήξατο T

his wife Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, who had been of no slight assistance to him in gaining the throne. At night he carried on revels throughout the entire city, assaulting women, debauching boys, stripping the people whom he encountered, beating, wounding and murdering. He had an idea that his identity was not known, because he was using other people's clothes; he dishonoured the wives of freeborn men by insulting treatment and together with friends made use of maidens as if they were prostitutes. Agrippina used to attend the meetings of the senate, receive embassies and send letters to peoples, governors and kings. Agrippina did these things however [only] until [the time when] Nero took Sabina. At that point he even killed his mother. The cause of this terrible act was Sabina, a woman of a noble family: falling in love with her, Nero forcibly took her away from her husband Publius; afterwards, not content with her being one of his concubines, he wanted to make her his wife, and deprived Agrippina of honour by giving Sabina the title Augusta, so that because of this his mother began to prepare some foul and the most abominable crime. Just as she had seduced her uncle Claudius by witchcraft,[1] so she tried to change her son's mind towards such an impiety. But all the same, after these deeds, she was denounced before him by Sabina and was given over to Anicetus, a bodyguard, to be killed. When he appeared, she knew [why he had come] and leaping up from her bed she tore open her clothing, exposing her abdomen, and cried out "Strike here, Anicetus, for this bore Nero." We have given an account of these excessive brutalities, the matricide and the lover Sporus and the rest, based on [the account] in the History of Dio.

1 The corresponding passage in Cass. D. 61.11.3 ὅτι τὸν θεῖον τὸν Κλαύδιον ἐς ἔρωτα αὑτῆς ταῖς τε γοητείαις ταῖς τε ἀκολασίαις καὶ τῶν βλεμμάτων καὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ὑπηγάγετο can be interpreted metaphorically: "she had used her blandishments and immodest looks and kisses to seduce her uncle Claudius." John of Antioch's paraphrase stresses the witchcraft aspect of the sentence.

118

EV 27 Ὅτι διὰ τὸ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Νέρωνα πολλοὶ τὰς φλέβας ἀποτέμνοντες διεφθείροντο.

119

Suda κ 1708 **1** Ὅτι Κλαύδιος, ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, νόμον προὔθηκε, μὴ δύνασθαι βουλευτὴν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ σημείων τῆς πόλεως ὁδεύειν χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσεως. **2** Ἀπηγόρευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ καθήμενόν τινα ἐπὶ ἅρματος διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλαύνειν.

120

EI 37 Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανίσταται τῷ Νέρωνι, πολλούς τε τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς φυγάδων προσλαβόμενος Γάλβαν ἀποδείκνυσι βασιλέα· ὃς τὰς δυνάμεις εὐθέως ἐξοπλίσας καὶ πάντα τὰ

Fr. 118 = fr. 173 R; Valois 1634, 814, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 756 (omisit Müller 1851) | T (f. 93^{v}) Fr. 119 = Adler 1928, iii, 125.34-126.2 et 5-6; cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 76; 5 Ὅτι – 7 κελεύσεως = fr. 169.1-2 R; 7 Ἀπηγόρευσε – 8 ἐλαύνειν = fr. 169.5-6 R Fr. 120 = fr. 91 M; 10 Ὅτι – 210.20 ἐπάταξεν = fr. 174.1 R, 210.20 δυσθανατοῦντα – 210.27 διετέλουν = fr. 174.3 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 24-26, Droysen 1879, 125, 127, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 756-758 | P (f. 109^{r}-f. 110^{r}) S (f. 116^{v}-f. 117^{v})

Fr. 118: cf. Cass. D. 63.17.4 Fr. 119: Cass. D. 60.29.7 Fr. 120: 10 πολλούς – 208.1 ἐλαύνει Cass. D. 63.23.1 208.1 Ὁ γοῦν – 208.9 δυναστείας Cass. D. 63.24.1-3 208.9 Ἀλλ' ὁ – 208.14 προσκατειργάσατο Cass. D. 63.24.4^{1}-4^{a} 208.14 Ὁ γοῦν – 208.16 κατέστη Cass. D. 63.25.1 208.16 Ταῦτα – 208.18 πρᾶξαι Cass. D. 63.27.1^{a} 208.18 Καὶ ἄλλων – 208.21 θρέψει Cass. D. 63.27.2 208.21 Οἱ δὲ – 208.26 φρουρᾶς Cass. D. 63.27.2^{a}-2^{b} 208.26 Ὁ δὲ – 210.8 ἔρριπτο Cass. D. 63.27.3; 63.28.1-3 210.8 Νέρων – 210.10 ὕδωρ Cass. D. 63.28.5 210.10 Ἡ δὲ τῶν – 210.14 πέτρας Cass. D. 63.29.1^{a}, cf. Eutr. 7.15.1 et Droysen 1879, 125, 127 210.14 Ἃ δὴ – 210.23 ἀποδέοντα Cass. D. 63.29.2-3 210.23 Καὶ ἡ πόλις – 210.27 διετέλουν Cass. D. 63.29.1

10 Ἰβηρίᾳ PS : Γαλλίᾳ in app. coni. Müller 1851

118

Because of hatred towards Nero many people cut their veins and died.

119

1 Claudius, the emperor of the Romans, promulgated the law that a senator could not travel beyond seven milestones from the city without the order of the emperor. **2** And he also did not allow anyone to ride through the city seated on a chariot.

120

C. Iulius Vindex rebelled against Nero in Iberia and, having brought over to his side many of the senate who were in exile, he appointed Galba emperor, who immediately armed the troops, prepared everything for

πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευασάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνει. Ὁ γοῦν Νέρων οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταραχθεὶς στρατηγὸν τοῦ πολέμου Ῥοῦφον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνασχόμενος πρὸς τὸν Γάλβαν ὁμολογεῖ τε καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν Οὐίνδικα, αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιλεξάμενος, Οὐίνδικι δὲ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν προσήκειν, καὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ὅσα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ πρὸς ὑπακοὴν ἔθνη τυγχάνει. Τούτων αὐτοῖς διομολογηθέντων, τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιβουλεύουσι τῷ Οὐίνδικι, ἀγνοίᾳ μὲν τῶν ὁμιληθέντων, ζήλῳ δὲ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν δυναστείας. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Οὐίνδιξ, καίτοι ῥᾳδίως δυνάμενος σωθῆναι, ἀγανακτήσας καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ὁμοφρονούντων ἐκακώθη, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία ἀμφότεροι τῷ Νέρωνι πράττοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπώλλυσαν, καὶ προσέτι τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου καταγνούς, καί τι πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον εἰπών, ὅτι τοιούτου πράγματος ἀρξάμενος οὐκ ἐπλήρωσεν, ἑαυτὸν προσκατειργάσατο. Ὁ γοῦν Ῥοῦφος δεινῶς ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθει ὑπεραλγήσας καί τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν κολάσας ἐν ἀφασίᾳ κατέστη. Ταῦτα ὡς ἠγγέλθη τῷ Νέρωνι, οὐδεμίαν τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ὅπλων ἐλπίδα ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ' ἐβουλεύσατο ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἄλλο πρᾶξαι. Καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλα λεγόντων, τέλος ἔγνω τούς τε βουλευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι νύκτωρ, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλεῦσαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι· κἂν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπέσωμεν, τὸ δὲ τέχνιον ἡμᾶς θρέψει. Οἱ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ τὴν βασίλειον φρουροῦσιν αὐλήν, προσδιαλεχθέντες, πείθουσί τε αὐτοὺς ἅμα γενέσθαι καὶ μεταποιήσασθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῆς τῶν βουλευσάντων ἐγένοντο γνώμης, αὐτίκα μὲν τὸν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔπαρχον Σκίπουλον ἀναιροῦσιν· ἀφίστανται δὲ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρουρᾶς. Ὁ δὲ Νέρων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων κατελείφθη, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ἵνα τὴν αἰσχύνην κερδάνῃ, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐπεχείρησεν, πρότερον κεραυνωθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς τραπέζης· ἐσθῆτά τε φαύλην ἐνδυσάμενος καὶ ἐφ' ἵππον οὐδὲν

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4 ὁμολογεῖ τε S[1] ex ὁμολογεῖται S : ὁμολογεῖται P **5** Γαλλιῶν Kambylis Müller 1851 : Γαλλίων PS **6** πρὸς ὑπακοὴν Müller 1851 : πρὸς ὑπακοειν sine acc. P : προσύπακοεῖν S : προσυπακούειν Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 757 **11** ὅτι ἐκ novi excerpti initium facit S ἀμφότεροι τῷ Νέρωνι PS : τῷ Νέρωνι ἀμφότεροι Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **18** ἀμφ' αὐτὸν corr. Cramer 1841 : ἀμφ' αὐτὸν S : ἀμφαυτὸν P **20** δὲ τέχνιον PS : γε τέχνιον Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 63.27.2 **25** Σκίπουλον corr. Müller 1851 : Σκιπουλὸν S : sine acc. P

war and marched upon Rome. At any rate, Nero, being greatly alarmed by this, dispatched the general Rufus Gallus to this war. But Rufus, not venturing even to engage Galba in battle, reached an agreement and made a treaty with Vindex (who chose to rule the Gauls himself, Spain belonged to Vindex and Galba received all Italy together with the rest of the provinces subject to the Roman Empire). After these terms had been agreed upon, some of Rufus' soldiers plotted against Vindex, being ignorant of the agreement that had been made and eager to secure the supreme power for their general. Even though Vindex was able to save his life with ease, he was indignant and bewailed the fact that he had been injured by those who shared his purpose and that, although both [Rufus and he] were working against Nero, they were destroying each other, and he was disgusted, moreover, with his mortal life and even had something to say against Fate because, having put his hand to so great an undertaking, he had not been able to carry it through; and so he made away with himself. Rufus at any rate grieved terribly over this disaster and punished some of the troops, after which he fell to brooding in silence. After these events had been reported to Nero, he placed no further hope in arms and began forming a different plan on his own. While different people were suggesting different things, he finally formed a plan to kill the senators, burn down the city at night and sail to Alexandria, saying "Even though we be driven from our empire, yet this little talent shall support us." Upon hearing this, the members of the senate held conversations with the praetorians and the other troops who guard the royal court and persuaded them to join with them and lay claim to the Roman Empire. And when these troops also fell in with the plan of the senators, they straightaway slew Scipulus, the prefect of the camp, and deserted their post as guardians of the emperor. Once he had been deserted also by his bodyguards, Nero did not have the courage to kill himself, so that he might avoid the humiliation, but undertook to flee, after his table had been struck by a thunderbolt. He put on shabby clothing, mounted a horse no better than his attire, and with his head

βελτίονα ἀναβάς, κατακεκαλυμμένος πρὸς χωρίον τι λεγόμενον Καισαρίου μετὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ Σπόρου κατέφυγε. Νυκτὸς δ' ἔτι οὔσης, καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράσσοντος, σεισμὸς ἐξαίσιος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γέγονεν. Καὶ αὐτὸν γνωρισθέντα ὑπό τινων ἀποβῆναι μὲν τοῦ ἵππου παραχρῆμα, ἔς τινα δὲ πλησίον καταφυγεῖν καλαμῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μέχρι πολλοῦ ἐρριμμένος πάντα μὲν παριόντα ὑπετοπεῖτο, πᾶσαν δὲ φωνὴν ὡς καὶ ἀναζητοῦσαν ὑπέτρεμε, θρηνῶν τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενος ἐν οἷς ἦν πρότερον, καὶ ὅτι ἐν κοπρίᾳ ἔρριπτο. Νέρων μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἐτραγῴδει, καὶ ὀψέ ποτε, ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἑώρα, μετῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πλησίον ἄντρον, καὶ διψήσας ἔπιεν ὕδωρ. Ἡ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀνειποῦσα δοῦναι δίκας τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμαρτημένων τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον ἐψηφίσατο· ἀχθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον γυμνόν, κεραίας ἐπιβεβλημένης τῷ τραχήλῳ, προστάττεται, μετὰ δὲ σφοδρὸν αἰκισμὸν τοῦ σώματος ὠσθῆναι κατά τινος πέτρας. Ἃ δὴ προαισθόμενος ὁ Νέρων τούς τε χωροῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν καταδείσας προσέταξε τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι. Ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, τὸ μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἐτόλμων, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ προεφασίσαντο, δεινῶς ἀλγήσας ἐστέναξεν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐδύνατο. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν Σπόρον βουληθεὶς ἀποκτεῖναι διήμαρτεν, ἀποφυγόντος ἐκείνου. Τότε ἔφη· ἐγὼ οὐδὲ φίλον οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸν ἔχω· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπάταξεν· δυσθανατοῦντα δὲ ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος προσκατειργάσατο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Νέρων φὺς ἄριστα καὶ τραφεὶς κάκιστα οὕτως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσε, λʹ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὠδῖνος γεγονὼς ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ ιδʹ δυεῖν μηνῶν ἀποδέοντα. Καὶ ἡ πόλις στεφανώμασι καὶ δᾳδουχίαις διακεκόσμηται, εὐχάς τε ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπετέλουν, καὶ τούς τι δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τοῦ τυράννου φονεύοντες, εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀνδριάντας κατασπῶντες ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αἰκίζοντες διετέλουν.

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1 κατακεκαλύμενος PS Φάωνος Καισαρείου add. Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 63.27 καὶ σαρίου S **4** ἀποβῆναι S^2 ex ἀπομῆναι S εἴστινα S **6** post ἀναζητοῦσαν verbum αὐτὸν e Cass. D. *l.c.* add. Müller 1851 **13** ἐπιβεβλημένης corr. Müller 1851: ἐπιβεβλημένος PS **24** διακεκόσμηται S : κεκόσμητε P Müller 1851 : ἐκεκόσμητο Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 758 **25** τι PS : τε edd. **26** εἰκόνας – κατασπῶντες deest in P

covered he fled towards a place called Kaisareos[I] in company with Epaphroditus and Sporus. While it was still night when they were doing this, a terrible earthquake occurred in Rome. When he was recognised by some men, he immediately dismounted from his horse and fled to take refuge in some nearby place which was full of reeds, where he waited for a long time, lying flat on the ground, suspecting everyone who passed by, starting at every voice, because he thought it might be someone who was searching for him, bewailing and lamenting his previous condition and the fact that he was lying on a pile of dung. Nero performed a tragic play for himself, and after a long time, since no one had seen him, went to a cave nearby and drank some water because he was thirsty. The Roman senate declared him an enemy and decreed that he should pay the penalty for the crimes that he had committed during his reign, which was as follows: he should be led to the prison naked with a forked stick fastened about his neck, and then, after his body has been severely tortured, hurled down from a rock. Nero, becoming aware of this beforehand and fearing those who were coming against him, commanded his companions to kill both him and themselves. And when they refused, both lacking the courage and also urging as an excuse the duty of burying him, he was greatly distressed and groaned because he was unable to do anything. Afterwards he desired to kill Sporus, but failing in his purpose, owing to the other's flight, he then said, "I have neither friend nor foe," and struck himself; and as he lingered in agony, Epaphroditus delivered him the finishing blow. Nero, then, who was born to the highest station but was reared in the basest manner, was thus driven from the throne, having lived thirty years from the date of his birth and having reigned fourteen years and eight months. And the city was decorated with garlands and torches and the people were offered prayers and held celebrations of genuine thanksgiving. They proceeded to kill those who had been powerful under the tyrant and to pull down his images and statues, as if they were thereby mishandling the despot himself.

I John of Antioch, if he had the original of Cassius Dio in front of him as we have, and not another abridged version, must have mistaken the phrase πρὸς χωρίον τι Φάωνος Καισαρείου i.e. "of Phaon, an imperial freedman" for a place name "Kaisareos".

121

EI 38 Ὅτι Γάλβας ὁ μετὰ Νέρωνα θαυμαζόμενος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔδοξέ πως εἶναι τραχύς τε καὶ πρόχειρος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων ἐπανορθώσεσι· βραχὺν γάρ τινα χρόνον τῆς ἡγεμονίας διατελέσας, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἀναιρεῖται κατὰ μέσην ἀγοράν.

122

EV 28 Ὅτι Ὄθων ὁ μετὰ Γάλβαν βασιλεύσας, γένους ἀσήμου καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὢν καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν βίον ἐξίτηλός τις καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐκδιαιτήσεως ὁμοιότροπον οἰκειότατος, ἔν γε μὴν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸν συνήθη τοῦ βίου μετελθεῖν τρόπον οὐχ ἱκανὸς γέγονεν, πολέμων αὐτῷ χαλεπῶν εὐθὺς ἐκραγέντων.

Fr. 121 = fr. 93 M = fr. 175 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 26, Droysen 1879, 127 | P (f. 110[rv]) S (f. 117[v]-f. 118[r]) Fr. 122 = fr. 94 M = fr. 176 R; Valois 1634, 814, Droysen 1879, 127 | T (f. 93[v])

Fr. 121: Eutr. 7.16.2-3 Fr. 122: Eutr. 7.17.1-2

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2 γάλβας in mg. rep. PS **4** χρόνον coni. Müller 1851 : πρὸς τὸν PS **5** διατελέσας corr. Cramer 1841 : διατελέσσας S : διατελεύσας P **8** post ἀφανοῦς verbum οὐκ in app. coni. Büttner-Wobst 1906b **9** τὸ Valois 1634 e *Suda* ο 82 : τὸν T

Fr. 122: *Suda* ο 82 Ὄθων, ὁ μετὰ Γάλβαν βασιλεύσας, γένους ἀσήμου καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὢν καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν βίον ἐξίτηλός τις καὶ τῷ Νέρωνι κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐκδιαιτήσεως ὁμοιότροπον οἰκειότατος· ἔν γε μὴν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸν συνήθη τοῦ βίου μετελθεῖν τρόπον οὐχ ἱκανὸς γέγονε, πολέμων αὐτῷ χαλεπῶν εὐθὺς ἐκραγέντων. Cf. etiam *Suda* ε 395, 216.13-14 καὶ αὖθις· τὴν Νέρωνος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐκδιαίτησιν.

121

Nero's successor Galba, who was admired for his administration, appeared to be harsh and prone to chastising others for their faults; after a short reign he fell victim to a plot by Otho and was killed in the middle of the forum.

122

Otho, who reigned after Galba, was of obscure and undistinguished descent; in his previous life [i.e. before he became emperor] he was a weak character and a close friend of Nero's due to the similarity of their habits; after becoming emperor he was unable to live his customary life because several heavy wars had suddenly broken out.

123

EI 39 Ὅτι Ὄθων ἀνελὼν τὸν Γάλβαν ὡς παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Βιτέλλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατικῶν τε καὶ Γερμανικῶν στρατοπέδων αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναγορευθεὶς ἤλασεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν. Ὄθων δὲ σὺν ταῖς οἰκείαις ὑπαντήσας δυνάμεσιν ἐλαττοῦται κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συμβολήν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀθύμως διατεθείς, καίτοι στρατιᾶς αὐτάρκους αὐτῷ καθεστηκυίας, ὑπεξάγειν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ παντὸς ἔγνω τρόπου. Δεομένων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μὴ ταχέως οὕτω τὰς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς καταβαλεῖν ἐλπίδας, ἀποκρινάμενος, οὐδαμῶς ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τοσαύτης ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς καὶ κινήσεως, ἑκουσίως ὑποδέχεται τὸν θάνατον ὀγδόῳ καὶ λʹ τῆς ἡλικίας ἔτει, τῆς γε μὴν βασιλείας ἡμέρᾳ εʹ καὶ ϟʹ. Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐπένθησεν αὐτὸν ἡττηθέντες τοῦ πάθους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν βίου ἐν τούτοις θαυμαστῶς συνεσκιάσατο βεβαίως τὸν τοιόνδε πόλεμον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κατασβέσας αἵματι.

Fr. 123 = fr. 95 M = fr. 177 R; Cramer 1841, ii 26, Droysen 1879, 127-129 | P (f. 110^v) S (f. 118^r)

Fr. 123: Eutr. 7.17.3 11 Ἡ δὲ – 12 πάθους cf. Cass. D. $64.15.1^2$ 12 Καὶ ὁ – 14 αἵματι Cass. D. $64.15.2^a$; $64.15.2^2$

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2 ὄθων in mg. rep. PS Γάλβαν S^2 corr. e γάλμαν S **10** ἑκουσίως S : ἀκουσίως P **11** αὐτὸν P : αὐτῶν S

123

When Otho killed Galba and came to power, Vitellius was made emperor by the Gallic and German armies and marched against him. Otho opposed him with his army and was defeated in the first battle, grew despondent about the situation and determined to die, even though he still had a strong army at his disposal. When his troops begged him not to abandon all hope so quickly, he answered that he did not consider himself so important that a civil war should be waged on his account, and died voluntarily in his thirty-eighth year after a reign of ninety-five days. Deploring his death, the soldiers were in low spirits because of the unfortunate event. His resolute quenching of the war with his own blood under these circumstances admirably overshadowed the licentiousness of his previous life.

124

EV 29 Ὅτι Βιτέλλιος βασιλεύσας τραχέως τε καὶ λίαν ἐπαχθῶς ἡγεῖτο, καὶ πᾶν αἶσχος ἀναδεδεγμένος ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ γαστρὸς ἀκρατῶς τε καὶ ἀκορέστως ἔχειν. Πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐσιτοποιεῖτο καὶ παρὰ τὰς τῶν δείπνων παρασκευὰς τὰ πολυτελῆ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπετρώγετο. Δέκα γὰρ δὴ μυριάδας σταθμοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπὶ δισχιλίαις καὶ φʹ ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα δεδαπανηκέναι φασί, ⟨συνεχῶς μὲν καὶ ἀπλήστως ἐμφορούμενος,⟩ συνε-

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Fr. 124 = fr. 97 M = fr. 179 R; Valois 1634, 814, 817, Droysen 1879, 129, Boissevain 1895-1901, III, 758 | T (f. 93v-f. 94r)

Fr. 124: 2 Ὅτι – 4 ἔχειν Eutr. 7.18.2 4 Πολλάκις – 5 ἐσιτοποιεῖτο Cass. D. 65.2.2 6 Δέκα – 8 φασί Cass. D. 65.3.2 8 συνεχῶς μὲν – 218.2 εἶχον Cass. D. 65.2.2 218.2 Βέβιος – 218.4 ἄν Cass. D. 65.2.3 218.4 Ἐς – 218.10 κατακτείνεται Eutr. 7.18.3-7.18.4 218.7 Ἐπῄνει – 218.7 Νέρωνος cf. etiam Cass. D. 65.4.1

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4 τῷ κατὰ γαστρὸς Roberto 2005 e *Suda* β 309 **5** ἐσιτοποιεῖτο T : σῖτον ᾑρεῖτο *Suda* β 309 : ἐσιτοποιεῖτο *Suda* η 500 παρὰ T *Suda* β 309 *Suda* α 3089 : ὑπὲρ *Suda* η 500 **6** τὰ πολυτελῆ T : τὸ πολὺ *Suda* β 309 ἀπετρώγετο T : ἀπετρύετο *Suda* β 309 *Suda* η 500 *Suda* α 3089 **8** φασί T : ἱστόρηται *Suda* β 309 συνεχῶς – ἐμφορούμενος add. Valois 1634 e *Suda* β 309

Fr. 124: *Suda* β 309 Βιτέλλιος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Γάλβαν διαδεξάμενος, πᾶν αἶσχος ἀναδεδεγμένος ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ κατὰ γαστρὸς ἀκρατῶς τε καὶ ἀκορέστως ἔχειν. πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς σῖτον ᾑρεῖτο καὶ παρὰ τὰς δείπνων παρασκευὰς τὸ πολὺ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπετρύετο. δέκα γὰρ δὴ μυριάδας ἀργυρίου ἐπὶ δισχιλίαις καὶ φʹ ἐς τὰ δεῖπνα δεδαπανηκέναι ἱστόρηται, συνεχῶς μὲν καὶ ἀπλήστως ἐμφορούμενος, συνεχῶς δὲ ἅπαντα ἀπερευγόμενός τε καὶ ἐξεμῶν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ διεγένετο, ἐπεὶ οἵ γε σύσσιτοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ κακῶς εἶχον. Βέβιος γοῦν Κρίσπος διὰ νόσον χρόνου τινὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς τοῦ συμποσίου μάλα στωμύλως ἔφη· εἰ μὴ ἐνενοσήκειν, ἀπολόμην ἄν. ἐς τόδε γοῦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ δεῖπνον τοῦ Βιτελλίου ἐπίσημον γεγονὸς διαμνημονεύεται· καθ' ὅ φασι δίχα τῆς λοιπῆς πολυτελείας δισχιλίους μὲν ἰχθῦς, ἑπτακισχιλίους δὲ ὄρνις ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην παρενεχθῆναι. ἐπῄνει δὲ καὶ τὰ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐς κοῖλόν τινα καὶ ἀφανῆ τάφον κατακείμενον ἀπεσέμνυνε. πρὸς δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, μεταποιουμένου τῆς βασιλείας ἤδη, κατακτείνεται. Cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 61-66) | 4 Πολλάκις – 6 ἀπετρώγετο *Suda* η 500 Ἡρεῖτο: ἐπεθύμει, ἐλάμβανε. πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐσιτοποιεῖτο καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν δείπνων παρασκευὰς τὰ πολυτελῆ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπετρύετο. | 5 καὶ παρὰ – 6 ἀπετρώγετο *Suda* α 3089, 277.4-5 Ἀπετρύετο· καὶ παρὰ τὰς τῶν δείπνων παρασκευὰς τὸ πολὺ τῶν δημοσίων ἀπετρύετο. κατεδαπανᾶτο.

124

Vitellius' rule was cruel and extremely oppressive; he exhibited every depravity in other aspects of life and was especially notable for his gluttony and voracity. He often took meals not only during the day but also at night and squandered public funds on the preparations for his feasts. He is reported to have expended 102,500 [talents] of silver for his feasts: he would frequently gorge himself and vomit everything up at short inter-

χῶς δὲ ἅπαντα ἀπερευγόμενός τε καὶ ἐξεμῶν. Ὧι δὴ καὶ μόνῳ διεγένετο, ἐπεὶ οἵ γε σύσσιτοι αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ κακῶς εἶχον. Βέβιος γοῦν Κρίσπος διὰ νόσον χρόνου τινὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς τοῦ συσσιτίου μάλα στωμύλως ἔφη· «εἰ μὴ ἐνενοσήκειν, ἀπωλόμην ἄν.» Ἐς τόδε τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ Βιτελλίου ἐπίσημον γεγονὸς διαμνημονεύεται· καθ' ὃ φασὶ δίχα τῆς λοιπῆς πολυτελείας δισχιλίους μὲν ἰχθῦς, ἑπτακισχιλίους δὲ ὄρνεις ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην παρενεχθῆναι. Ἐπῄνει δὲ καὶ τὰ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐς κοῖλόν τινα καὶ ἀφανῆ τάφον κατακείμενον ἀπεσέμνυνεν. ⟨Πρὸς δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ, μεταποιουμένου τῆς βασιλείας ἤδη, κατακτείνεται.⟩

125

EI 40 Ὅτι Βιτέλλιος βασιλεύσας κακῶς καὶ αἰσχρῶς, τῶν Ἰουδαίων νεωτερίζειν ἀρξαμένων, Βεσπασιανὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκπέμπει τῆς ἕω, τὴν τούτων κελεύσας αὐτῷ καταλῦσαι θρασύτητα. Ὡς οὖν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, οἱ στρατιῶται περὶ αὐτὸν ἀθροισθέντες ἀναγορεύουσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. Ὅπερ ἀκηκοὼς Βιτέλλιος Σαβῖνον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Βεσπασιανοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτολίῳ προσφυγόντα συγκατέπρησε τῷ ἱερῷ. Κινήσεως δὲ ἐντεῦθεν μεγίστης γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Βεσπασιανοῦ στρατὸς ἐγγίζειν ἔμελλε τῇ πόλει, συνδραμόντες ἅπαντες κρατοῦσι τὸν Βιτέλλιον

Fr. 125 = fr. 98 M = fr. 180 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 26f., Droysen 1879, 129, 131, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 758f | P (f. 110v-f. 111r) S (f. 118r)

Fr. 125: 12 Ὅτι – 14 θρασύτητα cf. Cass. D. 65.8.3[1] "quibus Antiochenus suis fere verbis et male Dionem reddidisse videtur" Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 122 n. 14 Ὡς – 16 βασιλέα cf. Cass. D. 65.8.4 "hoc quoque suis verbis; de suo addidit ὡς - Ἱερουσαλήμ quod verum non est, ex Dione non fluxisse arguit vel forma Ἱερουσαλήμ" Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 123 n. 16 Ὅπερ – 17 ἱερῷ Eutr. 7.18.4 18 ἐπειδὴ – 19 πόλει cf. Cass. D. 65.18.1 220.2 Εἱλκύσθη – 220.6 ἄγων Eutr. 7.18.5-6

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1 ἀπερευγόμενός Büttner-Wobst 1906b e *Suda* β 309 : ἀπεριγούμενός T : ἐξερευγόμενός Valois 1634 **2** Κρίσπος corr. Valois 1634 e *Suda* β 309 : κρίσσος T **3** συσσιτίου T : συμποσίου *Suda* β 309 **4** Ἐς τόδε τὸ δεῖπνον T : ἐς τόδε γοῦν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ δεῖπνον *Suda* β 309 **5** γεγονὸς corr. Büttner-Wobst 1906b : γεγονῶς T **8** Πρὸς – κατακτείνεται add. Müller 1851 e *Suda* β 309. Cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 63,65) **12** βιτέλλιος (corr. ex βιτέλιος) in mg. rep. P **18** τοῦ S : το P

vals. This was the only reason why he was able to hold out, for his fellow-banqueters fared very badly. Vibius Crispus, who had been compelled for some days by sickness to absent himself from the convivial board, eloquently remarked, "If I had not fallen ill, I would have perished." The famous dinner of Vitellius has been remembered until the present time: aside from the other extravagance, two thousand fish and seven thousand birds were set on the table. He commended the deeds of Nero and paid respect to his remains which were lying in a hollow and unknown grave. He was slain by the generals of Vespasian, who was already claiming the empire for himself.

125

Vitellius ruled in a reprehensible and shameful manner. When the Jews started a rebellion, he sent out Vespasian as commander of the East, ordering him to suppress their audacity. While Vespasian was besieging Jerusalem, his soldiers gathered around him and proclaimed him emperor. When Vitellius heard the news, he burned Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, along with the Capitol, where the former had fled for refuge. In the serious disturbance that ensued – for Vespasian's army was about to approach the city – the people gathered together, seized Vitellius, handed

καὶ προσάγουσι τοῖς Βεσπασιανοῦ στρατιώταις καὶ κατακρίνουσιν αὐτὸν τελευτῆς ἀσχήμονος, τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Νέρωνι πρώην ἐψηφισμένης. Εἱλκύσθη γὰρ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως γυμνὸς ἐσθήματος, ἀνελκομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ κρανίου διὰ τῆς κόμης, τοῦ δὲ ξίφους ὑποβεβλημένου τῷ ἀνθερεῶνι, βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστυγχανόντων, τέλος διατμηθεὶς τὸν λαιμὸν ἐνεβλήθη τῷ Θύβριδι ἕβδομον καὶ ν′ ἔτος ἄγων.

126

EV 30 Ὅτι Βεσπασιανὸς οὕτως ἦν ἤπιος καὶ προσηνής, ὡς μηδὲ τὰς εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν γινομένας ἁμαρτίας πέρα τιμωρεῖσθαι φυγῆς. Τάς τε γὰρ ἀπεχθείας καὶ τὰ προσκρούματα τῆς διανοίας ταχέως ἀπεσείετο καὶ σκώμματα ῥητόρων, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἠφίετο, καὶ δήμων ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπορριπτούμενα κούφως τε καὶ γαληνῶς ἔφερεν· ἔς τε τὰς ἐντεύξεις κοινὸς καὶ δημοτικὸς ὢν ἀπεσκήνου μὲν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βασιλείων.

Fr. 126 = fr. 99 M = fr. 182 R; Valois 1634, 817, Droysen 1879, 131,133 | T (f. 94^{r})

Fr. 126: Eutr. 7.19.2; 7.20.1

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2 τῷ Νέρωνι P : τῷνέργῳν S **13** ὡς T : ἐς *Suda* β 246 βασιλείων Valois 1634 corr. e *Suda* β 246 : βασιλέων T

Fr. 126: *Suda* β 246, 15-21 Βεσπασιανός, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. οὗτος ἦν ἤπιος καὶ προσηνὴς ὡς μηδὲ τὰς εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν γινομένας ἁμαρτίας πέρα τιμωρεῖσθαι φυγῆς· τάς τε γὰρ ἀπεχθείας καὶ τὰ προσκρούματα τῆς διανοίας ταχέως ἀπεσείετο καὶ σκώμματα ῥητόρων, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἠφίετο, καὶ δήμων ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπορριπτούμενα κούφως τε καὶ γαληνῶς ἔφερεν· ἔς τε τὰς ἐντεύξεις κοινὸς καὶ δημοτικὸς ὢν ἀπεσκήνου μὲν ἐς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βασιλείων.

him over to Vespasian's soldiers and condemned him to an ignominious death, which had recently been chosen for Nero: stripped of his clothes, with his head held erect by the hair and with a sword thrust under his chin, Vitellius was dragged through the entire city of Rome and pelted by bystanders; finally his throat was cut, and he was thrown into the Tiber in the fifty-seventh year of his life.

126

Vespasian was so gentle and kind that he did not even avenge the crimes against himself and against the empire with a punishment stiffer than exile. He was quick to shake off enmities and the injuries, and he tolerated with calmness and ease the insults of the orators he was exposed to and the lampoons people would hurl at him. He was affable and sociable when meeting other people and he spent as much time as possible away from his palace.

127

Suda β 246 Οὗτος τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων παραβάλλεσθαι ἄξιος ἦν· ὅς γε καὶ τὸν ἰδιώτην ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐπίδοξον πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις ἀπετέλεσε κατορθώμασι. Κλαυδίῳ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ Βρεττανοὺς λ΄ καρτερὰς μάχας πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιπαρεστήσατο. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρελθὼν μετρίως τε καὶ σωφρόνως τὴν ἀρχὴν διῴκητο, ἐπιθυμητικῶς μὲν δοκῶν ἔχειν χρημάτων· οὐ μὴν ὥστε παρὰ δίκην ἀφαιρεῖσθαί τινα τῶν οἰκείων. Καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον οὐκ ἐς τὰς ἡδονάς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς δημοσίας χρείας ἐποιεῖτο. Οὔκουν εὕροι τις ἂν ἕτερον πρὸ τοῦδε βασιλέα οὔτε δαψιλέστερον, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ ἴσον τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξητασμένον τὴν πρὸς τὰς δωρεὰς ἐλευθεριότητα.

128

EI 41 Ὅτι ὁ Βεσπασιανὸς οὕτως ἄρα τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ ἐγίνωσκε τέλος, βίου τε αὐτῶν πέρι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρόδου, ὡς πολλάκις, μηνυθείσης ἐπιβουλῆς, μηδὲν μὲν ἐργάσασθαι τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνεστῶτας κακόν, διαρρήδην δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ὑπὸ τῇ πάντων ἀκοῇ προσειπεῖν, ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἕξειν ἢ μηδένα παντελῶς τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον.

Fr. 127 = Adler 1928, i, 468.21-31 = fr. 181 R; Müller 1851, 578 n., Droysen 1879, 131 cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 60f.) Fr. 128 = fr. 100 M = fr. 183 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 27, Droysen 1879, 133 | P (f. 111r) S (f. 118v)

Fr. 127: Eutr. 7.19.1-2 Fr. 128: 15 μηνυθείσης – 18 διάδοχον Eutr. 7.20.3 cf. etiam Cass. D. 66.12.1 et Sotiroudis 1989, 95

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2 παραβάλλεσθαι Adler 1928 : περιβάλλεσθαι A*Suda*

Fr. 127: 9 Οὔκουν – 11 ἐξητασμένον *Suda* ε 1756 Ἐξητασμένον· ἠκριβωμένον. οὐκ ἂν εὕροι τις οὔτε δαψιλὲς οὔτε πρὸς τὸ δίκαιόν τε καὶ ἴσον ἐξητασμένον. Cf. Mariev (2005). | 11 ἐξητασμένον – 11 ἐλευθεριότητα *Suda* ε 805, 244.11-12 Διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς δωρεὰς ἐλευθεριότητα· φησὶν Οὐεσπασιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων.

127

This man [i.e. Vespasian] deserved to be compared with the best emperors that had ever reigned; he even rendered his own private life glorious by many virtuous deeds. After Claudius had appointed him general in Germany and Britain, he contended with the enemy in thirty intensely fought battles. Having come to power, he ruled with moderation and prudence, but appeared rather greedy with regard to money, though in such a way that he deprived no one of it unjustly. He did not employ the wealth for his pleasures but for the public needs. One would not easily find another emperor before him who would be more munificent or would exercise liberality in stricter and more particular accordance with the principles of justice and equality.

128

Vespasian was so conversant with the fated destiny of his children,[1] their life and their coming to power, that often, whenever a plot [against him] was reported, he would not do any wrong to the conspirators and would proclaim in the senate for everyone to hear that either his sons would succeed him or no one at all.

[1] The original text of Eutropius seems to be discernible in this rather vague sentence: it is the *genitura* (one's natal star, constellation, nativity or more explicitly, horoscope, as Bird 1993, 46 translates) of his children with which Vespasian was conversant. The vague expression in Greek may be due to the difficulty the translator might have experienced while rendering this part of the sentence.

129

EV 31 Ὅτι Τίτος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν πᾶν ἀρετῆς συνειληφὼς γένος, ὡς πρὸς ἁπάντων ἔρως τε καὶ τρυφὴ τοῦ θνητοῦ προσαγορευθῆναι γένους. Εὐγλωττότατός τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμικώτατος καὶ μετριώτατος ἦν καὶ τῇ μὲν Λατίνων ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ πρὸς τὰς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχρῆτο διοικήσεις, ποιήματα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ διεπονεῖτο.

130

EV 32 Ὅτι ἐπεὶ ᾑρήκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Τίτος, Συρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ ὅσα τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ πρόσοικα γένη ἐστεφάνουν τὸν ἄνδρα, νικητὴν ἀποκαλοῦντες. Ὁ δὲ διωθεῖτο τοὺς στεφάνους, οὐκ αὐτὸς λέγων εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα, θεῷ δὲ φήναντι ὀργὴν ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας· οὕτως ἦν μέτριος καὶ σωφροσύνης μεστός.

Fr. 129 = fr. 102 M = fr. 185 R; Valois 1634, 817, Droysen 1879, 133 | T (f. 94r)
Fr. 130 = fr. 103 M = fr. 186 R; Valois 1634, 817 | T (f. 94r)

Fr. 129: Eutr. 7.21.1 Fr. 130: fontem non inveni

Fr. 129: *Suda* τ 691, 564.1-6 Τῖτος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ υἱός, ἀνὴρ πᾶν ἀρετῆς συνειληφὼς γένος, ὡς πρὸς ἁπάντων ἔρως τε καὶ τρυφὴ τοῦ θνητοῦ προσαγορευθῆναι γένους· εὐγλωττότατός τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμικώτατος καὶ μετριώτατος ἦν, καὶ τῇ μὲν Λατίνων ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ πρὸς τὰς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχρῆτο διοικήσεις, ποιήματα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ διεπονεῖτο. Fr. 130: *Suda* τ 691, 564.6-11 ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾑρήκει τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ Τῖτος, Συρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ ὅσα τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ πρόσοικα γένη ἐστεφάνουν τὸν ἄνδρα, νικητὴν ἀνακαλοῦντες. ὁ δὲ διωθεῖτο τοὺς στεφάνους, οὐκ αὐτὸς λέγων εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα, θεῷ δὲ φήναντι ὀργὴν ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας. οὕτως ἦν μέτριος καὶ σωφροσύνης μεστός.

129

Vespasian's son Titus combined in his person every kind of virtue so that he was called by all the darling and delight of the human race. He was extremely eloquent, warlike and restrained. He used his native Latin language in the execution of public affairs, and he composed poems and tragedies in the Greek tongue.

130

When Titus had sacked Jerusalem, all of Syria and Egypt and every race dwelling near Palestine crowned him, calling him conqueror. But he turned down the crowns, claiming that he had not done these things himself, but had supplied his hands to a god who showed his wrath: so moderate and full of prudence was he.

131

EI 42 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Τίτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἀνήρ τις Ἴων τὸ γένος, Τερέντιος Μάξιμος ὄνομα, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν προσεοικὼς τῷ Νέρωνι, (καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ᾖδε πρὸς κιθάραν) Νέρων τε εἶναι ἐπλάττετο καὶ διαπεφευγέναι πάλαι τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν σταλέντας στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀφανεῖ δέ που πεποιῆσθαι τὰς διατριβὰς ἐς τόδε. Πολλοὺς γοῦν ἔκ τε τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας τούτοις ἀπατήσας τοῖς λόγοις ἕπεσθαί οἱ ἀνέπεισεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην προϊὼν πολλῷ πλείους προσεποιήσατο. Τέλος πρὸς Παρθυαίους, ὡς καὶ ὀφειλομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἀμοιβῆς τινος διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπόδοσιν, κατέφυγεν. Οὐ μὴν ἄξιόν τι τῆς ἐπινοίας εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ φωραθεὶς ὃς ἦν ταχέως ἀπώλετο.

132

EI 43 Ὅτι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἕνεκα πέρα τοῦ συνήθους πρὸς πάντων ποθούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος νόσῳ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον προστὰς τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ῥωμαίων β′ ἔτη πρὸς μησὶν η′. Γέγονε μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς οὐ διὰ μικρᾶς ὑπονοίας ἐπιβουλευθέντα μιν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνηκέναι, λαγὸν θαλάσσιον ἐν δείπνῳ τινὶ προσενεγκάμενον. Φασὶ δὲ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, φυλάττεσθαι μάλιστα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλήν. Τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου· «ἀποθανοῦμαι δὲ τίνα τρόπον;» εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον· «ὅν γε Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται.» Φασὶ γὰρ κἀκείνῳ ἐκ θαλάττης

Fr. 131 = fr. 104 M = fr. 187 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 27, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 759 | P (f. 111r) S (f. 118v) Fr. 132 = fr. 105 M = fr. 188 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 27f., Droysen 1879, 133 | P (f. 111rv) S (f. 118v-f. 119r)

Fr. 131: Cass. D. 66.19.3b-3c Fr. 132: 13 Ὅτι – 15 μησὶν η′ Eutr. 7.22.1 228.4 Ὁ δ᾽ – 228.5 διεσάφησεν Cass. D. 66.26.3 228.5 οἱ δὲ – 228.9 περιελθεῖν Cass. D. 66.26.4

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2 Ἴων de Boor 1905 : ἰων (sine sp. et acc.) P, errat Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 759 n. : ἰὼν S : Ἀσιανὸς ὢν Müller 1851 qui etiam dubitavit an ἦν pro ὢν melior esset **3** προσεοικὼς P : προσεοικῶς S (corr. ex προσεστικῶς) **7** ἀπατήσας P : ἀναπατήσας S **15** γέγονε μὲν S : γεγόναμεν P **16** μιν PS Roberto 2005 : μὲν edd. **17** προσενεγκάμενον PS : προσενεγκαμένου in app. coni. de Boor 1905 αὐτῷ Müller 1851 : αὐτὸν PS

131

In the reign of the Roman emperor Titus, a man of Ionian origin, Terentius Maximus by name, who resembled Nero in certain respects and in voice (this man, too sang to the accompaniment of the lyre), pretended to be Nero, claiming that he had escaped from the soldiers who had been sent against him and that he had been living in concealment somewhere up to this time. He persuaded many from Asia Minor to follow him, deceiving them by these statements, and as he proceeded towards the Euphrates he won over a far greater number. Finally he fled to Parthians, claiming that they owed him some recompense for the return of Armenia. Yet he accomplished nothing commensurate with his purpose, but his identity was discovered and he soon perished.

132

Cherished and admired by all more than usual owing to his numerous good qualities, he [Titus] died of a disease after a reign of two years and eight months. Many had a well-founded suspicion that he died as a result of a plot devised by his brother, who had a sea-hare set before him at dinner. It is reported that Apollonius had told him in advance that he should be especially on his guard against a plot by his relatives. When he asked, "How will I die?", Apollonius replied, "In the same way as Odysseus is said to have died." For it is reported that Odysseus' death

ἀφικέσθαι τὸν θάνατον. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα καὶ τυχὸν περιγενόμενον ἐς λάρνακα πλήρη χιόνος ἐμβαλών, ὡς ἂν θᾶττον ἀπὸ ψύχους ἐκλείποι, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ῾Ρώμην παραληψόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφίππευσεν. ῾Ο δ' οὖν Τίτος ψυχορραγῶν ἤδη ἔφη· ἓν μόνον ἐπλημμέλησα· τὸ δὲ τί τοῦτο ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ διεσάφησεν, οἱ δὲ παρόντες ἐς τὸν Δομετιανὸν οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀποτείνειν ἐλογίσαντο, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντά οἱ πολλάκις λαβὼν μεθῆκεν, καὶ περιέμεινεν αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου διαφθαρῆναι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς ἄνδρα κακὸν καὶ ἀνοσιουργὸν περιελθεῖν.

133

EV 33 ῞Οτι Δομετιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ῾Ρωμαίων, ἀδελφὸς Τίτου νεώτερος, Νέρωνι καὶ Καλλιγούλᾳ καὶ Τιβερίῳ, τοῖς αἴσχιστα καὶ φαυλότατα προστᾶσι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἤπερ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ προσεοικὼς τὸν τρόπον. Μετρίοις γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς προοιμίοις χρησάμενος εὐθὺς εἰς πλείονά τε

Fr. 133 = fr. 106 M = fr. 189 R; Valois 1634, 817f., Droysen 1879, 135 | T (f. 94rv)

Fr. 133: Eutr. 7.23.1-3

1 post Φασὶ δὲ verba ὅτι Δομετιανὸς suppl. Müller 1851 **2** περιγενησόμενον in app. coni. Müller 1851 **3** ἐκλείποι PS : ἐκλίποι coni. Kambylis αὐτὸς Müller 1851 : αὐτὸν PS **11** post Νέρωνι verbum μᾶλλον in app. coni. Müller 1851 **12** Καλλιγούλᾳ Büttner-Wobst 1906b : καλλιγούλα T : Καλιγόλᾳ Müller 1851 **13** προσεοικὼς comparativus desideratur ut Müller 1851

Fr. 133: *Suda* δ 1351 Δομετιανός, βασιλεὺς ῾Ρωμαίων, ἀδελφὸς Τίτου νεώτερος, Νέρωνι καὶ Καλλιγούλᾳ καὶ Τιβερίῳ, τοῖς αἴσχιστα καὶ φαυλότατα προστᾶσι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἤπερ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τἀδελφῷ προσεοικὼς τὸν τρόπον. μετρίοις γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς προοιμίοις χρησάμενος εὐθὺς ἐς πλείονά τε καὶ ἄτοπα τῆς γνώμης ἐκπίπτει μειονεκτήματα, πλεονεξίαν τε νοσῶν ἄμετρον καὶ ἀσέλγειαν, θυμοῦ τε ἀκρατὴς ὢν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσι, φιλαπεχθήμων τε καὶ φιλάργυρος εἰ καί τις ἕτερος. ταχέως γοῦν τὸ πρὸς ἁπάντων μῖσος ἐφειλκύσατο ὡς τό τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποσβέσαι κλέος. σφαγαῖς τε γὰρ τῶν ἐπισήμων τῆς βουλῆς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐμίαινε τὴν πόλιν, τάς τε ἴσας τοῖς κρείττοσι μεταδιώκων τιμὰς οὐχ ὑπέμενεν ἑτέρων αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνδριάντων στάσιν ἐκ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένων. ἀπείχετο δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν φόνου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀφ' αἵματος τὴν ἀνοσίαν ἤγαγε δεξιάν, οὔτε θεοὺς ὁμογνίους οὔτε δίκην αἰδούμενος, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τά τε θεῖα περιφρονῶν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

had also come from the sea. They say that he [Domitian] threw him into a chest full of snow while he was still alive (and perhaps had a chance to survive),[1] in order to make him die as soon as possible on account of the cold, and rode off to Rome to receive imperial power. While Titus was breathing his last, he said, "There is only one thing I did wrong." He did not explain what that thing was, but those who were present took it to refer to Domitian, which is not improbable, because Titus had caught him several times plotting against his life, but let him go unpunished and so he carried on until he was killed by him, allowing power to be transferred to a wicked and impious man.

133

The Roman Emperor Domitian, the younger brother of Titus, was more similar in character to Nero, Caligula and Tiberius, who had administered the empire in a most shameful and neglectful manner, than to his father and brother. After a moderate beginning of his reign, he immediately lapsed into intense and abnormal mental derangement: he suffered

1 Müller 1851 conjectured περιγενησόμενον based on the evidence offered by Xiph. 66.26 and Zon.: καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνάμενον.

καὶ ἄτοπα τῆς γνώμης ἐκπίπτει μειονεκτήματα, πλεονεξίαν τε νοσῶν ἄμετρον καὶ ἀσέλγειαν θυμοῦ τε ἀκρατὴς ὢν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν φιλαπεχθήμων τε καὶ φιλάργυρος εἰ καί τις ἕτερος. Ταχέως γοῦν τὸ πρὸς ἁπάντων μῖσος ἐφειλκύσατο, ὡς τό τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποσβέσαι κλέος. Σφαγαῖς τε γὰρ τῶν ἐπισήμων τῆς βουλῆς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐμίαινε τὴν πόλιν τάς τε ἴσας τοῖς κρείττοσι μεταδιώκων τιμὰς οὐχ ὑπέμενεν ἑτέρων αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνδριάντων στάσιν * * * ἐκ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένων. Ἀπείχετο δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν φόνου, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀφ᾽ αἵματος τὴν ἀνοσίαν ἤγαγεν δεξιάν, οὔτε θεοὺς ὁμογνίους οὔτε δίκην αἰδούμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁμοῦ τά τε θεῖα περιφρονῶν καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

134

EI 44 Ὅτι ἅπασιν ὁ Δομετιανὸς διὰ τὸ φονικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες τῆς γνώμης ἔχθιστος ὢν πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων συστάντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κατακτείνεται, ε′ καὶ λ′ γεγονὼς ἔτη, ἄρξας δὲ ιε′. Τό γε μὴν σῶμα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων τῆς πόλεως ἐκφορηθὲν ἀσήμῳ τε καὶ ἀπρεπεῖ παρεδόθη ταφῇ.

Fr. 134 = fr. 107 M = fr. 190.1 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 28f., Droysen 1879, 135, Boissevain 1895-1901, III, 760 | P (f. 111^{v}-f. 112^{r}) S (f. 119^{rv})

Fr. 134: 13 Ὅτι – 16 ταφῇ Eutr. 7.23.6 232.1 ᾽Επιβουλεῦσαι – 232.5 ὑπάρχων Cass. D. 67.15.1-2 232.5 Τούτους – 232.7 πρᾶξιν cf. Cass. D. 67.15.3-4 232.8 ἀλλ᾽ ἐς – 232.13 προσκατεργάσασθαι Cass. D. 67.17.1-2 232.13 Προσημῆναι – 232.14 ὀνείρων cf. Cass. D. 67.16.1 232.14 καὶ μάλιστα – 232.22 ἄνδρα Cass. D. 67.16.2 232.22 Κἀκεῖνο – 232.26 ἀπέκτεινας Cass. D. 67.18.1

4 ἐφειλκύσατο corr. Valois 1634 e *Suda* δ 1351 : ἐφειλήσατο T 7 ὑπέμεινεν *Suda* δ 1351, Müller 1851 **8** lacunam statuit Büttner-Wobst 1906b : ἢ add. Valois 1634 Ἀπέσχετο Müller 1851 an errore typ.? **16** ἐκφορηθὲν de Boor 1905 : ἐκφοριθὲν S : ἀφορηθὲν P

Fr. 134: 13 Ὅτι ἅπασιν – 14 κατακτείνεται et 232.8 παρασκευασαμένους – 232.11 ἐκείνου *Suda* δ 1352, 127.13-18 Οὗτος διὰ τὸ φονικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες ἔχθιστος ὢν πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων συστάντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κατακτείνεται καὶ παρασκευασαμένους εἰσπέμψαι ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ Στέφανον τὸν ἀπελεύθερον· καὶ τοῦτον προσπεσόντα Δομετιανῷ καθεύδοντι τὸ μεθημερινὸν πατάξαι μέν, οὐ μὴν καιρίαν, ἀναπηδήσαντος γοῦν ἐκείνου.

from insatiable greed and licentiousness, he did not have control over his temper, he proved himself relentless in punishments and he was contentious and covetous like no other. He promptly provoked such great hatred against himself that he effaced the fame of his brother and father. By slaughtering the most distinguished men of the senate he used to defile the city of Rome every day. He strove after honours equal to those of more distinguished men and would not allow the erection of any statue to him on the Capitol unless it were of gold and silver. He did not refrain from the murder of his kinsmen, but used to raise his defiling hand against all his relatives without fear of family gods or respect for justice, showing equal contempt for divine and human law.

134

Hated by all on account of his murderous and fierce character, Domitian was killed in the thirty-fifth year of his life and in the fifteenth of his reign by those close to him who had conspired against him. His corpse was carried out by the most dishonourable people of the city and given an ignoble and unseemly burial. The plot to murder him had been formed

Ἐπιβουλεῦσαι δὲ μάλιστα τούτῳ τὸν φόνον Παρθένιόν τε καὶ Σιγηρὸν τοὺς προκοίτους καὶ Ἔντελλον τὸν τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς διέποντα βιβλίδια, οὔτε τῆς Δομιτίας τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γαμετῆς (ἧκτο γὰρ δὴ ταύτην παῖδα τοῦ Τίτου τυγχάνουσαν) ἀγνοούσης τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, οὔτε Νορβάνου καὶ Σεκούνδου τῶν ὑπάρχων. Τούτους γὰρ δὴ μαθόντας, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐκποδὼν ἀθρόως ὁ Δομετιανὸς ποιήσασθαι διέγνωκεν, καί τινα καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτου θεασαμένους οὐκ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν εὐθέως παρασκευασαμένους εἰσπέμψαι σὺν ξιφιδίῳ Στέφανον τὸν ἀπελεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον προσπεσόντα Δομετιανῷ καθεύδοντι τὸ μεθημερινὸν πατάξαι μέν, οὐ μὴν καιρίαν. Ἀναπηδήσαντος γοῦν ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν Στέφανον καταβάλλοντος, δείσαντας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Παρθένιον μὴ καὶ περιγένηται, ἐπεισελθεῖν καὶ παντελῶς αὐτὸν προσκατεργάσασθαι. Προσημῆναι δὲ τῷ Δομετιανῷ τὴν τελευτὴν ἄλλα τε πολλά, τοῦτο μὲν τέρατα, τοῦτο δὲ ὄψεις ὀνείρων, καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Λάργικνον ἀστρολόγον τινά. Τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ παρὰ τοῖς Γαλάταις προειπόντα δημοσίᾳ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀποδηλώσαντα πρὸς τοῦ ὑπάρχου ἀναπεμφθῆναι τῷ Δομετιανῷ ἐπὶ κολάσει, καὶ αὖθις τὰ αὐτὰ εἰπόντα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προαγορεύσαντα καταδικασθῆναι μέν, οὐ μὴν ἀποθανεῖν, τοῦ τυράννου ἀναβαλλομένου τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐς τὸν ῥηθέντα χρόνον, ὅπως δὴ διαφυγὼν δικαιότερον αὐτὸν ὡς ψευσάμενον κολάσειεν· κἂν τούτῳ, ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ, διαφυγεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα. Κἀκεῖνο δὲ θαυμαστὸν παρὰ τὴν τοῦδε τελευτὴν συμβέβηκεν. Ἀπολλώνιον γὰρ τὸν Τυανέα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς σφαγῆς, προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίοις ἐν κοινῷ τὸ περὶ τὸν Δομετιανὸν πάθος τοῖσδε τοῖς ῥήμασι· «καλῶς, ὦ Στέφανε, εὖ γε, ὦ Στέφανε, παῖε τὸν μιαιφόνον. Ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπέκτεινας».

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1 post φόνον verbum φασι in app. add. de Boor 1905 Σιγηρὸν corr. de Boor 1905 : σήγηρον S : σιγηρον sine acc. P **2** Ἔντελλον τὸν Müller 1851 : ἐντελλόντων PS **3** Δομιτίας PS : Δομετίας Müller 1851 **4** Νορβάνου PS : Νωρβάνου Müller 1851 **8** ξιφιδίῳ corr. Müller 1851 : ξιφειδία P : ξιφειδίᾳ S **15** Λάργικνον de Boor 1905 : λάργικνον vel λάργιηνον S : λαργικνον sine acc. P : Λαργῖνον Müller 1851 : Λάργινον Boissevain 1895-1901, III, 760 : Λάργιον Πρόκλον Roberto 2005 e *Exc. Salm. II* 56 **22** Κἀκεῖνο corr. Müller 1851 : κἀκείνου PS

mainly by his chamberlains Parthenius and Sigerus, as well as Entellus, who was in charge of petitions [*a libellis*], nor were Domitia, the emperor's wife (for he had married this women, who was Titus' daughter),[1] or the prefects Norbanus and Secundus unaware of the plan. When they learned that Domitian had determined to get rid of them all at once and even saw some letters to the effect, they did not postpone the action but immediately made preparations for the next day and sent the freedman Stephanus with a dagger, who smote Domitian while he was taking his afternoon rest, but failed to deliver a fatal blow. When the emperor sprang up and overpowered Stephanus, Parthenius and his fellow-conspirators grew apprehensive that he might survive, rushed in and finished him off. The death had been foretold to Domitian in many different portents such as signs and dream visions, but first and foremost by a certain astrologer Largi[c]nus. After he had publicly announced to the Galatians the death of the tyrant and indicated the time of this event, he was sent by the governor to Domitian to be punished. After he had again declared the same thing and named the day, he was sentenced to death, but did not die, because the tyrant postponed his punishment until the specified time, so that, having escaped the danger himself, he might punish him more justly for lying. But in the mean time Domitian was slain and the man escaped. And the following marvellous event happened at the time of Domitian's death: on the same day and even at the very time of his assassination Apollonius of Tyana publicly announced the misfortune of Domitian to the people of Ephesus in the following words: "Come on, Stephanus! Go ahead, Stephanus! Smite the bloodthirsty wretch! You have struck him, you have wounded him, you have slain him!"

[1] Domitia Longina was the daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo. As Müller (1851, 579) points out, the error is probably due to the confusion of Domitia with Julia, daughter of Titus, with whom Domitian also maintained a relationship.

135

EI 45 Ὅτι Νέρβας, ἐπειδὴ πρός τινων διὰ τὸ γῆρας καταφρονηθεὶς ἐπεβουλεύθη πολλάκις, καὶ τὸν Πετρώνιον καὶ τὸν Παρθένιον προσφιλεστάτους οἱ ὄντας ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς Αἰλιανοῦ τοῦ τῶν δορυφόρων ἡγουμένου ἐβιάσθη· ἐφ' οἷς δὴ καὶ σφόδρα ἠνιᾶτο. Λέγεται δὲ Τραϊανῷ ἄλλα τέ τινα τελευτῶν αὐτοχειρὶ ἐπιστεῖλαι, καὶ τὸν Ὁμηρικὸν ἐπιθεῖναι στίχον· Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

136

EV 34 Ὅτι Τραϊανὸς τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀνακωχήν τινα τῆς τιμωρίας παρέσχεν. Οἱ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνούμενοι πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν τότε βασιλέων διαφόρους ἐπῆγον τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς κολάσεις. Ὅθεν καὶ Τιβεριανὸς ἡγεμονεύων τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστίνων ἔθνους ἀνήγαγεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὡς οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ λοιπὸν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς φονεύειν, ἐκείνων αὐτομάτως ἐπεισαγόντων ἑαυτοὺς τῇ κολάσει. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Τραϊανὸς πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀπηγόρευσε τοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους.

Fr. 135 = fr. 110 M = fr. 192 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 29, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 760 | P (f. 112rv) S (f. 119v) Fr. 136 = fr. 111 M = fr. 193 R; Valois 1634, 818 | T (f. 94v)

Fr. 135: Cass. D. 68.3.3-4 Fr. 136: fontem non inveni

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3 πετρώνιον P : πετρόνιον S 4 Αἰλιανοῦ Müller 1851 : κλιανοῦ PS 7 βέλεσσιν corr. Müller 1851 : βέλεσιν PS

Fr. 136: *Suda* τ 902, 582.24-31 οὗτος τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἀνακωχήν τινα τῆς τιμωρίας παρέσχεν· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνούμενοι πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν τότε βασιλέων διαφόρους ἐπῆγον τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς κολάσεις. ὅθεν καὶ Τιβεριανός, ἡγεμονεύων τοῦ πρώτου Παλαιστινῶν ἔθνους, ἀνήγαγεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὡς οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ λοιπὸν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς φονεύειν, ἐκείνων αὐτομάτως ἐπεισαγόντων ἑαυτοὺς τῇ κολάσει. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Τραϊανὸς πᾶσιν ἅμα τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀπηγόρευε τοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους.

135

Since plots were frequently formed against him by various men who held him in contempt because of his age, Nerva was forced by Aelianus, the commander of the praetorians, to hand over Petronius and Parthenius to the soldiers, though these men were very dear to him; he was greatly grieved at this. On nearing his end, he is said to have sent a message to Trajan written with his own hand to which he added this Homeric line: "Let the Danaans pay for my tears by your arrows."[1]

136

Trajan granted the Christians a cessation of persecution. For those who at that time used to purchase official positions under the Romans were imposing different punishments on the Christians to gain the favour of the current emperor. Hence also Tiberianus, governing *Palaestina prima*, mentioned this to him, saying that it is not enough to kill the Christians henceforth, since those people willingly bring themselves to this punishment. As a result Trajan at once forbade all the people under him to persecute the Christians.

[1] Homer, *Il.* 1.43

137

EI 46 Ὅτι ὁ Τραϊανὸς τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους οὕτως εἶχεν ἀκίνητον, ὥστε Σούραν Λικίννιον, ἄνδρα μέγα μὲν παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον, διαβληθέντα δὲ πρός τινων φθονούντων οἱ τῆς εὐπραγίας, μήτε ὑποπτεύσας μήτε μισήσας, ἐγκειμένων τῶν διαβαλλόντων καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἄνδρα φασκόντων, ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὡς τὸν Λικίννιον ἀπῆλθεν ἄκλητος, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν φρουρὰν ἀποπεμψάμενος, πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ἰατρὸν τὸν τοῦ Λικιννίου καλέσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπηλείψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν κουρέα μετακαλεσάμενος ξυρεῖν ἐκείνῳ τὸ γένειον παραδέδωκεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε πρὸς τοὺς εἰωθότας διαβάλλειν τὸν ἄνδρα· εἰ ἤθελέ με Σούρας ἀποκτεῖναι, χθὲς ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν. Οὕτως ἄρα τὸ πιστὸν τῆς γνώμης ἐξ ὧν αὐτῷ συνῄδει πεπραγότι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξ ὧν ἕτεροι ἐδόξαζον, ἐβεβαιοῦτο. Διὸ δὴ ζῶν τε ὁμοίως ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ βίου παυσάμενος κατ' ἴσον προσεκυνεῖτο τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

138

EV 35 Ὅτι Ἀδριανὸς ἦν ἡδὺς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ ἐπήνθει τις αὐτῷ χάρις, τῇ τε Λατίνων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα γλώττῃ χρώμενος· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πραότητι τρόπων ⟨ἄγαν⟩ ἐθαυμάζετο, περί τε τὴν τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐσπουδακὼς ἄθροισιν.

Fr. 137 = fr. 112 M = fr. 194 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 29, Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 761 | P (f. 112[v]) S (f. 119[v]) Fr. 138 = fr. 113 M = fr. 195 R; Valois 1634, 818, Droysen 1879, 141 | T (f. 94[v])

Fr. 137: 2 Ὅτι – 11 ἀπέκτεινεν Cass. D. 68.15.4-6 11 Οὕτως – 12 ἐβεβαιοῦτο Cass. D. 68.16.1[a] 13 Διὸ δὴ – 14 κρείττοσιν Eutr. 8.4.2 Fr. 138: 16 Ὅτι – 16 χάρις Cass. D. 69.2.6[a] 16 τῇ τε – 19 ἄθροισιν Eutr. 8.7.2

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3 λικίννιον S : λίννιον P **7** λικιννίου SP[1] : λικινίου P **8** ὑπηλείψατο Müller 1851 e Cass. D. 68.15.5 : ἀπηλείψατο PS **12** ἐβεβαιοῦτο P : ἐκβεβαιοῦτο S **13** ζῶν τε ὁμοίως P : ζῶντες ὁμοίως S **17** πρᾳότητι Müller 1851 **18** ἄγαν add. Büttner-Wobst 1906b e *Suda* α 527

Fr. 138: *Suda* α 527, 11-14 Οὗτος ἦν ἡδὺς μὲν ἐντυχεῖν καὶ ἐπήνθει τις αὐτῷ χάρις, τῇ τε Λατίνων καὶ Ἑλλήνων γλώττῃ ἄριστα χρώμενος· οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πραότητι τρόπων ἄγαν ἐθαυμάζετο, περί τε τὴν τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐσπουδακὼς ἄθροισιν.

137

Trajan was so firm in his loyalty to his friends that when Licinius Sura, a person who enjoyed great power under him, was slandered by those who envied him on account of his success, he did not feel any suspicion or hatred towards him. Since the accusers became very insistent and kept saying that Sura was planning an attempt on his life, he went uninvited to dinner at the house of Licinius, and having dismissed his whole body-guard, he first called Licinius' physician and let him salve his eyes and then he summoned his barber, whom he permitted to shave his chin. After he returned home, he told those who were in the habit of slandering the man, "If Sura had desired to kill me, he would have done it yesterday." And so his loyal disposition was warranted by his personal experience rather than by the conjectures of others. For this reason Trajan was reverenced in equal measure as the gods both while he was alive and after his death.

138

Hadrian was a pleasant person to meet, his graciousness was evident; he had a perfect command of the Latin and Greek tongues. He did not have a great reputation for clemency, but rather for his ability to fill the public treasury.

139 Dubium

Suda δ 1352 Ἀδριανὸς δὲ πολλὰ ἀνορθώσας καὶ Λαζοῖς ἤτοι Κόλχοις βασιλέα ἐπέστησεν. Οὐκ εὐβούλως δὲ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας παραχωρεῖ Πέρσαις δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ, κτηθείσης ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὅρον ποιεῖται τῆς ἀρχῆς.

140

EV 36 Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστος ἦν καὶ μάλιστα Νουμᾷ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁμοιότροπον ἄξιος παραβάλλεσθαι, καθάπερ δὴ Ῥωμύλῳ Τραϊανὸς ἐνομίσθη παραπλήσιος. Τόν τε γὰρ ἰδιώτην ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος

Fr. 139 = Adler 1928, ii, 127.10-13; Droysen 1879, 139, cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 68, Roberto 2005, C n. 195 Fr. 140 = fr. 115 M = fr. 198 R; Valois 1634, 818, 821, Droysen 1879, 141-143 | T (f. 94v-f. 95r)

Fr. 139: Eutr. 8.6.2 Fr. 140: Eutr. 8.8.1-3

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2 πολλοὺς V*Suda* 4 κτηθεῖσιν GIT*Suda* Ῥωμαίοις AGI*Suda* : Ῥωμαίων VM*Suda* om. T*Suda* 5 ποῆτε A*Suda* post ἀρχῆς verbum Ῥωμαίων habet Droysen 1879, 139 7 Ἀντωνῖνος edd. : ἀντώνιος T νουμα sine acc. T **9** Ἀντωνῖνος edd. : ἀντώνιος T

Fr. 140: *Suda* α 2762, 248.18-249.3 Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄριστος ἦν καὶ μάλιστα Νουμᾷ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁμοιότροπον ἄξιος παραβάλλεσθαι, καθάπερ δὴ Ῥωμύλῳ Τραϊανὸς ὤφθη παραπλήσιος. τόν τε γὰρ ἰδιώτην ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἄριστα καὶ ἐντιμότατα διετέλεσε βίον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀμείνων ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ σωφρονέστερος, οὐδενὶ τραχὺς οὐδὲ φορτικός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας χρηστός τε καὶ ἤπιος ὤν. ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ κερδαλέου δόξαν θηρώμενος φυλάττειν σῴους εἴπερ εἰς μέγεθος ἐκφέρειν τοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγίνωσκεν ἄνδρας, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα πλείστην τοῦ δικαίου ποιούμενος ἐπιμέλειαν. ταῖς τῶν δημοσίων ἐφιστὰς διοικήσεσι, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς ἀμειβόμενος, τούς γε μὴν φαύλους δίχα τινὸς τραχύτητος τῶν κοινῶν ἀπελαύνων πραγμάτων. οὐκ οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μόνων, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐθαυμάζετο, ὡς τῶν προσοίκων τινὰς βαρβάρων τὰ ὅπλα κατατιθεμένους ἐπιτρέποντας τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς δίκας διαλύεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνου ψήφοις. αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἰδιώτην βίον πολύ τι πλῆθος χρημάτων κεκτημένος, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ περιουσίαν εἴς τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπανάλωσε δωρεάς, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων θησαυρῶν πλῆθος παντοδαπῶν ἀπέλιπε χρημάτων, τήν τε τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐπίκλησιν ἐκ τοῦ ἤθους πρῶτος ἀπηνέγκατο.

139

Hadrian, who restored many matters to their previous state, also installed a king over the Lazi, i.e. Colchians. But it was ill-advised when, at the request of the Persians, he withdrew from Mesopotamia, which had been annexed by the Romans under Trajan and made Euphrates the border of the empire.

140

Antoninus was an excellent emperor who deserves to be compared above all to Numa [Pompilius] on account of the similarities in the way they exercised power, just as Trajan is considered to resemble Romulus. He lived his life as a private citizen in the best and the most honourable way;

ἄριστα ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐντιμότατα διετέλεσε βίον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀμείνων ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ σωφρονέστερος, οὐδενὶ τραχὺς οὐδὲ φορτικός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἅπαντας χρηστός τε καὶ ἤπιος ὤν. Ἔν γε μὴν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ κερδαλέου δόξαν θηρώμενος φυλάττειν σώους ἤπερ εἰς μέγεθος ἐκφέρειν τοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγίνωσκεν ἄνδρας· ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα πλείστην τοῦ δικαίου ποιούμενος ἐπιμέλειαν, ταῖς τῶν δημοσίων ἐφιστὰς διοικήσεσιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς ἀμειβόμενος, τούς γε μὴν φαύλους δίχα τινὸς τραχύτητος τῶν κοινῶν ἀπελαύνων πραγμάτων. Οὔκουν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μόνων, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἐθαυμάζετο, ὡς τῶν προσοίκων τινὰς βαρβάρων τὰ ὅπλα κατατιθεμένους ἐπιτρέποντάς τε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς δίκας διαλύεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνου ψήφοις. Αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν ἰδιώτην βίον πολύ τι πλῆθος χρημάτων κεκτημένος ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ περιουσίαν εἴς τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπανάλωσε δωρεάς, τῶν δὲ δημοσίων θησαυρῶν πλῆθος παντοδαπῶν ἀπέλειπε χρημάτων· τήν τε τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ἐπίκλησιν πρῶτος ἁπάντων τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἤθους ἁπλότητος ἀπηνέγκατο.

1 καὶ e *Suda* α 2762 add. Valois 1634 **5** ἤπερ Valois 1634 e *Suda* α 2762 : εἴπερ T post τῆς ἀρχῆς excidisse aliquid suspicatur Müller 1851, cf. Wollenberg 1861, 16 et app. crit. ad *Suda* α 2762 **6** ποιουμένους Valois 1634 **10** ἀλλοφύλων e *Suda* α 2762 corr. Valois 1634 : ἄλλων T ὡς e *Suda* α 2762 corr. Valois 1634 : ὁ T **15** τῷ δὲ δημοσίῳ θησαυρῷ Valois 1634 **17** τῶν om. Müller 1851

as a ruler he seemed to be even better and wiser, being harsh or severe to no one, but gentle and kind to all. In military matters he sought after glory which was motivated by justice and not by profit, and held the opinion that one should seek to protect [the dominions] of the empire rather than to enlarge them; he did everything he could to pay assiduous attention to matters of justice; when appointing men to administer the state he rewarded the good leaders with honours and barred the bad ones from the administration of public affairs without any harshness. He was admired not only by his own people but also by foreigners, so that some neighbouring barbarian nations became reconciled through his decrees after they had set aside their arms and referred matters to the emperor. Before he began to rule, he had amassed a very large fortune; when he came to power, he used up his wealth by bestowing bounties on the soldiers and on his friends, but he left plenty of money in the public treasuries.[1] He was the first emperor to receive the additional name Pius because of the simplicity of his character.

1 This is the reading of the text of Eutropius. The Greek text as it is found in the MS could be translated: plenty of money was lacking in the public treasuries.

141

EV 37 Ὅτι Μάρκος ἀνὴρ ὃν ἐκπλήττεσθαι σιωπῇ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαινεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὐδενὸς λόγου ταῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρεταῖς ἐξισουμένου. Ἐκ πρώτης γὰρ ⟨ἤδη⟩ τῆς ἡλικίας εὐσταθῆ τε καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ὑποστησάμενος οὔτε κατὰ δέος οὔτε καθ' ἡδονὴν τραπεὶς τὸ πρόσωπον ὤφθη πώποτε. Ἐπῄνει δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς καὶ ἦν ἄρα ἐκείνων μιμητὴς οὐ μόνον {τῶν} κατὰ τὴν τῶν διαιτημάτων ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων σύλληψιν. Οὕτω γοῦν ἐκ νέας κομιδῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξέλαμπεν, ὡς πολλάκις τὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐθελῆσαι τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαγεῖν κλῆρον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔφθασε τὸν Εὐσεβῆ πρότερον κατὰ νόμον παῖδα ποιησάμενος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διαδοχὴν ἐφύλαξεν, τοῦτον δὲ συνοικεῖν ἔγνω διὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Εὐσεβεῖ, ὡς ἂν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλθοι. Τόν τε γοῦν ἰδιώτην βίον ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ τοῖς πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐβίω, οὐδὲν τῇ ἐσποιήσει τοῦ βασι-

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Fr. 141 = fr. 116 M = fr. 199 R; Valois 1634, 821f., Droysen 1879, 143, 145 | T (f. 95rv)

Fr. 141: Eutr. 8.11-12

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4 ἤδη add. Müller 1851 e *Suda* μ 215 : δὴ *Suda* υ 592 **5** Ἐπῄνει e *Suda* corr. Valois 1634 : ἐπαινεῖ T **7** τῶν del. cum *Suda* μ 215 Valois 1634 **9** ἐξέλαμψεν Valois 1634 **14** ἐβίωι T ἐσποιήσει e *Suda* μ 215 Valois 1634 : ευποιήσει T : ἐμποιήσει Wollenberg 1861

Fr. 141: *Suda* μ 215 Μάρκος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων· ὃν ἐκπλήττεσθαι ἐν σιωπῇ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαινεῖν ῥᾴδιον, οὐδενὸς λόγου ταῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρεταῖς ἐξισουμένου. ἐκ πρώτης γὰρ ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας εὐσταθῆ τε καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ὑποστησάμενος οὔτε κατὰ δέος οὔτε καθ' ἡδονὴν τραπεὶς τὸ πρόσωπον ὤφθη πώποτε. ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς καὶ ἦν ἄρα ἐκείνων μιμητὴς οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν τῶν διαιτημάτων ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων σύλληψιν. οὕτω γοῦν ἐκ νέας κομιδῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξέλαμπεν, ὡς πολλάκις τὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐθελῆσαι τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀγαγεῖν κλῆρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔφθασε τὸν Εὐσεβῆ πρότερον κατὰ νόμον ποιησάμενος, ἐκείνῳ μὲν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διαδοχὴν ἐφύλαξε, τοῦτον δὲ συνοικεῖν ἔγνω διὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Εὐσεβεῖ, ὡς ἂν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλθοι. τόν τε γοῦν ἰδιώτην βίον ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ τοῖς πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐβίω, οὐδὲν τῇ ἐσποιήσει τοῦ γένους ἀλλοιωθείς. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, κατὰ μοναρχίαν ἐξηγούμενος καὶ τὴν ἄκραν δυναστείαν καρπούμενος πρὸς οὐδεμίαν ἀλαζονείαν ὑπήχθη πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐλεύθερος μὲν καὶ δαψιλὴς ἐν τοῖς εὐεργετήμασιν, ἀγαθὸς δὲ καὶ μέτριος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν διοικήσεσι. | 3 Ἐκ πρώτης – 5 πώποτε *Suda* υ 592 Ὑποστησάμενος· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐναρξάμενος. ἐκ πρώτης γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἡλικίας εὐσταθῆ τε καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ὑποστησάμενος, οὔτε κατὰ δέος οὔτε καθ' ἡδονὴν τραπεὶς τὸ πρόσωπον ὤφθη πώποτε.

141

Marcus was a man whom one might more easily admire in silence than praise because no word would adequately describe the virtues of this man. From the prime of youth he took up a very calm, tranquil life and was never observed to alter his expression neither through fear nor through joy. He favored the Stoic philosophers and was their follower not only by applying their rules of life, but also by grasping the meaning of their doctrines. From a very young age he was so greatly admired that Hadrian often intended to make him his successor to the empire. But since he had previously legally adopted Antoninus Pius, he retained the succession with him, but associated Marcus with Antoninus Pius by marriage, so that the former might come to power by means of family succession. In his private life he was on equal terms with everyone in Rome and was not changed at all through adoption into the imperial fa-

λείου γένους ἀλλοιωθείς. Καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, κατὰ μοναρχίαν ἐξηγούμενος καὶ τὴν ἄκραν δυναστείαν καρπούμενος πρὸς οὐδεμίαν ἀλαζονείαν ὑπήχθη πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐλεύθερος μὲν καὶ δαψιλὴς ἐν τοῖς εὐεργετήμασιν, ἀγαθός τε καὶ μέτριος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν διοικήσεσιν.

142

EI 47 Ὅτι Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγούμενος, ἀνὴρ δεινὸς τὰ πολέμια πλεῖστά τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια κατὰ τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειξάμενος, ἄλλως δὲ οὖν νεωτεροποιός, καινοτομεῖν ἐπήρθη, πρὸς τῆς Φαυστίνης τῆς τοῦ Μάρκου γαμετῆς ἐς τήνδε προαχθεὶς τὴν ἔννοιαν. Αὕτη γὰρ τὸν Μάρκον ἀρρωστήσαντα τεθνήξεσθαί τε καὶ ἄλλως νοσώδη ὄντα οἰηθεῖσα, δείσασα τὸ μὴ εἰς ἕτερον περιελθούσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἰδιωτεύσῃ, τοῦ Κομόδου ἔτι νέου ὄντος καὶ ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείου, ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον, κρύφα πέμψασα τῶν αὐτῇ πιστῶν τινας, ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ἣν αἴσθηται τὸν Μάρκον τεθνεῶτα, συνοικήσειν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τἄλλα συμπράξειν ὑποσχομένη. Ὅς, φήμης τινὸς ψευδοῦς τεθνηκέναι οἱ δηλωσάσης τὸν βασιλέα, προεξανέστη τῆς ἀληθείας ἄκων τε πολέμιος ἀνεφάνη τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἕνεκα ὁ Μάρκος τόν τε Κόμοδον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης διεπέμψατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκ τῆς Παιονίας ἐστάλη. Οὐ μὴν ὅπλων αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων ἐδέησεν· ὁ γάρ τοι Κάσσιος ἀναιρεθεὶς πρός τινος τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφθασεν. Καθ' ἡσυχίαν δ' οὖν τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπελθὼν οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε ἰδιώτην οὔτε ἄρχοντα ἐσπουδακέναι τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου δόξαντα ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἢ

Fr. 142 = fr. 118 M = fr. 201 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 29f., | Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 761f | P (f. 112^{v}-f. 113^{r}) S (f. 119^{v}-f. 120^{r})

Fr. 142: 6 Ὅτι – 17 αὐτοκράτορι Cass. D. 71.22.2-71.23.1 17 Τούτων – 18 διεπέμψατο Cass. D. 71.22.2 18 καὶ ἐπὶ – 20 ἔφθασεν Cass. D. 71.27.2 20 Καθ' – 246.1 ἐκόλασεν Cass. D. 71.27.3^{2} 246.1 ἀλλὰ καὶ – 246.11 δέος Cass. D. 71.30.1-2

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1 ἐπὶ Valois 1634 **3** ἐλευθέριος Valois 1634 **4** τε T : δὲ Valois 1634 e *Suda* μ 215 **6** Κάσσιος P et S^2 corr. ex βάσιος, similiterque fere in sqq. **8** οὖν PS : ὢν Müller 1851 **9** αὕτη S : αὐτη sine acc. P **10** τεθνήξεσθαί P : τεθνήξασθαί S τε καὶ ἄλλως PS : ἄλλως τε καὶ Müller 1851 **11** δείσασα S : om. P τὸ PS : τε Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 761 **15** Ὅς Müller 1851 : ὡς PS **20** τήν τε P : πάντες S

mily. After coming to power he was never given to excessive pride, even though he had became the sole ruler and gained absolute sovereignty; he was generous and liberal in his benefactions, and kind and moderate in the administration of the provinces.

142

Cassius, the governor of Syria, a skilful general who had performed many notable achievements in the course of the Parthian war, was otherwise naturally inclined toward rebellion and now felt encouraged to revolt, being led to this thought by Faustina, the wife of Marcus. For when Marcus fell ill, she, believing that he would die, especially as he had always been sickly, became afraid that she might find herself reduced to a private station should power be transferred to some other person – for Commodus was a little child who was yet unable to rule – and, by secretly sending some men who were loyal to her, she induced Cassius to assume imperial power if he should learn of Marcus' death, promising to marry him and become his associate in other respects. Hearing the false rumour that the emperor had died, he revolted before the man was actually dead and unintentionally appeared hostile to the emperor. Because of these events Marcus summoned Commodus from Rome and set out for Syria from Paeonia [Pannonia]. He did not need to fight against the insurgents, however, for Cassius had already perished at the hands of one of his followers. And coming peacefully to Syria and Egypt, he neither investigated nor punished any who appeared to have favoured Cassius, whether nation or city, private citizen or official; while on behalf

ἐκόλασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνειλημμένων (ἐξεληλεγμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν κἀνταῦθα τῶν βουλευτῶν συχνοὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου περιφανῶς ἐσπουδακότες) ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲν χαλεπὸν γνῶναι, τούτοις ἄντικρυς τοῖς ῥήμασι χρησάμενος· αὐτὰ γὰρ εἰρήσεται τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σαφῶς ἐνδεικνύμενα. Ἦν δ' οὖν τοιαῦτα· «ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, καθαράν μου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς αἵματος βουλευτικοῦ φυλάξασθαι· μὴ γένοιτό τινα ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἢ τῇ ἐμῇ ἢ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ θανατωθῆναι.» Καὶ τέλος ἔφη ὅτι· «ἂν μὴ τούτου τύχω, ἀποίσομαι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον». Καὶ οὐκ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μάρκον οὐδὲ προσηγάγετο ἐκβῆναι τῶν συνήθων λογισμῶν οὐ τὸ ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον τῶν τετολμημένων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπιστία τῶν τολμησάντων, οὐ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐς αὖθις δέος.

143

EI 48 **1** Ὅτι μέχρι μέν τινος ὁ Κόμοδος πάντα ἔπραττε τοῖς πατρικοῖς φίλοις συμβούλοις χρώμενος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Περέννιον ἔπαρχον τῶν στρατοπέδων κατέστησεν, ἄνδρα τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτην, πονηρὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος, αὐτὸς μὲν τρυφαῖς καὶ συμποσίοις ἐσχόλαζεν, οὗτος ⟨δὲ⟩ πάσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐνδυσάμενος, τούς τε πατρῴους φίλους πρώτους διαβάλλειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ὅσοι πλούσιοι ἦσαν, τούτους εἰς ὑποψίαν ἄγων, τὸ μειράκιον ἐξεφόβει, ὡς ἂν αὐτοὺς διαχρησάμενος ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ παράσχοι ἁρπάζειν τὰ ἐκείνων. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἐπεῖχε τὸν νέον ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμη καὶ ἡ τῶν φίλων αἰδώς· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὸς βασκάνου τύχης ἀνατρεπούσης αὐτοῦ τὴν κοσμίαν ἀρχήν, συνέβη τι τοιοῦτον. Λουκίλλα ἦν τῷ Κομόδῳ πρεσβυτάτη ἀδελφή· αὕτη πρότερον Λουκίῳ Βήρῳ αὐτοκράτορι συνῴκει, ὃν κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας Μάρκος ἐποιήσατο. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν συνέβη τὸν Λούκιον τελευτῆσαι, μενόντων τῇ Λουκίλλῃ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας συμβόλων, Πομπηϊανῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐξέδοτο αὐτήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ

Fr. 143 = fr. 119 M = fr. 203.1-91 R; Cramer 1841, 30-34, Mendelssohn 1883, 215-219 | P (f. 113r-f. 115v) S (f. 120r-f. 122r)

Fr. 143: Herod. 1.8-13

11 τῶν S : om. P **15** δὲ S : om. P **16** συμποσίοις S : συμποσίαις P δὲ add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 1.8.1 **19** αὐτοὺς Cramer 1841 ex Herod. 1.8.1 : αὐτοῖς S et P[1] corr. ex αὐτὸς P

of those arrested in Rome (for even there many of the senators had been convicted of openly favouring the cause of Cassius) he sent a message to the senate asking them not to pass any harsh decree, using the following words (for I shall give his very words, which clearly show the excellence of the man): "I implore you, the senate, to keep my reign unstained by the blood of any senator. May it never come to pass that any one of you should be slain during my reign either by my vote or by yours." And in concluding he said, "If I do not obtain this request, I shall deliver myself up to death." And nothing roused Marcus or induced him to depart from his customary principles of action: neither the injustice and wickedness of the conspiracies nor the faithlessness of the conspirators nor yet the fear of similar intrigues in the future.

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1 For some time Commodus acted in every case on the advice of his father's friends. After appointing Perennius (a man of Italian descent and base in character) commander of the praetorian guard, however, Commodus himself devoted his time to wantonness and drinking-parties, while this man took total control over the administration of the empire and started to bring slanderous accusations against the friends of Commodus' father; he aroused suspicion against those of them who were rich and frightened Commodus, so that, having disposed of them, he might have a pretext to seize their property. For some time the memory of his father and deference to his advisors restrained the young man. But an event occurred whereby his moderate rule was disturbed as if by some malevolent turn of chance. Lucilla was Commodus' eldest sister; she had been married to Lucius Verus, the emperor, whom Marcus had made his partner in the empire. But after Lucius died, her father married her to Pompeianus, though she kept all the insignia of her imperial position.

Κόμοδος ἐφύλαττε τὰς τιμὰς τῇ ἀδελφῇ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἠγάγετο αὐτὸς Κρισπίναν, ἀνάγκη τε ἐγένετο τὴν προεδρίαν ἀπονέμεσθαι τῇ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γυναικί, δυσφόρως τοῦτο φέρουσα ἡ Λουκίλλα, τῷ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, Κοδράτῳ δέ τινι, εἰς ὃν καὶ διεβάλλετο, ὑπέθετο τὸν Κόμοδον ἀνελεῖν· ὁ δὲ Κυντιανῷ νεανίᾳ θρασυτάτῳ τε καὶ φονικωτάτῳ τὴν ὀλεθρίαν ἐπέτρεψε πρᾶξιν. Ὅστις λαβὼν ἐγχειρίδιον, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεάτρου εἰσόδῳ (ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ζοφώδης) ὥρμησε κατὰ τοῦ Κομόδου. Ὡς δὲ διήμαρτε τῆς πληγῆς, κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, ἅπαντα διήλεγξε. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν παραχρῆμα δίκην ἀνοίας ὑπέσχεν· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἔκτοτε κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντας ἐλογίζετο. Ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ τῷ Περεννίῳ πρόφασις, ἣν ἐζήτει· τήν τε γὰρ ἀδελφὴν ὁ Κόμοδος διεχρήσατο, καὶ πάντας ἀφειδῶς τούς τε ὄντας ἐν τῇ συνωμοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ὡς ἔτυχε διαβαλλομένους ἀπεσκευάζετο, μάλιστα τοὺς πατρῴους καὶ ἀναγκαίους φίλους. **2** Τοῦτο τοῦ Περεννίου κατασκευάζοντος ποιησάμενός τε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν, ἐπιβούλευε τῇ ἀρχῇ, τόν τε Κόμοδον κατεργάσασθαι βουλόμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παισὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διανεῖμαι. Ἐγνώσθη δὲ ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ παραδόξως ὑπὸ φιλοσόφου τινὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἀνακράζοντος· καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περεννίου δίκας τῆς παρρησίας λαβών, πυρὶ παρεδόθη· ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ὑπετόπει τε τὸν Περέννιον, καὶ ἐμέμνητο τῶν λεχθέντων. Ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος, στρατιῶταί τινες τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν, λαθόντες τὸν Περεννίου παῖδα, νομίσματα ἐκόμισαν ἐκτετυπωμένα τὴν ἐκείνου εἰκόνα· ἅπερ ἑωρακώς, ὁ Κόμοδος, πεισθεὶς δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν αὐτῷ πολλάκις, πέμψας διὰ νυκτός, ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Περεννίου, καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, ὃς ἦν ἔπαρχος τοῦ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατοπέδου, τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντα, κελεύει τε αὐτὸν διά {τε} φιλικῶν γραμμάτων ἥκειν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ βουλομένου, καὶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ληψομένου. Ὁ δέ, τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰπόντων ταῦτα, ἀσχάλλων μὲν ὅτι ἀτελῆ κατέλειπε τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος, θαρρῶν δὲ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς δυνάμει, ποιεῖται τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν. Γενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν

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1 Ἐπειδὴ – 2 τὴν προε in textu S omissa in mg. add. S[2] **2** Κρισπίναν Cramer 1841 : σκιρπίναν PS **5** κυντιανῶ P et S[2] corr. ex κυτιανῶ S : Κυιντιανῷ Müller 1851 ex Herod. 1.8.5 **20** λεχέντων S **22** ἐκόμησεν S **26** ἀγνοοῦντα Müller 1851 : ἀγνοοῦντι PS τε uncis incl. Müller 1851 **29** κατέλειπε PS : κατέλιπε Müller 1851 ex. Herod. et de Boor 1905 **30** Γενόμενον corr. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 1.9.10 : γενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ PS

Commodus also allowed her to hold these privileges. When he married Crispina, however, precedence had to be assigned to the wife of the emperor, which distressed Lucilla, but she did not dare to say anything to her husband. Instead she suborned a certain Quadratus (because of whom she had lost her good repute) to assassinate Commodus. He, in turn, assigned the murderous deed to Quintianus, an audacious and malicious young man. Quintianus took a dagger and hid in the entrance to the theatre (which was dark) and then rushed headlong at Commodus. His blow failed; he was seized by the bodyguards and revealed everything. He paid immediately for his folly; Commodus, however, from that moment on started to regard the whole world[1] as his enemies. It also provided Perennius with the pretext he was looking for. Commodus executed his sister and got rid of all the actual conspirators without mercy, and in fact anyone who had been slanderously accused, but especially of his father's and his own close friends. **2** Having accomplished this, Perennius gained complete control and began to aim for the principate itself: he wanted to assassinate Commodus and to share imperial power with his sons. The plot was made known in an incredible manner by a certain philosopher who announced it in the theatre in a loud voice. The philosopher was punished by Perennius for his outspokenness by being burned. But Commodus started to suspect Perennius and remembered these words. After a short time several soldiers from Illyria arrived without the knowledge of Perennius' son and brought some coins that had his portrait on them. When Commodus saw the coins, he became convinced of what he had been told very often and sent someone by night to behead Perennius. He also immediately sent off some men to Perennius' son, who was the commander of the troops in Illyria and was yet unaware of the events in Rome, requesting him in a friendly letter to return to Rome and saying that this was also his father's wish and that he would be made consul. When the messengers said this, Perennius' son set off for Rome relying on his father's power, even though he was distressed because this left unfinished his plot to usurp power. Upon reaching Italy, he was murdered by some men who

[1] In the context of Herod. 1.8.7.3 it is clear that this sentences means "started to regard the whole *senate* as public enemies." Taken out of the original context, however, this meaning disappears.

Ἰταλίαν, οἷς τοῦτο ἐντέταλτο, διεχρήσαντο. Τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος ἐκείνους κατέλαβεν. **3** Ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος δύω τοὺς ἐπάρχους καταστήσας, ἀσφαλέστερον ᾠήθη πράττειν. Χρόνου δέ τινος διαδραμόντος, ἑτέρα τις ἐπιβουλὴ κατ' αὐτοῦ γέγονε. Μάτερνός τις, ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φυγάς, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ διαφόρως τολμήσας, πείσας τέ τινας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων, χεῖρα πολλὴν κακούργων συναθροίζει· καὶ πρότερον μὲν τὰς πλησίον ἐλῄστευσε πόλεις· εἶτα καὶ μείζονα τολμήσας, εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσέδυ· καὶ ἐπιτηρήσας ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ βασιλεὺς πανδημεὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπιτελεῖ, καὶ πάντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν σχήματα διήλλαττον ὡς ἐβούλοντο, καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον νομίσας, λαβών τε δορυφόρου σχῆμα ἐπεπήδησε διαχρήσασθαι τῷ Κομόδῳ. Ἀλλ' εἷς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κακούργων παροξυνθεὶς ὑπὸ φθόνου, προδιαγγέλλει τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκείοις· καὶ συλλαβόντες τὸν Μάτερνον, ἀπέτεμον αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα. Κόμοδος δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ θεοῖς ὁμολογήσας χαριστηρίους τινάς, ὑπέρ τε τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπανηγύριζεν. **4** Ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος ἐκφυγὼν τὴν Ματέρνου ἐπιβουλήν, πλειονί τε φρουρᾷ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ σπανίως τοῖς δήμοις ἐφαίνετο, τὰ πλεῖστα ἐν προαστείοις διατρίβων. Συνέβη γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον καὶ λοιμώδη νόσον κατασχεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρειν. Ἐπέσχε δὲ καὶ λιμὸς κατ' αὐτὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Κλέανδρός τις, τῷ μὲν γένει Φρύξ, συναυξηθείς τε τῷ Κομόδῳ, εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς προῆλθεν, ὡς καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρόνοιαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι· ὑπὸ δὲ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀνεπείσθη καὶ πρὸς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμίαν προῆλθεν· ὠνούμενος δὲ πλεῖστον σῖτον, ἀπέκλειεν, ἐλπίζων τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν σπάνει καταστήσας, ἐπιδόσεσι λαμπραῖς ἁλόντας ὑπαγαγέσθαι· καὶ γυμνάσιον καὶ λουτρὸν μέγιστον κατασκευάσας, τούτους ἐδελέαζεν. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τῶν δεινῶν τὰς αἰτίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφέροντες, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις κακῶς ἠγόρευον, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τοῦ Κομόδου πανδημεὶ ἐπελθόντες κατεβόων, καὶ τὸν Κλέανδρον πρὸς θάνατον ᾔτουν. Ταραχῆς δὲ οὔσης, τῷ μὲν Κομόδῳ ἐκώλυσε γνωσθῆναι, αὐτὸς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐπαφῆκε τῷ

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1 ἐντέταλτο Müller 1851 : ἐντέταντο S : ἐντέλτατο P **4** αὐτοῦ corr. Müller 1851 : αὐτοὺς PS ματερνός PS : μάτερνος in mg. rep. **5** δεινὰ Cramer 1841 : δινὰ S : δυνὰ P **25** ὑπαγαγέσθαι Müller 1851 : ὑπαγέσθαι PS

were acting on instructions. This was the end of Perennius and his son. 3 Aiming at greater security Commodus appointed two praetorian prefects. After some time, however, another plot was formed against him. There was a man called Maternus, who had deserted from military service and carried out many sinister activities in a variety of ways. By asking some of his former associates he collected a large band of criminals and began to make plundering raids on the neighbouring towns; soon he became more daring and slipped into Italy. Having waited for the day on which the emperor was celebrating a festival with the whole body of the citizens, at which anyone can disguise himself as any character he wishes, he considered it an opportune moment and dressing himself up as a bodyguard he rushed upon Commodus in order to cut him down. But one of his fellow-criminals, spurred by envy, betrayed the plan to the courtiers of the emperor in advance and so Maternus was arrested and beheaded. Commodus performed thank-offerings to his gods and had a public celebration for his own safety and that of the empire. 4 Having escaped Maternus' plot, Commodus enlarged his bodyguard and appeared less frequently in public, spending most of his time in the outskirts of the city. Just at this time a plague struck Italy and many people died. At the same time a famine broke out in the city, which was due to the following cause. A man called Cleander, a Phrygian by birth, gained influence under Commodus and was raised by him to such a position of power that he had control of the bodyguard, was appointed chamberlain and was put in command of the soldiers. Wealth and luxury lured him to covet even the position of the emperor. He bought up most of the corn supply and cut off its distribution, because he hoped first to cause a shortage of supplies among the populace and the soldiers and then, when they were in need, to win them over by generous distributions. He also built a gymnasium and a huge public bath as enticements for the people. But the Romans hated him because they held him responsible for their troubles. First they shouted insults at him in the theatres, but then they went in a mass to the outskirts of the city where Commodus was living, and raising a clamour demanded Cleander's death. During the riot Cleander on the one hand did not allow the news to reach Commodus and on the other let the troops loose against the people, who pursued

δήμῳ, καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως διωκόμενον ἔκοπτεν· ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσῆλθεν, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ μείναντες, αἰσθόμενοι τὸ κατειληφὸς πάθος, ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς εἰσόδους, ἐκ τῶν δωμάτων λίθοις καὶ κεράμοις ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἱππέας. Οἱ δὲ ἔπασχον ἅπερ ἐδράκεισαν· τιτρωσκόμενοι τοίνυν καὶ μὴ φέροντες εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διεφθάρησαν. **5** Ἐμφυλίου τε πολέμου τηλικούτου τὴν Ῥώμην κατέχοντος, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀγγεῖλαι τῷ Κομόδῳ τὰ πραττόμενα ἐβούλετο, δέει τῆς Κλεάνδρου ἐξουσίας· ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ βασιλέως λυσαμένη τὰς τρίχας, καὶ ῥίψασα ἑαυτὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἅπαντα διηγόρευε τὰ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ πεπραγμένα, καὶ ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβάλλονται, εἰ μὴ τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς θάνατον ἐκδοθείη. Τότε καὶ τῶν παρόντων τινὲς ἐθάρρησαν τοῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς λόγοις τὸν Κόμοδον ἐξετάραξαν. Ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνος τόν τε ἐπικείμενον κίνδυνον καταλαβών, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι κελεύει τοῦ Κλεάνδρου, καὶ ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἐκπέμπει τῷ δήμῳ. Ὁ δὲ παραχρῆμα τῆς μανίας ἐπαύσατο, προσανελὼν μέντοι καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Κλεάνδρου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέανδρος οὕτω τε ἤνθησεν ἐν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ οὕτω διεμαράνθη. **6** Ὁ δὲ Κόμοδος εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ ἄστει μεγαλοφρόνως ὑπεδέχθη· πειραθεὶς δὲ τοσούτων κινδύνων, ἀπίστως προσεφέρετο πᾶσιν ἀφειδῶς τε φονεύων καὶ πάσαις διαβολαῖς πιστεύων, σχολάζων τε ἀλλεπαλλήλοις καὶ ἀκολάστοις τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς, ἡνιόχοις τε καὶ ὑποκριταῖς καὶ θηρίων σφαγαῖς· ὑπὸ δέ τινος τύχης ἐλαυνόμενος, εἰς τοσοῦτον μανίας καὶ παροινίας προὐχώρησεν, ὡς τὴν ἰδίαν προσηγορίαν παραιτήσασθαι. Ζήτει ἐν τῷ Περὶ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς.

2 κατειληφὼς S : κατειληφῶς P **11** ἐθάρρησαν PS : θαρρήσαντες Müller 1851 **19** ἀλλεπαλλήλοις Müller 1851 : ἀλλεπαλλήλαις PS **20** ἡνιόχοις τε Müller 1851 : ἡνιόχιστε PS : ἡνιοχείαις τε Mendelssohn 1883, 219

and cut them down all the way to the city. When they entered the city, the people that had stayed behind saw the horror of what had happened, locked the doors of their houses and assailed the horsemen with stones and tiles. The horsemen began to suffer just what they had been inflicting and, unable to stand the heavy casualties, they retreated, leaving many of their number dead. **5** Even though so great a civil war had broken out in Rome, no one dared to inform Commodus about what was going on because of fear of Cleander's power. In the end Commodus' eldest sister, with her hair dishevelled, threw herself down on the ground and revealed everything that Cleander had done, saying that they all would lose power if Commodus did not put him to death. Some of the attendants, who were encouraged to speak up by the words of Commodus' sister, alarmed him further. He was struck by the urgency of the danger, ordered that Cleander be beheaded and his head stuck on the end of a long spear and sent out to the people, which abated their frenzy, though they still assassinated Cleander's sons as well. And so Cleander rose in a short time and fell equally quickly. **6** Commodus returned to the city and was given a magnificent welcome by the people. But having experienced such danger, he grew suspicious of everybody, ordered executions without mercy and believed any accusation; he spent his time in unrestrained physical pleasures and in a succession of chariot races, theatrical performances and hunts of wild animals. Driven by fate to utter insanity and derangement, he requested a special title for himself. See *On virtue and vice.*

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EV 38 Ὅτι ὁ Κόμοδος ὑπό τινος τύχης ἐλαυνόμενος ἐς τοσοῦτον μανίας καὶ παροινίας προὐχώρησεν, ὡς τὴν ἰδίαν προσηγορίαν παραιτήσασθαι, Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διὸς υἱὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, τούς τε μῆνας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φέρειν τὴν προσηγορίαν προσέταξεν οὕτως· Ἀμαζόνιος, Κόμοδος, Αὔγουστος, Ἡράκλειος, Ῥωμαῖος, Ὑπεραίρων, Ἀνίκητος, Εὐσεβής, Εὐτυχής, Λούκιος, Αἴλιος, Αὐρήλιος. Ἀποδυσάμενός τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων σχῆμα, λεοντῆν ὑπεστρώννυτο καὶ ῥόπαλον ἐπεφέρετο· οὕτω τε θηρίοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις δημοσίᾳ ἐμονομάχει, εὐστόχως τε κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκοντίζων, καὶ παρὰ πάντων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, θαυμαζόμενος. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ εἰς πολλὴν μιαιφονίαν ἐτράπη, πάντας ἀφειδῶς τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ λελωβημένους ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον συναγαγών, δρακοντοειδῆ τέ τινα περιθεὶς ἐκ τῶν γονάτων ὑφάσματα, ὡς γίγαντας τῷ ῥοπάλῳ κατειργάσατο. Καθεύδων δὲ ἐν τοῖς μονομαχείοις, ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις καὶ ἑορτὰς πρὸς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὑπαντώμενος, ἐκ πάντων μὲν κακῶς διεβάλλετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν

Fr. 144 = fr. 120 M = fr. 203.89-104 R; Valois 1634, 822, Mendelssohn 1883, 219f., Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 762 | T (f. 95v)

Fr. 144: Herod. 1.14.8,9 5 οὕτως – 7 Αὐρήλιος Cass. D. 72.15.3 Herod. 1.15.1. 10 Ἐπειδὰν – 13 κατειργάσατο Cass. D. 72.20.3 Herod. 1.16.4,5

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3 παροινίας T et etiam Fr. 143 (252.21), *Suda* κ 2007 : παρανοίας Herod. 1.14.8 **5** τὰς προσηγορίας Müller 1851 e *Suda* κ 2007 **7** αὐρήλλιος sine acc. T **13** δὲ T : γὰρ Müller 1851

Fr. 144: *Suda* κ 2007 Κόμοδος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων· ὃς ὑπό τινος τύχης ἐλαυνόμενος ἐς τοσοῦτον μανίας καὶ παροινίας προὐχώρησεν, ὡς τὴν ἰδίαν προσηγορίαν παραιτήσασθαι, Ἡρακλέα δὲ καὶ Διὸς υἱὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι· τούς τε μῆνας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φέρειν τὰς προσηγορίας προσέταξεν οὕτως· Ἀμαζόνιος, Κόμοδος, Αὔγουστος, Ἡράκλειος, Ῥωμαῖος, Ὑπεραίρων, Ἀνίκητος, Εὐσεβής, Εὐτυχής, Λούκιος, Αἴλιος, Αὐρήλιος. ἀποδυσάμενός τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων σχῆμα λεοντῆν ὑπεστρώννυτο καὶ ῥόπαλον ἐπεφέρετο· οὕτω τε θηρίοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις δημοσίᾳ ἐμονομάχει, εὐστόχως κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀκοντίζων καὶ παρὰ πάντων θαυμαζόμενος. ἐπειδὰν δὲ εἰς πολλὴν μιαιφονίαν ἐτράπη, πάντας ἀφειδῶς τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ λελωβημένους ἄνδρας ἐς τὸ θέατρον συναγαγὼν δρακοντοειδῆ τέ τινα περιθεὶς ἐκ γονάτων φάσματα, ὡς γίγαντας τῷ ῥοπάλῳ κατειργάσατο. καθεύδων δὲ ἐν τοῖς μονομαχείοις, ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις πρὸς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ὑπαντώμενος ἐκ πάντων μὲν κακῶς διεβάλλετο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Μαρκίαν, ἣν εἶχε παλλακῶν τιμιωτάτην, καταγνῶναι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπαγορεῦσαι τὰ πραττόμενα. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἱκέτευον αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖν.

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Driven by fate to utter insanity and derangement, Commodus refused to use his own name, bidding that he should be called Heracles and the son of Zeus, and ordered that the months be renamed after his own titles, as follows: Amazonius, Commodus, Augustus, Herculeus, Romanus, Exsuperatorius, Invictus, Pius, Felix, Lucius, Aelius, Aurelius. He took off Roman dress and took to wearing a lion skin and carrying a club. In this dress he fought with wild beasts and gladiators in public; he used the javelin truly well and was admired, so to speak, by everybody. Afterwards he lapsed into utmost cruelty: he gathered all sorts of crippled and wretched people in the theatre without mercy and, having wrapped a snake-like cloth about their knees, clubbed them down as if they were giants. Because he was sleeping in the gladiatorial barracks and would encounter the senate on his way from there to festivals and parties, he came to be heavily criticized from all sides, and even Marcia, his favorite

Μαρκίαν, ἣν εἶχε τῶν παλλακῶν τιμιωτάτην, καταγνῶναι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπαγορεῦσαι τοῖς πραττομένοις. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἱκέτευον αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖν.

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EI 49 **1** Ὅτι μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Κόμοδος ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀσχάλλων, τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμψατο, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὡς δῆθεν καθευδήσων, λαβὼν δέλτον, γράφει ὅσους χρὴ φονευθῆναι ὧν πρώτη μὲν ἦν Μαρκία, εἵποντο δὲ Λαῖτος καὶ Ἔκλεκτος· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πρωτευόντων, ὥς ποτε τὰς Στυμφαλίδας ὄρνεις κατατοξεῦσαι τούτους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ βουλόμενος, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρεσβύτας καὶ πατρῴους φίλους αἰδούμενος ἔχειν αἰσχροῦ βίου σεμνοὺς ἐπόπτας, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων τὰς οὐσίας χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος μονομάχοις. Τὴν δὲ δέλτον τίθησιν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος, ἔνθα μηδεὶς εἰσῄει. Παιδίον δέ τι μικρόν, ὅπερ ἠγάπα ὁ Κόμοδος καὶ ἐπετέρπετο, Φιλοκόμοδόν τε ὠνόμασε, ταύτην λαβὸν τὴν δέλτον, ἔπαιζεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκίμποδος. Αἰφνιδίου δὲ τοῦ Κομόδου προελθόντος, ἔμεινε παρὰ τῷ παιδίῳ τὸ γραμμάτιον· ὅπερ ἀνελομένη ἡ Μαρκία, δεδοικυῖα μή τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπὸ νηπιότητος διαφθείρῃ, γνωρίσασα τὴν τοῦ Κομόδου χεῖρα, διεξῆλθε, καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸ θανατηφόρον, καὶ πρὸ πάντων αὐτῇ· ἀνοιμώξασα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτήν, τὸν Ἔκλεκτον μεταπέμπεται· δοῦσα δὲ τὸ γραμμάτιον, «Ὅρα, ἔφη, ποίαν μέλλομεν παννυχίζειν ἑορτήν.» Ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς κατεπλάγη, καὶ τοῦτο

Fr. 145 = fr. 121 et 122.1-3 M = fr. 204 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 34f., Mendelssohn 1883, 220-223, partim Boissevain 1895-1901, iii, 762 | P (f. 115^{v}-f. 116^{v}) S (f. 122^{r}-f. 123^{r})

Fr. 145: Herod. 1.17.1,2; 9 ὥς – 10 βουλόμενος Cass. D. 73.20.2 et Sotiroudis 1989, 93

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7 πρώτη μὲν Müller 1851 : πρῶτον PS **9** τὰς Στυμφαλίδας Cramer 1841 : τὰς τυμφαλίδας PS **15** ταύτην λαβὸν scripsi : τοῦτο λαβὸν S de Boor 1905 : τοῦτον λαβὼν P Müller 1851 **16** γραμματιον P sine acc. : γραμματεῖον Müller 1851 **18** διαφθείρῃ corr. Müller 1851 : διαφθείρει PS **20** Ἔκλεκτον Müller 1851 : ἐκλεκτὸν PS γραμματιον P sine acc. : γραμματεῖον Müller 1851 **21** παννυχίζειν S : πανυχίζειν P

Fr. 145: ad 258.12 ὡς – 258.13 Κόμοδον cf. *Suda* α 1507 utcumque aliunde hausta sunt neque cum Adler ad Ioannem referri posse apparet, cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 71f

concubine, disapproved of his actions and tried to dissuade him. Many others entreated him to abstain from everything that was unworthy of an emperor.

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1 After that Commodus, who was indignant at his associates, dismissed them and retired to his room as if he were going to bed, took up a writing-tablet and wrote down the names of those who had to be executed; Marcia was the first on the list, then came Laetus and Eclectus, followed by a large number of leading senators, whom he had wished in the past to shoot down with arrows in the theatre like the Stymphalian birds because he wanted to be rid of all the senior advisors of his father, being embarrassed at having respectable witnesses to his shameful life and wanted to gratify the gladiators by distributing to them the property of the rich. He left the writing-tablet on the couch where nobody had access to it. But a little boy, who was a favourite of Commodus, and whom he used to call Philocommodus, took the tablet and started to play with it on the couch. When Commodus suddenly left the room, the tablet remained with the child. Marcia took it away from him, because she was afraid that he would destroy something of importance out of childish ignorance. But as she recognised Commodus' hand, she had a look at the contents and realised that it was a death warrant and that she was going to be the first victim. She let out a cry and sent for Eclectus, to whom she gave the tablet and said, "Look, that's the festival we are going to celebrate tonight." Panic overcame him after he saw what was

διά τινος πιστοτάτου πέμπει παραχρῆμα τῷ Λαίτῳ. Ταραχθεὶς δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Μαρκίαν, ὡς δὴ συσκεψόμενος αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς μελλήσεως. Ἀρέσκει δὲ δοῦναι φάρμακον τῷ Κομόδῳ· ὑπέσχετο δὲ αὐτὸ ῥᾷστα δώσειν ἡ Μαρκία· εἰώθει γὰρ αὐτὴ κιρνᾶν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν πρώτην δόσιν. Ἐλθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ λουτροῦ δίδωσι καλῶς κεράσασα· ὁ δὲ πιὼν ἀναισθήτως, αὐτίκα ἔπεσεν εἰς ὕπνον, ὑπό τε τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ἀλλεπαλλήλου ἡδονῆς ἑλκόμενος· καὶ μικρόν τι ἡσυχάσας ἤρξατο ἐμεῖν σὺν τῇ προεγκειμένῃ τροφῇ καὶ τὸ φάρμακον· ἡ δὲ Μαρκία φοβηθεῖσα μὴ εἰς πᾶν ἐξεμεθῇ, ἢ διὰ τὴν πλήμην τῆς τροφῆς ἢ διὰ τὸ προλαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἀλεξιφάρμακον, καὶ πάντες ἀπόλωνται, μετακαλεῖται νύκτωρ τὸν Λαῖτον καὶ τὸν Ἔκλεκτον. Οἱ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο, θαρροῦσι τοῦτο· Ναρκίσσῳ τινὶ ἀκμαιοτάτῳ ἀποπνῖξαι τὸν Κόμοδον. Ὁ δὲ εἰσδραμὼν καὶ παρειμένον εὑρὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τῆς μέθης, ἀποσφίγξας τὸν τράχηλον, φονεύει. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τέλει βίου ὁ Κόμοδος, βασιλεύσας ἔτεσι ιγʹ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν, ἐχρήσατο. **2** Οἱ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ, κρύψαι τὸ γενόμενον βουλευσάμενοι, εἰς στρωμνήν τινα εὐτελῆ ὑποβαλόντες τὸ σωμάτιον, καὶ καταρράψαντες, δι᾽ οἰκετῶν, πάντας λαθόντες, τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἐξεφόρησαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ πρακτέον ἐβουλεύοντο, φήμην ἐγκατασπείραντες, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μονομαχίῳ ἀποπληξίᾳ ὁ Κόμοδος ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἔδοξεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιλέξασθαι ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην τινά, τὸν διαδεξόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ ἀκολάστου τυραννίδος πάντες ἀναπνεύσειεν. **3** Καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς δὲ λογιζόμενοι, οὐδένα οὕτως ἐπιτήδειον εὕρισκον ὡς Περτίνακα, τὸ μὲν γένος Ἰταλιώτην, ἐν πολλαῖς πράξεσι στρατιωτικαῖς εὐδοκιμήσαντα, μόνον τε τῶν Μάρκου φίλων περιλειφθέντα· πρὸς ὃν τῆς νυκτὸς ἀκμαζούσης παραγίνονται, αὐτοί τε καί τινες ὀλίγοι τῶν συνωμοτῶν. Ἐπιστάντες δὲ ταῖς θύραις διεγείρουσι τὸν φύλακα. Ἀνοίξας δὲ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ θεασάμενος στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν ἔπαρχον, ἀγγέλλει τῷ δεσπότῃ. Ὁ δὲ ἥκειν αὐτοὺς κελεύει, προσδοκῶν παραχρῆμα ἀποτέμνεσθαι. Εἰσελθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠσπάσατο, καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν γίνεσθαι προέτρεπε. «Τοῦτο γάρ, ἔφη, διὰ παντὸς ἐνενόει, μόνος περιλειφθεὶς τῶν

1 πέμπει S : παραπέμπει P sed παρα expunctum P[1] : παραπέμπει Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **4** αὐτὸ S : om. P **5** δόσιν coni. Mendelssohn 1883 : πόσιν Herod. 1.17.8 **9** εἰς uncis incl. Müller 1851 **11** μετακαλεῖται P : μεταβαλεῖται S Ἔκλεκτον Müller 1851 : ἐκλεκτὸν PS **12** ναρκίσσω S : ναρκίσω P **20** μονομαχίῳ PS edd. : μονομαχείῳ Kambylis **23** καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ S **24** post ἐν verbum δὲ add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.1.4 **31** ἐνενόουν Müller 1851

written. He sent the tablet by one of his most trusted messengers to Laetus. He too came to see Marcia in a panic in order to consult her and Eclectus. There was no time for delay. The plan was to give Commodus a poison, which Marcia assured them she could easily administer: at the table she usually mixed the emperor his first drink. When Commodus returned from the bath, she handed the well-mixed wine to him. He drank it without a thought and went to sleep consumed by exhaustion and a non-stop round of various pleasures. He was quiet for a while, but then started to vomit up the poison with the food he had previously taken. Marcia feared that he might disgorge all the poison, either because of the surfeit of food or the antidote which emperors are wont to take in advance, and then destroy them all. At night she summoned Laetus and Eclectus, who became aware of the situation and ventured this proposal: to strangle Commodus with the help of Narcissus, a strong athlete. Narcissus rushed into the room and found the emperor laying there overcome by the poison and the wine, and strangled him to death. This was the end of Commodus after a rule of thirteen years since his father's death. **2** The conspirators took concerted measures to conceal their act and they wrapped up the body in some cheap bed-clothes, stitched them together and with the help of some slaves managed to carry it out of the palace undetected. After deliberating on their course of action they decided to spread a story that Commodus had died in a gladiatorial combat on account of a stroke. They resolved to find a senior man as successor to the empire to allow the people at large a respite from the bitter violence of tyranny. **3** After considering the possibilities, they could find no one better qualified than Pertinax, who was an Italian, had served with distinction in many campaigns and was the only one of Marcus' advisors who had survived. And so it was Pertinax, whose house was approached by Laetus, Eclectus and some other conspirators in the dead of night. They stood at the outer doors and aroused the watchman, who opened the doors, saw the soldiers and the praetorian prefect and went to announce them to his master. Pertinax, who expected to be killed immediately, told them to come in. He greeted them as they entered and urged them to carry out their orders, saying, "Think above all that I am the last remaining of his father's councillors!" And he exposed his throat

πατρῴων αὐτοῦ φίλων.» Προέτεινέ τε πολλάκις τὸν τράχηλον ἀπὸ τοῦ σκίμποδος. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Λαῖτος· «Παῦσαι,» φησὶν «ἀνάξια σαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων σοι λέγων. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ σῷ ἥκομεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης· κεῖται μὲν γὰρ ὁ τύραννος, δίκην δοὺς τὴν προσήκουσαν, ἥνπερ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς δρᾶσαι διενοεῖτο. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἥκομεν ⟨σοὶ⟩ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειριοῦντες, ὃν ἴσμεν προὔχοντα ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ βίῳ, μεγέθει, ἀξιώματι, ἡλικίᾳ, σεμνότητι, πόθῳ τε τοῦ δήμου.» **4** Ὁ δὲ Περτίναξ· «Παύσασθε χλευάζοντες πρεσβύτην.» «Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Ἔκλεκτος, ἀνάγνωθι τὸ γραμμάτιον· γνωρίζεις δὲ τὴν Κομόδου χεῖρα.» Ἐπιγνοὺς δὴ τὰ γεγραμμένα ὁ Περτίναξ, πεισθείς τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πάντα πυθόμενος τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐπιδίδωσιν ἑαυτόν. Καὶ συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅσοι παρῆσαν, ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠπείγοντο. Διαπέμπουσι δέ τινας τοὺς διαβοήσοντας, ὅτι Κόμοδος ⟨μὲν⟩ τέθνηκε, Περτίναξ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄπεισι βασιλεύς. Διαδραμούσης δὲ τῆς φήμης, πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐνθουσιῶντι ἐοικὼς ἐξεβάκχευε καὶ διέτρεχε, βοῶν τε ἀπρεπῆ, καὶ ὅσα πρότερον ἐπεῖχεν ὁ φόβος, ταῦτα, προελθούσης ἀδείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, ἐλέγετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ὅ τε Λαῖτος καὶ Ἔκλεκτος εἰσῆλθον ἄγοντες τὸν Περτίνακα· καὶ ἀναγορεύεται βασιλεύς.

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EI 50 **1** Ὅτι εὐταξίας καὶ εὐμοιρίας κατεχούσης τὸν βίον, βασιλεύοντος Περτίνακος, μόνοι οἱ δορυφόροι ἀσχάλλοντες μνήμῃ μάλιστα τῆς προγεγενημένης αὐτοῖς τυραννίδος, ἁρπαγάς τε καὶ βίας ποθοῦντες, ἐβουλεύσαντο

Fr. 146 = fr. 122.4-6 M = fr. 205 R = de Boor 1905, 90.1-34; Cramer 1841, ii, 35ff., Mendelssohn 1883, 223f. | P (f. 116^{v}-f. 117^{v}) S (f. 123^{rv})

Fr. 146: Herod. 2.5-6.6

5 ἥνπερ (scil. δίκην) αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς δρᾶσαι διενοεῖτο Kambylis : ἤπερ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς δρᾶσαι διενοεῖτο PS : καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς δράσαι διενοεῖτο ταῦτα πρὸς ἡμῶν παθών Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.1.8 **6** σοὶ add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.1.9 **9** γραμματεῖον Müller 1851 **14** διαβοήσοντας corr. Müller 1851 : διαβοήσαντας PS μὲν add. Müller 1851 **16** ἐνθουσιῶντι PS : ἐνθουσιῶσιν coni. Kambylis probabiliter, sed cf. Fr. 146 (p. 262.17) **17** post ἐλευθερίας verbum ῥᾳδίως add. Müller 1851 ἐλευθερίας – ὅ τε in textu S omissa in mg. add. S^2

several times without leaving the couch. Laetus replied, "Please stop saying things that are unworthy of you and your past life. We did not come to destroy you, but to save ourselves and the Roman empire: the tyrant is dead. He received a just punishment by suffering what he had devised for ourselves. We have come to offer you the empire, because we know that you have an outstanding reputation in the senate for your way of life, your eminence, your uprightness, your old age, your dignity and the popularity you enjoy among the people." Pertinax said, "Stop this mockery of an old man!" "Read the tablet," replied Eclectus, "you surely recognise Commodus' hand." When Pertinax read what the tablet said, he was convinced by the men, who happened to have been his friends in the former times, and after hearing the whole story became their supporter. They took the others who were present and hastened to the praetorian camp. They also sent some people to spread the word that Commodus was dead and Pertinax was on his way to the praetorian camp as emperor. As the rumour spread, the people broke out in wild rejoicing, running around, dancing and shouting obscenities; with the return of freedom and liberty they felt encouraged to say everything they had been fearful of saying before. When they[1] had reached the camp, Laetus and Eclectus went in with Pertinax, and he was proclaimed emperor.

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1 During the reign of Pertinax people enjoyed order and good fortune. Only the soldiers of the praetorian guard felt frustrated, especially recollecting their former tyranny, and longed for outrage and violence. They

[1] i.e. the conspirators *or* the people: John's abbreviated version of Herodian's narrative does not specify the subject of ἐγένοντο: the people mentioned in the previous sentence or the conspirators can be understood. The text of Herodian, however, makes it clear that Pertinax was presented to the soldiers after the masses had reached the camp.

ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸν Περτίνακα, ζητῆσαι δέ τινα τὸν πάλιν αὐτοῖς παρέξοντα ἀκόλαστον ἐξουσίαν. Αἰφνιδίως τοίνυν, οὐδενὸς προσδοκῶντος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἡσυχαζόντων, προσπηδῶσι τοῖς βασιλείοις τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ ταραχθέντες, οὐκ ἔμενον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἣν εἶχε φρουρὰν καταλιπὼν ἔφυγεν. Ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ἀπαγγείλαντες τῷ Περτίνακι τὴν ἔφοδον, συνεβούλευον φυγεῖν, καὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῇ τῆς συγκλήτου βοηθείᾳ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοῦναι. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, βασιλείας τε οὐκ ἄξια ταῦτα νομίσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ δωματίου, προσδοκῶν πείθειν αὐτοὺς καὶ παύσειν τῆς ἀλόγου ὁρμῆς, αἰδουμένους τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σχῆμα καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φιλοσοφίαν. Ἔτι δὲ λαλοῦντος τοῦ πρεσβύτου καὶ πολλὰ παραινοῦντος, ἐπιπίπτουσί τε αὐτῷ καὶ φονεύουσι. Δράσαντες οὕτως ὠμὸν ἔργον καὶ δεδιότες τὴν ἔφοδον τὴν τοῦ δήμου, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον δρόμῳ ἀναχωρήσαντες καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀποκλείσαντες, ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνῆλθον, φρουρὰς καταστήσαντες, ἀμυνούμενοι τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν. **2** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφοίτησεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσις, ταραχή τε καὶ πένθος πάντας κατεῖχε, διέθεόν τε ἐνθουσιῶσιν ἐοικότες, μηδὲ εὑρεῖν μηδὲ ἀμύνασθαι δυνάμενοι τοὺς δεδρακότας. Μιᾶς δέ που καὶ δευτέρας ἡμέρας διαδραμούσης, οἱ μὲν δημόται ἕκαστος καθ' ἑαυτὸν δεδιὼς ὑπανεχώρει, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὄντες ἐς τὰ πορρωτάτω τῆς πόλεως κτήματα ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὡς ἂν μή τι δεινὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐσομένης ἀρχῆς παρόντες πάθοιεν. Τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος τῷ Περτίνακι βασιλεύσαντι μῆνας ἕξ. **3** Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, ὡς εἶδον μηδένα τολμῶντα ἐπεξελθεῖν τῷ φόνῳ, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκήρυττον, «Τίς βούλεται τὴν βασιλείαν ὠνήσασθαι;» Ὡς δὲ διεφοίτησεν ἡ φήμη, Ἰουλιανός τις, ἤδη μὲν τετελεκὼς τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, ἐν εὐπορίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ζῶν ταύτην ὠνεῖται καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεται. Σχολάζων δὲ κραιπάλαις καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ ἄλλοις κακοῖς.

9 ὁρμῆς PS : ὀργῆς Müller 1851 **12** οὕτως PS : ὄντως Müller 1851 **15** τοὺς ἐπιόντας Müller 1851 **17** τοὺς δεδρακότας Müller 1851 : τοῖς δεδρακόσι PS **23** ἐπεξελθεῖν S de Boor 1905 : ὑπεξελθεῖν P Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **26** ταύτην – σχολάζων deest in P **27** continuatio textus huius excerpti in Fr. 148

wanted to get rid of Pertinax and to find someone who would allow them to behave with licence and immunity again. And so, without anyone suspecting, when all was quiet, they suddenly charged into the palace with their swords drawn. The palace attendants were thrown into confusion and did not stand fast but deserted their posts and fled. A few informed Pertinax of the intrusion and advised him to escape and seek the assistance of the people and the senate. He refused, deeming it unworthy of an emperor, and went out of his chambers hoping to persuade the soldiers to desist from their irrational attack out of reverence for his imperial dignity and wisdom.[1] While the old man was still talking and admonishing them, they fell upon him and killed him. Having thus committed a savage act and fearing that the people would attack them, they quickly ran back to the camp, shut all the gates, took up position on the walls and posted sentries so that they could keep off the attackers.
2 When the news of the murder of the emperor became generally known among the people, confusion and sorrow took hold of everybody; they rushed about as though possessed, but were unable to find the culprits and take their revenge. After the first and second day had passed, the common people in fear of their lives began to retire, and those in positions of authority went away to their estates as far away from the city as they could in order to avoid persecution when the new regime was established. This was the end of Pertinax, who had ruled for six months.
3 Seeing that no one dared to prosecute them for the murder of the emperor, the soldiers climbed on to the walls and announced: "Who wants to buy the position of emperor?" As the announcement circulated, a man called Julianus, an ex-consul, who enjoyed considerable wealth, bought it and was proclaimed emperor. Spending his leisure in drunkenness and debauchery and other indecent. . .

[1] Lit.: "philosophy."

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EV 39 Ὅτι Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ὕπατος, ὁ ὠνησάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, εὐθέως τρυφαῖς καὶ κραιπάλαις ἐσχόλαζε, τῇ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥᾳθύμως προσφερόμενος, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον ἐπιδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν. Εὑρίσκετο δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψευσάμενος· οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἦν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα χρήματα, καὶ οἱ δημόσιοι θησαυροὶ ἐκεκένωντο ὑπὸ Κομόδου. Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας οἵ τε στρατιῶται ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐν καταφρονήσει αὐτὸν ἐποίει.

148

EI 50 Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας οἵ τε στρατιῶται ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αἰσθόμενος ἐν καταφρονήσει αὐτὸν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ Νίγρον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπεκάλει, βοηθόν τε αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τὴν ταχίστην τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἠξίου, ὡς ἐφύβριστα πασχούσῃ καὶ τοῦτον ἀναγορεύουσι βασιλέα. Ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξυπτιάζεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ ἀνειμένως τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσι συνευφραίνετο, εἰς ἑορτὰς καὶ θέας ἐπιδιδοὺς ⟨ἑαυτόν⟩, τῆς τε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφόδου ἠμέλει, τοῖς τε Ἰλλυρικοῖς στρατεύμασι δέον ἐπιφοιτῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ φθάσαι οἰκειωσάμενον αὐτά, οὐδὲ

Fr. 147 = fr. 123 M = fr. 206.1-7 R; Valois 1634, 822, 825, Mendelssohn 1883, 224 | T (f. 95v-f. 96r) Fr. 148 = fr. 124 M = fr. 206.5-18 R = de Boor 1905, 90.34-91.14; Cramer 1841, ii, 37, Mendelssohn 1883, 224f. | P (f. 117v) S (f. 123v)

Fr. 147: Herod. 2.7.1-2 Fr. 148: Herod. 2.7.2-3; 2.8.6; 2.8.9-2.9.2

3 κραιπάλαις corr. Valois 1634 : κρεπάλαις T **4** ῥᾳθύμος Valois 1634 **12** ἀρχῇ S : ἐξουσίᾳ P sed P[1] expunctum **16** ἑαυτὸν add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.8.9 ἰλλυρικοῖς P : ἰλλυρικῆς S

Fr. 147: *Suda* ι 438 Ἰουλιανός, ὁ ὕπατος, ὠνησάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, εὐθέως τρυφαῖς καὶ κραιπάλαις ἐσχόλαζε, τῇ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελείᾳ ῥᾳθύμως προσφερόμενος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον ἐπιδιδοὺς ἑαυτόν. εὑρίσκετο δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ψευσάμενος· οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοθεν ἦν αὐτῷ τοσαῦτα χρήματα, καὶ οἱ δημόσιοι θησαυροὶ ἐκεκένωντο ὑπὸ Κομόδου. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας οἵ τε στρατιῶται ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐν καταφρονήσει αὐτὸν ἐποίει.

147

As soon as the consul Julianus came to power, having bought the position of emperor, he began to spend his life in feasting and drinking, and neglected public welfare, abandoning himself to luxurious living. It was discovered that he had deceived the soldiers as well: he did not have as much money in his private possession, and the public treasuries had been exhausted by Commodus. For this reason the soldiers were angry and the people demonstrated their contempt for Julianus in the theatres.

148

For this reason the soldiers were angry and when the people learned about it they demonstrated their contempt for Julianus, calling upon Niger in the theatres to become the protector of the Roman empire as quickly as possible because it was being treated so outrageously and proclaimed him emperor. However, he also began to grow careless about his administrative duties. He turned to a life of enjoyment with the people of Antioch, devoting his attention to festivals and spectacles, and neglected his departure for Rome. Although he should have visited the Illyrian armies as soon as possible and hastened to win them over, he gave them no explanation of what was happening and hoped that all ar-

τῶν πραττομένων τι αὐτοῖς ἐδήλου, ἐλπίζων πάντας ὁμογνώμονας ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων εὐχῇ. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ πράττοντος, διηγγέλθη εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκεῖσε στρατιωτικόν, ὃ ταῖς ὄχθαις Ἴστρου τε καὶ Ῥήνου ἐπικείμενον ἀπείργει τοὺς ἐπέκεινα βαρβάρους, καὶ φρουρεῖ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. Ἡγεῖτο δὲ τούτων Σεβῆρος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς, εἰς δὲ πραγμάτων διοίκησιν γενναῖος.

149

EV 40 Οὗτος ὁ Σεβῆρος τὸ μὲν γένος ⟨ἦν⟩ Λίβυς, ἐς δὲ πραγμάτων διοίκησιν γενναῖος ἅμα καὶ θυμοειδής, σκληρῷ τε βίῳ καὶ τραχεῖ ἐνειθισμένος, πόνοις τε ἀνέχων ῥᾷστα, νοῆσαί τε ταχὺς καὶ τὸ νοηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι ὀξύς.

150

EI 50 **1** Οὗτος πυθόμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν μετέωρον φερομένην ἁρπάσαι, καταγνοὺς τοῦ μὲν ῥαθυμίαν, τοῦ δὲ δυσπραγίαν· ἀνέπειθον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὀνείρατα καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ σύμβολα· τό γε τελευταῖον ᾠήθη τὸν Περτίνακα ἰδεῖν ἐφ' ἵππου προϊόντα, τὸν δὲ ἵππον ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀποσεισάμενον, Σεβῆρον δὲ ἀναλαβόντα· οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ Σεβῆρος ἀρθεὶς τὴν γνώμην

Fr. 149 = fr. 125 M = fr. 206.18-20 R; Valois 1634, 825, Mendelssohn 1883, 225 | T (f. 96r) Fr. 150 = fr. 126 M = fr. 206.20-60 R = de Boor 1905, 91.15-92.26; Cramer 1841, ii, 37ff., Mendelssohn 1883, 225f | P (f. 117v-f. 118v) S (f. 123v-f. 124v)

Fr. 149: Herod. 2.9.2 Fr. 150: Herod. 2.9.3-11; 2.10.9-2.13.1

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2 εὐχῇ Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.8.10 : ἀρχῇ PS **4** ῥίνου PS **5** ἀνὴρ S : om. P **8** ἦν add. Valois 1634 e *Suda* σ 182 **10** πόνοις T *Suda* σ 182 *Suda* α 2363 : πόνους Valois 1634 Müller 1851 ἀντέχων Herod. 2.9.2 **12** post φερομένην verbum διενοήθη ex Herod. 2.9.3 add. Roberto 2005 ἁρπάζεσθαι Müller 1851 **13** ἀνέπειθον P de Boor 1905 : ἐνέπειθον Müller 1851

Fr. 149: *Suda* σ 182, 335.20-23 οὗτος τὸ γένος ἦν Λίβυς, ἐς πραγμάτων διοίκησιν γενναῖος ἅμα καὶ θυμοειδής, σκληρῷ τε βίῳ καὶ τραχεῖ ἐνειθισμένος πόνοις τε ἀνέχων ῥᾷστα, νοῆσαί τε ταχὺς καὶ τὸ νοηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι ὀξύς. | 9 σκληρῷ – 10 ῥᾷστα *Suda* α 2363, 211.14-15 καὶ πόνοις τε ἀνέχων ῥᾷστα, καὶ σκληρῷ βίῳ καὶ τραχεῖ ἐνειθισμένος.

mies would be in agreement with the wishes of the Romans. While he was acting in this way, the news reached Illyricum and the whole army stationed on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine to ward off the barbarians from the other side of the frontier and to protect the Roman empire. Their commander was Severus, a Libyan by birth and an efficient administrator.

149

This Severus, a Libyan, was an efficient and vigorous administrator, accustomed to a tough, strenuous life and not afraid of undertaking physical hardship. He was prompt to make decisions and acted upon his decisions quickly.

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1 When he learnt that the Roman empire was in dispute, he decided to seize it, despising the sluggishness of one of the pretenders and the ill-fortune of the other; he was also persuaded by dreams, oracles, and signs.[1] Finally, he believed that in a dream he had seen Pertinax riding a horse; the horse threw Pertinax down and took him up instead. Becoming encouraged in his opinion, he began to test the feelings of the soldiers.

[1] The identity of the two pretenders alluded to in this passage is disputed. Niger and Julianus or Julianus and Pertinax can be meant. *See* Whittaker 1969, 199 n. 1.

ἀπόπειραν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐποιεῖτο. Τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ χιλιάρχους οἰκειούμενος, περὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς διελέγετο, ὡς ἔρριπτο, οὐδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν αὐτὴν λαμβάνοντος καὶ Περτίνακος φόνον ζητοῦντος· ἡγεμὼν γὰρ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπὶ Μάρκου καταστὰς ὁ Περτίναξ μνήμης εἶχε παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς μεγάλως. **2** Τοιαῦτα τοίνυν λέγοντος τοῦ Σεβήρου, ἐπέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ στρατιῶται, μάλιστα διὰ τὸν Περτίνακος φόνον, ὥστε παραχρῆμα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν Σεβῆρον. Ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποδεξάμενος, καί τινα προσδιαλεχθεὶς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, εὐθέως τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄφιξιν προηγόρευσεν, ὀλίγον τινὰ δοὺς καιρὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀναπαύσεως. Ὡς δὲ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἤρξατο, οὐδαμοῦ τρυφὴν βασιλικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις διαιτώμενος, ἐπέστη τε τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅροις, τήν τε φήμην προφθάσας τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρὼν ὤφθη· καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν δαφνηφοροῦντες καὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἠνεῳγμέναις ἐδέχοντο. †τὸ γὰρ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀκούων† οὔτε δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστεύων, οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις θαρρῶν οὓς ἐψεύσατο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως προελθεῖν ἐτόλμα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔνδον παρασκευάζετο, ὡς τὴν Σεβήρου μάχην ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιησόμενος. **3** Ἐκείνου δὲ ταῦτα βουλευομένου, ὁ Σεβῆρος κατέλαβε τὰ τείχη, καὶ κελεύει διὰ πάσης ὁδοῦ λανθάνοντας καὶ κρύπτοντας τὰ ὅπλα ἐν ἰδιωτῶν σχήματι εἰσδύνειν τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἤδη οἱ πολέμιοι ἔνδον ἦσαν, τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐξυπτιάζοντος καὶ ἀγνοοῦντος τὰ πραττόμενα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα διάπυστα τῷ δήμῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ ὄντι διὰ {τε} τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Σεβήρου, τὰ ἐκείνου φρονεῖν προσεποιοῦντο, τοῦ μὲν Ἰουλιανοῦ καταγινώσκοντες ἀνανδρείαν, τοῦ δὲ Νίγρου μέλλησίν τε καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀφασίᾳ ⟨τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ⟩ καταληφθεὶς πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Σεβῆρον, κοινωνὸν αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀποφηνάμενος. **4** Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ὁρῶσα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐν ἀπογνώσει, τῷ δὲ Σεβήρῳ πάντας ἤδη

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2 τῶν om. Müller 1851 **3** ἔρριπτο de Boor 1905 : ἐρέριπτο PS **4** φόνον S : φόβον P ante ζητοῦντος verbum ἀμύνασθαι in app. coni. Müller 1851 **6** ἐπέδοσαν Müller 1851 : ἐπέδωσαν PS **8** προσδιαλεχθεὶς PS : προδιαλεχθεὶς Müller 1851 **11** τρυφὴν Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.11.2 : τροφὴν PS **14** post ἐδέχοντο verba Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἐν ἐσχάτῃ ἀπογνώσει ἦν ex Herod. 2.11.7 add. Müller 1851 **15** ante στρατοῦ verbum μὲν add. Müller 1851 **17** προελθεῖν S : προσελθεῖν P **19** βουλευομένου S : βουλομένου P **21** εἰσδύνειν S : εἰς δύνην P : εἰσδῦναι Müller 1851 **23** τε del. Müller 1851 **26** τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 2.12.3 **28** ὁρῶσα Cramer 1841 : ὁράσα PS τῷ δὲ Σεβήρῳ Müller 1851 : τῶν δὲ σεβήρου PS

First he associated with a small group of commanders and some centurions, saying that the Roman empire was in a sorry state, and that there was no worthy leader to take possession of it and to avenge the murder of Pertinax. For the latter had been appointed general of the Illyrian troops in the reign of Marcus and his memory was held in great esteem by the soldiers. **2** While Severus was speaking in this manner, the soldiers put themselves in his charge, mostly on account of Pertinax' murder, and declared him emperor immediately. He accepted supreme power, delivered a speech in front of the soldiers and ordered their departure for Rome after giving his army a short time to rest. When the march began, he did not display any degree of imperial luxury, but shared in the life of the soldiers. He arrived at the Italian frontier and presented himself to the inhabitants before any news of his arrival had reached them. Everyone went to meet him with garlands of laurels and opened their gates to admit him. . . . hearing of the strength of the army and its size, because he could not trust the people and had no confidence in the soldiers, whom he had deceived.[1] For this reason he did not dare to advance from the city and made preparations within to fight Severus in Rome. **3** While Julianus was making his plans, Severus had already taken control of the city-walls and ordered his soldiers to spread themselves out along all the routes and to enter the city secretly concealing their weapons and dressed as civilians. The enemy had already penetrated into the city, but Julianus remained inactive[2] and ignorant of the situation. But when the news reached the people, who were in a state of panic out of fear for Severus' strength, they pretended to support him by condemning Julianus' cowardice and Niger's negligent delay. Julianus, who was struck mute and at a loss, sent a letter to Severus offering to make him his partner in the empire. **4** When the senate saw that Julianus was about to give up in despair and that everybody had already gone over to Severus' side, they

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1 The meaning of the initial part of the sentence can be reconstructed based on Herodian: "When the news of Severus' arrival were announced to Julianus, he found himself in a very difficult situation. . . "

2 The original text of Herodian has ἔτι ὑπτιάζοντος which could have given origin to ἐξυπτιάζοντος.

προσχωροῦντας, συνέδριον ποιησαμένη ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ ποτε οἱ ὕπατοι τὰ πράγματα διῴκουν, ψηφίζεται τὸν μὲν ἀναιρεθῆναι, ἀποδεχθῆναι δὲ μόνον αὐτοκράτορα Σεβῆρον. Πρεσβείαν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει διὰ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων τῆς βουλῆς, πάσας τε αὐτῷ προσφέρει τὰς σεβασμίους τιμάς· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν χιλίαρχον, ἀποκτενοῦντα ἄνανδρον καὶ ἄθλιον πρεσβύτην, ἰδίοις χρήμασιν ὠνησάμενον οὕτω πονηρὸν τέλος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν εὑρεθεὶς ἔρημος, αἰσχρῶς ὀλοφυρόμενος ἐφονεύθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐδηλώθη τῷ Σεβήρῳ, ἥ τε τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀναίρεσις, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ Αὔγουστος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνηγορεύθη.

151

Suda σ 181 Ὅτι Σεβῆρος, ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, ἔπεμψε τοὺς πολιορκήσοντας τὸ Βυζάντιον· ἦσαν γὰρ ἔτι ἐκεῖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ Νίγρου καταφυγόντες· ὅπερ ἑάλω ὕστερον λιμῷ, πᾶσά τε ἡ πόλις κατεσκάφη, καὶ θεάτρων τε καὶ λουτρῶν παντός τε κόσμου καὶ τιμῆς ἀφαιρεθὲν τὸ Βυζάντιον, κώμη δουλεύειν Περινθίοις δῶρον ἐδόθη· ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια Λαοδικεῦσιν.

152

EI 50 Ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ εὐθέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλους αὐτοῦ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβίνου τὴν κεφαλὴν δημοσίᾳ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι ἔπεμψεν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Βρεττανίαν διοικήσας, δύω τε ἡγεμόνας

Fr. 151 = Adler 1928, iv, 334.18-23 = fr. 208 R; Mendelssohn 1883, 227 Fr. 152 = fr. 128 M = fr. 210 R = de Boor 1905, 92.27-31; Cramer 1841, ii, 39, Mendelssohn 1883, 227 | P (f. 118v) S (f. 124v)

Fr. 151: Herod. 3.6.9 Fr. 152: Herod. 3.8.1-2

13 στρατηγοὶ Adler 1928 : στρατιῶται V^{Suda} **16** δουλεύειν κώμη V^{Suda} **21** δύω P : δύο S

Fr. 151: *Suda* π 1207 Περινθίοις· τούτοις ἑαλωθὲν τὸ Βυζάντιον δῶρον ἐδόθη εἰς δουλείαν παρὰ Σεβήρου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀντιόχεια Λαοδικεῦσι.

gathered together at the same place where the consuls used to conduct their business and voted to destroy Julianus and to acknowledge Severus as sole emperor. To Severus, a delegation of leading senators was sent to convey to him the full honours that accompanied the title of Augustus; to Julianus, one of the military tribunes was dispatched to kill the cowardly wretched old man, who had purchased this sorry end with his own money. Julianus was found alone and was murdered amid disgraceful lamentations. Hearing of the decision of the senate and of Julianus' murder, Severus mounted a platform and was proclaimed emperor and Augustus by the Romans.

151

Severus, the Roman emperor, despatched [some troops] to besiege Byzantium, for there were still some of Niger's generals who had taken refuge there. After Severus had starved out the city, it was completely destroyed and, deprived of its theatres, baths and all its splendour and honour, it was reduced to the status of a village and given in slavery to Perinthus as a gift; the same happened to Antioch, which became subject to Laodicea.

152

Immediately after this Severus turned his full anger on Albinus' friends in Rome and sent Albinus' head to be displayed publicly on a pole. He

ἀντὶ ἑνὸς καταστήσας, πάντας τε τοὺς Ἀλβίνου φίλους φονεύσας, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσήλασεν.

153

Suda σ 181 Ὅτι ἀπείρητο στρατιώταις γυναιξὶ μίγνυσθαι. Σεβῆρος δὲ τοῦτο ἐπέτρεψε καὶ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις αὐτοὺς ἐφιλοτιμήσατο.

154

EV 41 Ὅτι Σεβῆρος μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, τῶν Ἀλβίνου φίλων ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου κατηγόρει, γράμματά τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλέγχους προσέφερεν· ἄλλας τε ἄλλοις ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας, πάντας τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τότε τῆς συγκλήτου, καὶ τῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πλούτῳ {τε} ἢ γένει ὑπερέχοντας διέφθειρε. Πάνυ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ φιλόχρυσον, ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν τὰ πλεονεκτήματα τῆς ἀνδρείας.

Fr. 153 = Adler 1928, iv, 334.23-25 = fr. 211 R; Mendelssohn 1883, 227 Fr. 154 = fr. 129 M = fr. 212 R; Valois 1634, 825, Mendelssohn 1883, 227 | T (f. 96r)

Fr. 153: Herod. 3.8.4-5 Fr. 154: Herod. 3.8.6-8

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4 ἀπείρητο – 4 ἐπέτρεψε Adler 1928 : Σεβῆρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρ. γ. μ. ἀπηγορευμένον πρῴην ὄν V*Suda* **8** προσέφερεν T : προέφερεν Bernhardy 1853, v II, p. 2, p. 702 **10** τῶν T : τοὺς Valois 1634 Müller 1851 τε ante ἢ del. Büttner-Wobst 1906b : τε καὶ Müller 1851

Fr. 154: *Suda* σ 182, 335.23-28 οὗτος μετὰ τὸ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ἀλβίνου φίλων ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου κατηγόρει γράμματά τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλέγχους προσέφερεν, ἄλλας τε ἄλλοις ἐπιφέρων αἰτίας πάντας τοὺς ἐξέχοντας τότε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν κατὰ ἔθνη πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει ὑπερέχοντας διέφθειρε. πάνυ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ φιλόχρυσον, ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν τὰ πλεονεκτήματα τῆς ἀνδρείας.

set affairs in Britain in order, appointing two governors instead of one, and, having executed all the friends of Albinus, entered Rome.

153

The soldiers were not allowed to have relations with women.[1] Severus overturned this regulation and honoured the soldiers with gold rings.

154

After becoming emperor Severus attacked the friends of Albinus in the senate and produced their letters and some other evidence; charging everybody with a different crime he destroyed all who were prominent in the senate or eminent in the provinces on account of their fortune or nobility. He possessed an insatiable appetite for gold so that his greed was greater than his courage.

1 The text of Herodian states that Severus allowed the soldiers to live with their wives, which had not been the case before.

155

EI 51 **1** Ὅτι Σεβῆρος τῷ υἱῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ τὴν τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατέρα κατενεγύησεν, ὃς ἦν ἔπαρχος. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπαρεσκόμενος τῷ γάμῳ, τήν τε γυναῖκα ἐμυσάττετο, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς ἠπείλει. Ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανὸς ὁρῶν τὸν μὲν Σεβῆρον πρεσβύτην καὶ ὑπὸ νόσου ὀχλούμενον, τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐμβριθῆ καὶ θρασὺν νεανίαν, δεδιώς τε αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀπειλάς, δρᾶσαί τι μᾶλλον φθάσας ἢ παθεῖν ἀναμείνας, μηχανᾶται τὸν Σατουρνῖνον ἀναπεῖσαι, ὃς ἦν χιλίαρχος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἰκειότατος δὲ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπαρχότητα παρασχεῖν, εἰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτύχοι. Ταῦτά τε καὶ τοιαῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐξεπλάγη μὲν τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε δὲ ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς μὴ παραυτὰ κολασθείη. Εἰδὼς δὲ ἀδύνατον ὂν β′ βασιλεῖς διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν διαφόροις οἴκοις διατρίβοντας, μηνύει τε ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σεβήρῳ, καὶ διαγγέλλει ἅπαντα, δεικνύει τε αὐτῷ καὶ γραμματεῖον τῆς ὑποσχέσεως. Τοιαῦτα δέ τινα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Σεβῆρον μὴ πιστεύοντα διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πλαυτιανὸν φίλτρον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑποπτεύοντα, ἔφη· «Δέσποτα, κελεύσατέ μοι δηλῶσαι αὐτῷ διά τινος τῶν ἐμῶν, ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἔργον κατείργασται, καὶ εὐθέως ὁρᾶτε αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα προερχόμενον, οἰόμενον ἔρημα τὰ βασίλεια καταλήψεσθαι· ἡσυχίαν δὲ εἶναι τῶν πραττομένων κελεύσατε.» **2** Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐντέλλεταί τινι τῶν πιστοτάτων· ὁ δὲ ἄγει τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν παραχρῆμα ἐνδυσάμενον θώρακα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας χάριν. Ὡς δὲ πάντες αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, οἰόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κεκλῆσθαι, ὅ τε χιλίαρχος ἐνεδρεύων προσεῖπεν αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς λαβόμενος εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον εἰσήγαγεν, ἔνθα ἔφασκεν ἐρρῖφθαι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων σώματα· ἤδη δὲ παρεσκευάκει ὁ Σεβῆρος νεανίας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων, οἳ συλληψόμενοι εἰσελθόντα ἐτάχθησαν. Ὁ δὲ Πλαυτιανός, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἑστῶτας,

Fr. 155 = fr. 130 M = fr. 213.1-44 R = de Boor 1905, 92.32-94.14; Cramer 1841, ii, 39f., Mendelssohn 1883, 227-229 | P (f. 118v-f. 119v) S (f. 124v-f. 125v)

Fr. 155: Herod. 3.10.5-3.15.3

2 κατενεγύησεν scripsit de Boor 1905 : κανεγύησεν PS : κατεγγύησεν Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 : κατηγγύησεν Mendelssohn 1883 **6** θρασὺν de Boor 1905 : θρασὺ PS **8** σατουρνῖνον S : σατουρῖνον P **11** παρ' αὐτὰ Müller 1851 **12** ὂν Müller 1851 : ὃν PS **18** δὴ Cramer 1841 : δεὶ S : δεῖ P **19** καταλήψεσθαι Cramer 1841 : καταλήψασθαι P : καταλείψασθαι S

155

1 Severus betrothed his son Antoninus to the daughter of Plautianus, who was a prefect of the praetorian guard. But Antoninus resented the marriage, detested his wife, and threatened her father. Realising that Severus was an old man, weary with disease, and that Antoninus was a fierce, wild young man, and because he was afraid of his threats, Plautianus decided to do something rather than to wait and suffer himself. By promising to appoint him prefect of the praetorian guard if he himself succeeded in becoming emperor, Plautianus tried to win over Saturninus, who was a military tribune and a very close associate of his. When Saturninus heard such a proposal, he became greatly afraid, but did not dare contradict for fear of immediate punishment. Seeing that it was impossible to murder two emperors,[1] especially when they lived in different sections of the palace, he reported personally to Severus, told him everything and showed the letter with the promise Plautianus had made him.[2] While he was saying these things, he realised that Severus did not believe him, because of his friendship with Plautianus, but rather suspected his son, and so he said, "My lord, instruct me to inform Plautianus through a man who is loyal to me that the deed is done, and you shall see that he will come here believing that he can occupy the empty palace. But give orders that the action be conducted in secret." **2** Having said this, Saturninus gave orders to a person he trusted and he returned immediately with Plautianus, who was wearing a breast-plate for protection. Plautianus was allowed entry into the palace on the assumption that he had been summoned by the emperors; the tribune saluted him as emperor to entrap him, took him by the hand and led him into the bed-chamber, where, he said, the bodies of the emperors had been thrown. Severus had already instructed some of the younger members of his personal bodyguard to take up position and to be ready to seize the prefect when he came in. Seeing the two emperors standing before him, and that he himself had been seized, he tried to speak in his

[1] i.e. Severus and his son Caracalla.

[2] Herodian's version speaks of γραμματεῖον... τοῦ φόνου (3.2.9), 'written instructions for the murder'; John of Antioch interpreted the text differently.

ἑαυτὸν δὲ συνεχόμενον, ἀπολογεῖσθαι ἐβούλετο· ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ θώρακος ὑπεφάνη μέρος, τότε ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τοῖς σωματοφύλαξιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ ῥῖψαι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλαυτιανὸς τοιούτῳ ἐχρήσατο τέλει. **3** Ὁ δὲ Σεβῆρος τοῦ λοιποῦ δύο ἐπάρχους τῶν στρατοπέδων κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς προαστείοις, ⟨καὶ⟩ τοῖς παραλίοις τῆς Καμπανίας, δικάζων τε καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ διοικῶν· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἀδελφὸν εἰς Σικελίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, αὐτάρκη δοὺς περιουσίαν, μιμησάμενος τὸν Σεβαστόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοῖς Ἀντωνίου παισὶν οὕτως ἐχρήσατο. Ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας συνάγειν εἰς φιλίαν, μύθοις τε ἀρχαίοις χρώμενος, καὶ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα ὑποδεικνύς· οἱ δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἐπείθοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐτράποντο, οἷά τε νεανίαι ὄντες, καὶ ὑπὸ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς πάσας ἡδονῶν ῥοπὰς ἀπλήστως ὁρμώμενοι· καὶ ἤσχαλλεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ βίῳ τῶν παίδων. Νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Βρεττανικούς, καὶ ἤδη γηραιὸς ὤν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ὀχλούμενος, ἠναγκάζετο οἴκοι μένειν· τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπειρᾶτο ἐκπέμπειν, διοικήσοντα τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων· ὅστις τοῦ μὲν πολέμου κατεφρόνει, μοναρχήσειν δὲ ἠπείγετο, καὶ τὸν πατέρα βραδύνοντα πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, ὀχληρὸν ἐνόμιζεν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰατροὺς καὶ ὑπηρέτας ἀνέπειθε κακουργῆσαι περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ γέροντος, ὡς ἂν θᾶττον αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλαγείη. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ μόλις ποτὲ Σεβῆρος, λύπῃ τὸ πλεῖστον διαφθαρείς, ἀνεπαύσατο, βασιλεύσας ι′ καὶ η′ ἔτη.

156

EI 51 **1** Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποθανόντος λαβόμενος ἐξουσίας, εὐθὺς πάντας φονεύειν ἤρξατο, τούς τε ἰατροὺς μάλιστα, οἳ μὴ ὑπήκουσαν αὐτῷ· ἰδίᾳ τε δώροις καὶ μεγάλαις ὑποσχέσεσι τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν

Fr. 156 = fr. 131 M = fr. 213.45-103 R = de Boor 1905, 94.15-96.18; Cramer 1841, ii, 41ff., Mendelssohn 1883, 229-232 | P (f. 119v-f. 121r) S (f. 125v-f. 126v)

Fr. 156: Herod. 3.15.4-4.1; 4.4.3-4.5.1; 4.5.7-4.6.4

2 σωματοφύλαξιν Cramer 1841 : σωματοφύλαξ PS **6** καὶ add. Mendelssohn 1883 ex Herod. 3.13.1 **11** παρεσκευασμένα Müller 1851 : παρασκευασμένα PS **13** ῥοπὰς Cramer 1841 : ῥοπαῖς PS ἤσχαλλεν P : ἤσχαμεν S **21** καὶ del. S^2

own defence; however, when a glint from the breast-plate was noticed, Antoninus ordered the bodyguards to kill him and throw out the body in a public place. Such was the end of Plautianus. **3** For the future Severus appointed two prefects of the praetorian guard, and himself spent most of his time on the imperial estates in the suburbs or on the coast of the Campania, carrying out his judicial and administrative work. He exiled Plautianus' daughter and her brother to Sicily, giving them sufficient means to live, in this following the example of Augustus, who had treated Antony's children in the same way. He tried to reconcile his sons by reminding them of tales of long ago, and by showing what he had in store for them. But they simply would not listen and grew even worse: they were young men, and the abundance of the imperial resources encouraged them to seek every kind of pleasure without restraint. Severus was upset by his sons' way of life. After some victories over the Britons, Severus, who was already an old man suffering from disease, was forced to remain in his quarters. He tried to send out Antoninus to take charge of the campaign, but Antoninus paid little attention to the war and longed for the position of sole emperor. He considered his father, who was taking a long time to die, an irksome obstacle to his plans and tried to persuade his doctors and attendants to do him some mischief while they tended the old man, so as to get rid of him sooner. Finally and slowly Severus did die, altogether broken with grief, having ruled for eighteen years.

156

1 As soon as his father was dead, Antoninus took over power and started to execute everybody who had refused to obey him, but especially the doctors; privately he tried to entice the army commanders with gifts and lavish promises so that they would declare him sole emperor. But he did

ἡγεμόνας ἐθεράπευεν, ὡς ἂν μόνον αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποδείξωσιν. Οὐ μὴν ἔπειθε τὸ στρατιωτικόν. Μεμνημένοι γὰρ τοῦ Σεβήρου, ἴσην αὐτοῖς τιμήν τε καὶ εὔνοιαν παρείχοντο. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐπεὶ μὴ προσεχώρει αὐτῷ τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων, σπεισάμενος εἰρήνην εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τῆς Ῥώμης, ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο. Ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος δαφνηφορῶν ὑπεδέξατο, ἥ τε σύγκλητος αὐτοκράτορας προσηγόρευσεν· καὶ κηδεύσαντες τὸν πατέρα ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὰ βασίλεια· διελόμενοι δὲ αὐτὰ ἑκάτερος ᾤκει, παραφράττεσθαι κελεύσαντες πάσας εἰσόδους, εἴ τινες λανθάνουσαι ἦσαν· μόναις δὲ δημοσίαις ἐχρῶντο, ἰδίας φρουρὰς ἐπιστήσαντες, οὐδὲ συνιόντες, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον ὅσον δημοσίᾳ ἰέναι· καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα τιμήν ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμίσουν τε καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο κατ᾿ ἀλλήλων, {καὶ} τίς πρῶτος τὸν ἕτερον ἀποσκευάσεται. ᾿Εμερίζοντο δὲ καὶ πάντων αἱ γνῶμαι, ὅσοι ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἦσαν. **2** Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γέτας ἐπιεικείας τρόπον ἐπεδείκνυτο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ὠμότητος. Τούτους δὲ ἡ μήτηρ † μέλλοντας διαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. Καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀντωνίνου πάντα τὰ ὑπὲρ Εὐρώπην δεχομένου, τοῦ δὲ Γέτα τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἤπειρον Ἀσίαν τε καλουμένην πᾶσαν, ἤρεσκε τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἱδρῦσαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸν δὲ Γέταν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τῆς Βιθυνίας· οὕτω τε τήν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας μερίσασθαι. **3** Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτῶν διατυπούντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες σκυθρωποῖς προσώποις εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔνευσαν· ἡ δὲ ᾿Ιουλία, «Γῆν μέν, ἔφη, ὦ τέκνα, καὶ θάλασσαν εὑρίσκετε ὅπως νείμησθε, τὴν δὲ μητέρα πῶς ἂν διέλησθε, καὶ πῶς ἡ ἀθ-

3 Ἀντωνῖνος P : ἀντώνιος S[2] in ἀντωνῖνος mutatum, sed postea restitutum προσεχώρει PS Müller 1851 : προεχώρει de Boor 1905 ex Herod. 3.15.6 **6** μεθορίοις P : μεθεωρίοις S 7 δαφνηφορῶν Cramer 1841 : δαφθηφορῶν PS **9** ἐς τὰ P : ἐπτὰ S **10** κελεύσαντες S : κελεύσας P post μόναις δὲ verbum ταῖς ex Herod. 3.15.6 suppl. Müller 1851 **11** εἰ – 12 ἐπιτελέσαντες S : om. P : εἰ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὅσον δημοσίᾳ εἴ ποτε ὀφθῆναι. ᾿Επετέλεσαν δὲ πρὸ ἁπάντων Müller 1851 ex Herod. 3.15.6 **12** post πατέρα τιμήν verba ᾿Εξ ἐκείνου δὲ ex Herod. add. Müller 1851 **14** καὶ del. de Boor 1905 post καὶ lacunam indicavit Roberto 2005 : verba πάντα ἔπραττεν ἑκάτερος ex Herod. 3.15.6 add. Müller 1851 **16** τούτους P : τούτου S post ἡ μήτηρ verba συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.3.5 **17** ἀντωνίου PS πάντα P : ὁ πάντα S ὑπὲρ Εὐρώπην PS : ὑπ᾿ Εὐρώπην Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.3.5 **19** ἀντώνιον PS **20** χαλκιδόνι S : χαλκιδῶνι P **24** εὑρίσκετε S : εὑρίσκεται P νείμησθε de Boor 1905 : νείμεσθε P : νείμησθαι S διέλησθε de Boor 1905 : διέλθησθε P : διέλοισθε Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.3.8

not persuade the army: they remembered Severus and showed equal allegiance and loyalty to both [of his children]. Having failed to win the support of the army, he came to terms with the barbarians and hurried back to Rome. He caught up with his mother and brother at the city boundaries and together with them he entered the city. The people welcomed them with branches of laurels, and the senate proclaimed them emperors. Having attended their father's funeral, they returned to the palace. They partitioned the building, had all the private connecting passages bricked up, and used only the public ones; both established their own guard and never met each other except occasionally for brief appearances in public. After they had carried out the funeral ceremonies for their father, their rivalry and hatred and plots against each other became constant; each brother tried in every way to get rid of the other. The opinions of everyone of rank in Rome were divided. **2** Geta's character was distinguished by clemency and Antoninus' by ferociousness. Their mother... they were about to divide the empire.[1] Antoninus would receive all the territory in Europe, and Geta, all the territory that lies opposite Europe, the continent known as Asia; it was Antoninus' plan to station his army at Byzantium and Geta's, at Chalcedon in Bithynia; it was also planned to divide the senate, the provinces and the armies in the same way.[2] **3** While they were considering these plans, everybody turned their faces to the ground with expressions of gloom. But Julia cried out, "My sons, you will indeed find a method to partition the land and the sea! But how

[1] The text of the Chronicle is corrupt. If we follow the emendation by Müller (1851), the text would read: "Their mother attempted to reconcile them when they were about to divide the empire." The conjectured words "συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο," however, are used in paragraph 3 below, and this obvious repetition is rather unlikely.

[2] *See* Kornemann (1930, 89), "Im Staatsrat ist darnach im Beisein der Mutter von den beiden Augusti ernstlich der Plan erwogen worden, das Reich zu teilen und zwar so, daß Caracalla den europäischen Teil und Nordafrika, Geta den asiatischen Teil und Ägypten erhalten sollte, mit der Residenz in Antiocheia oder Alexandreia, unter gleichzeitiger Teilung des Senates in einen okzidentalischen Teil unter Caracalla und einen orientalischen Teil unter Geta."

λία εἰς ἑκάτερον ὑμῶν νεμηθείην; πρῶτον δὲ ἐμὲ φονεύσατε, καὶ διελόντες ἑκάτερος παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ μέρος θαπτέτω.» Ταῦτα λέγουσα μετὰ δακρύων καὶ οἰμωγῆς, ἀμφοτέροις τε τὰς χεῖρας περιβάλλουσα, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας λαβοῦσα, συνάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο. Πάντας δὲ οἴκτου λαβόντος, διελύθη τὸ συνέδριον, τὸ δὲ μῖσος καὶ ἡ στάσις ηὔξετο. Εἰς πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐφρόνουν, καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς ἀνέπειθον ἐμβαλεῖν δηλητήρια φάρμακα. Οὐ ῥᾳδίως δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδετέρῳ προὐχώρει· πολλῇ γὰρ ἐχρῶντο περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φρουρᾷ. Τέλος δὲ μὴ φέρων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαυνόμενος, διὰ ξίφους ἐχώρησε, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς στήθεσι τῆς μητρὸς καταφυγόντα διεχρήσατο. **4** Κατεργασθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ τοῦ φόνου, προπηδᾷ τοῦ οἴκου θέων, φερόμενός τε δι' ὅλων τῶν βασιλείων, ἐβόα μέγαν κίνδυνον ἐκπεφευγέναι, μόλις τε σωθῆναι· τούς τε στρατιώτας οἳ φρουροῦσι τὰ βασίλεια, κελεύει αὐτὸν ἁρπάσαντας ἀπάγειν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Πιστεύσαντές τε ἐκεῖνοι, τό πεπραγμένον ἔνδον οὐκ εἰδότες, θέοντι αὐτῷ συνεξέδραμον πάντες· ταραχή τε τὸν δῆμον κατεῖχεν, ὁρῶντες περὶ δείλην διὰ μέσης φερόμενον τῆς πόλεως δρόμῳ τὸν βασιλέα. Ὡς δὲ εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔς τε τὸν ναόν, ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα ἔκειτο, ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ὡμολόγει χάριτας τῆς σωτηρίας· καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις τὸ πραχθὲν οὐχ ὡμολόγει· ἐβούλετο γὰρ νοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκούεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἐν ιη' ἔτεσι ὁ Σεβῆρος ἤθροισεν, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξέχεεν, ἵνα τὸν ἀδελφοῦ θάνατον κυρώσωσι, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα ψηφίσωνται. **5** Καὶ ἐπιβὰς τοῦ θρόνου, τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ πολλὰ κατηγόρει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ φίλους δριμέα διεβλέπετο. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενοι ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν καὶ μονάρχην προσηγόρευσαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος τρέμοντας καὶ ὠχριῶντας τοὺς πλείστους καταλιπών, ἀνέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια· ὅσοι τε τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, καὶ ὅσοι γένει ἢ πλούτῳ περιεῖχον, ⟨ἀνῃροῦντο⟩, καὶ ἡ Κομόδου ἀδελφή, πρεσβῦτις ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ὡς Μάρκου θυγάτηρ τιμωμένη, προσαπώλετο, διὸ ἐδάκρυσε παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς φόνῳ. Τήν τε γυναῖκα γενομένην αὐτῷ Πλαυτίαν, οὖσαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ

1 δὲ PS : δὴ Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.3.8 **7** ἐμβαλεῖν Müller 1851 : ἐμβαλλεῖν PS **9** ἀντώνιος PS **15** post ἐκεῖνοι, τό verbum τε add. Müller 1851 **19** post ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν verba εἰς γῆν ex Herod. 4.4.4 add. Müller 1851 **21** ἔτεσι de Boor 1905 : ἔτη S : om. P **28** ἀνῃροῦντο Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.6.3 **31** Πλαυτίαν PS : Πλαυτίλλαν Müller 1851

do you suppose to carve up your mother? Poor me, how am I supposed to divide this body of mine between you two? Kill me first, and each of you take a part of my body to your territory and bury it there!" Saying this, she broke down in tears and lamentations, then she threw her arms around them both and drew them into an embrace, trying to reconcile them. Pity overcame everybody and the council broke up, but the hatred and rivalry grew. They held diametrically opposite views on every subject and even persuaded their wine-pourers and cooks to mix some deadly poison for each other. But neither found it easy to succeed because they were both safeguarded against such things. Finally Antoninus found it intolerable and, impelled by his own desire for sole rule, decided to proceed with his sword and killed his brother as he sought refuge at his mother's breast. 4 After the murder he jumped up and ran from the chamber. Rushing through the whole palace, he shouted out that he had escaped a great danger and had only just been saved. He ordered the palace guards to take him away and escort him to the military camp. The soldiers believed him, since they did not know what had been done within, and so they all ran alongside him as he hurried away. There was confusion among the people when they saw the emperor proceeding at full speed through the middle of the city at nightfall. Bursting into the camp and the temple where the standards hung, he cast himself down and acknowledged his gratitude for his safety. He did not, however, disclose to the soldiers what had been done: he wanted them to understand it but not to hear it explicitly. Because of this, what Severus had amassed in eighteen years was squandered on the soldiers in one day to make them endorse the murder and declare Antoninus a sole emperor. 5 Having ascended the throne, he brought forward many accusations against his brother and directed a piercing stare at his brother's friends. And they, even though they were grieved over the events, declared him emperor and sole ruler. Leaving most of them trembling and pale, Antoninus hurried back to the palace. Prominent senators and others distinguished by birth or wealth were destroyed; Commodus' sister, who was now an old women and had been held in honour by all as Marcus' daughter, was also murdered, because she had wept with the emperor's mother at the death of her son. All were executed: his wife Plautia, who was in Sicily; his cousin, whose name also was Severus; the

τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Σεβήρου τε ὁμώνυμον καὶ τὸν Περτίνακος υἱόν, τῆς τε Κομόδου ἀδελφῆς Λουκίλλης υἱόν, καὶ εἴ τι γένος ἦν βασιλικὸν ⟨ἢ⟩ ἐν συγκλήτῳ ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν καταβαῖνον, πᾶν ἐξέκοψεν. Εἴς τε τὰ ἔθνη πέμπων, ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ ἐπιτρόπους, ὡς ἐκείνου φίλους, διεχρήσατο πάντας. Πᾶσά τε νὺξ ἔφερε † τῶν ἀνθρώπων φόνους πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐν ἱπποδρομίᾳ πολλοὺς ἐφόνευσεν.

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EV 42 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ ταῖς μιαιφονίαις καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, τοῦ βιάζεσθαί τε καὶ ἁρπάζειν λαβόντες

Fr. 157 = fr. 132 M = fr. 214 R; Valois 1634, 825f., Mendelssohn 1883, 232f. | T (f. 96rv)

Fr. 157: Herod. 4.6.5-9, 11.8-12.2

1 Σεβήρῳ Müller 1851 **2** ἢ add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.6.3 **5** ἔφερε – πάντων ἀνθρώπων PS : φόνους παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.6.3

Fr. 157: 8 πρὸς τοῖς – 284.30 φοινιχθῆναι *Suda* α 2762, 247.14-248.7 Ἀντωνῖνος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Σεβήρου, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ ταῖς μιαιφονίαις καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἁρπάζειν λαβόντες ἐξουσίαν οὐκέτι κατ' οὐδὲν διεκρίνοντο. τοιαῦτα δὲ πράττων ὑπό τε τῶν ἔργων ἐλαυνόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν πόλει διατριβὴν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων ἀπεδήμει τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς δὴ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα διοικήσων καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐποψόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον κατέλαβε καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Γερμανοὺς ἐφιλοποιήσατο, ὡς καὶ συμμάχους παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ σώματος φρουροὺς καὶ ταῖς φορεσίαις αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι. οὕτω τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο, κοινὸς ὢν πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὡς συστρατιώτης μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀφίκετο, Ἀλέξανδρον ἑαυτὸν ὠνόμασεν. ἐκεῖθέν τε ἐς Πέργαμον παραγέγονε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, καὶ στεφάνοις κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμιμεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο καὶ διατρίψας χρόνον τινὰ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο, πρόφασιν ποιούμενος ποθεῖν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν. ὡς δὲ ἐσήλασεν ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, ὑπεδέχθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ὡς οὔπω τις βασιλέων πρότερον. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνῆμα τήν τε χλαμύδα, ἣν ἐφόρει, καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελὲς περιελόμενος ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου σορῷ. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔχαιρεν, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν τούτου λανθάνουσαν γνώμην. ἔγνω γάρ, ὅτι πολλὰ ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέσκωψαν. διὰ δὲ προγράμματος τὴν νεολαίαν εἴς τι πεδίον κελεύει συνελθεῖν, φήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὴν φάλαγγα συστήσασθαι. οἱ δὲ συνῆλθον ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπίσι. στιχηδὸν δὲ ἑστῶτας ἰδὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξῆλθεν, ἐπαφῆκε δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ πάντας συνέκοψαν. τοσοῦτος δὲ ἐγένετο φόνος, ὥστε τὸν Νεῖλον φοινιχθῆναι ἅπαντα.

son of Pertinax; the son of Commodus' sister Lucilla; and anyone who was connected with the principate by birth or was descended from a patrician family in the senate. He also turned to the provinces and made away with any governors and procurators who were allegedly friends of his brother. Every night foreshadowed the murders of many men... and he murdered many in the hippodrome.

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In addition to other evils and abominable crimes during the reign of Severus' son Antoninus, the soldiers, who were given licence to do viol-

ἐξουσίαν, οὐκέτι κατ᾽ οὐδὲν διεκρίνοντο· Τοιαῦτα δὲ πράττων ὑπό τε τῶν ἔργων ἐλαυνόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διατριβὴν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχων, ἀπεδήμει τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς δὴ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα διοικήσων καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐποψόμενος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον κατέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Γερμανοὺς ἐφιλοποιήσατο, ὡς καὶ συμμάχους παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ σώματος φρουρούς, καὶ ταῖς φορεσίαις αὐτῶν χρῆσθαι. Οὕτω τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο, κοινὸς ὢν πρὸς ἅπαντας, {ὡς} συστρατιώτης μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεὺς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν λεγόμενος †. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀφίκετο, εὐθέως τε Ἀλέξανδρον ἑαυτὸν ὠνόμασεν· ἐκεῖθέν τε εἰς Πέργαμον παρεγένετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, καὶ στεφάνοις κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι, τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμιμεῖτο. Καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ διατρίψας χρόνον τινά, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο, πρόφασιν ποιούμενος ποθεῖν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν. Ὡς δὲ εἰσήλασεν ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, ὑπεδέχθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ὡς οὔπω τις βασιλέων πρότερον. Καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνῆμα, τήν τε χλαμύδα ἣν ἐφόρει καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον καὶ τὴν ζώνην καὶ εἴ τι πολυτελές, περιελόμενος ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου σορῷ. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁρῶν ὑπερέχαιρε παννυχίζων τε καὶ ἑορτάζων, οὐκ εἰδὼς τὴν τούτου λανθάνουσαν γνώμην. Ἔγνω γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὡς ὅτι πολλὰ εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέσκωψαν. Ὀργίλος τε ὢν φύσει ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, ὡς εἶδε πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πλήθους μεγίστου πεπληρωμένην, διὰ προγράμματος τὴν νεολαίαν εἴς τι πεδίον κελεύει συνελθεῖν, φήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὴν φάλαγγα βούλεσθαι συστήσασθαι. Ταύταις αὐτοῦ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι πεισθέντες οἱ νέοι συνῆλθον ἅμα γονεῦσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς συνηδομένοις αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ὡς εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἑστῶτας στιχηδόν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπεξῆλθε μεθ᾽ ἧς εἶχε φρουρᾶς· τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐπαφῆκε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν μέσῳ νεολαίαν συνέκοψεν. Οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπώλοντο. Τοσοῦτος δὲ ἐγένετο φόνος ὡς καὶ πάντα τὸν Νεῖλον ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος φοινιχθῆναι. Τοιαῦτά τινα ἐργασάμενος πάλιν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψεύσασθαι τὸν γάμον τοῦ Παρθυαίου διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, ἡνιοχείαις καὶ θηρίων σχολάζων σφαγαῖς, δύο τοὺς στρα-

8 ὡς del. Kambylis   post αὐτῶν verbum χαίρειν ex Herod. 4.7.6 add. Valois 1634
32 δύο Büttner-Wobst 1906b : δύω T

ence and commit robbery, would stop at nothing. In committing such acts the emperor, impelled by his deeds and loathing the life in Rome, departed from the city in order to deal with the military administration and to inspect the provincial territories. When he reached the Danube, he won the friendship of the Germans living there, so much so, that he drew auxiliary forces and his bodyguard from them, and even wore their clothes. And so he was adored by the barbarians and the soldiers alike, for he lent a ready ear to all and was regarded by them as their fellow-soldier rather than their emperor.[1] When he came to Macedonia, he at once called himself Alexander; from there he reached Pergamum and visited the tomb of Achilles, which he decorated with garlands and flowers, and imitated Achilles. Having passed through the rest of Asia and the other provinces, he came to Antioch, and, after some time there, he set off for Alexandria on the pretext that he was longing [to see] the city of Alexander. As soon as Antoninus entered the city with the whole army, he was given such a reception as had never been given to an emperor before. He went to the tomb of Alexander, where he took off and laid upon the grave the cloak he was wearing, and the ring, and his belt, and anything else of value he was carrying. When the people saw this, they were extremely pleased and spent the whole night in celebrations without realizing the secret intention of the emperor. While in Rome, he had learned that the Alexandrians had been making great fun of him and his mother. Antoninus was irascible by nature; when he saw that the entire city was crammed with a large number of people, he issued an edict that all the young men should assemble on an open piece of ground, saying that he intended to enroll a phalanx in honour of Alexander. All the youths believed Antoninus' promises and arrived with their parents and brothers, who shared in the hopes of their relatives. When Antoninus saw them standing side by side in close order, he left with his personal bodyguard and let loose the soldiers, who slaughtered the encircled young men. And not a few of the soldiers lost their lives too. So great was the slaughter that the Nile grew red from the streams of blood. Having done this, Antoninus left for Antioch. After pretending to make a marriage alliance with the Parthian king, he spent some time in Mesopotamia, occupying his leisure in chariot racing and hunting.

1 The final part of the sentence is corrupt, but the general sense seems to be clear.

τοπέδων ἐπάρχους ἔχων ἅμα, Ἀδυέντιον καὶ Μακρῖνον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικός, ὁ δὲ λογικός. Διὸ καὶ πολλάκις ἀπέσκωπτε τὸν Μακρῖνον ὡς διαίτῃ ἐλευθερίῳ χρώμενον.

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EI 52 **1** Ὅτι ἔδει τὸν Ἀντωνίνου βίον τέλος λαβεῖν· περιεργότατος γὰρ ὤν, ἐβουλήθη μαθεῖν τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλεύσοντα, ὑποπτεύων τε πάντας αὐτῷ πρὸς κολακείαν θεσπίζοντας, ἐπιστέλλει Ματερνιανῷ τινί, τότε πάσας αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πράξεις ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ, πιστοτάτῳ τε εἶναι δοκοῦντι, κελεύει τε αὐτῷ μάγων τοὺς ἀρίστους ζητήσαντι, νεκυίᾳ τε χρησάμενον μαθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ ἀδεῶς τοῖς κελευθεῖσι χρησάμενος, καὶ μαθὼν σημαίνει τῷ βασιλεῖ. Οἱ δὲ διακομίζοντες ἐφίστανται τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ, ἤδη τε σκευὴν ἡνιόχου ἀναλαβόντι καὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐπιβαίνοντι, προσκομίζουσί τε τὸν σύνδεσμον τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ τὰ περὶ Μακρίνου γράμματα. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁρμὴν ἤδη περὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἔχων, κελεύει τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἰδιάσαντι ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐπεῖγον εἴη, ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀναγνούς, καὶ περιτυχὼν τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ θανατηφόρῳ γραφῇ, ταύτην μὲν ἀποκρύπτει, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγγέλλει. Φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ δεύτερον ταῦτα ὁ Ματερνιανὸς ἐπιστείλῃ, τολμᾷ δή τι τοιοῦτον. **2** Ἦν τις ἑκατόνταρχος Μαρτιάλιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Ἀντωνίνου· τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνῃρήκει ἐπὶ ψευδεῖ διαβολῇ, ἠπείλει τε καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Μαρτιαλίῳ. Τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Μακρῖνος ἀλγοῦντα, πείθει ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ. Καιροῦ δέ τινος δραξάμενος, ὅτε ὁ

Fr. 158 = fr. 133 et 135 M = fr. 215.1 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 43f., Mendelssohn 1883, 233f. | P (f. 121^{r}-f. 122^{r}) S (f. 126^{v}-f. 127^{r})

Fr. 158: Herod. 4.12.3-4.13.8

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1 αδυέντιον T : Αδουέντιον Valois 1634 : Αδούεντον Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.12.1 **5** Ἀντωνίνου corr. Cramer 1841 : ἀντωνιόνυ S : ἀντώνιόνυ P **7** ἐπιστέλλει Müller 1851 : ἐπι τέλλει P^{1} ex ἐπι τέλει P : ἐπιτέλλει S Ματερνιανῷ Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.12.4 : ματερνίω S : μαρτενίω P **9** νεκυίᾳ de Boor 1905 : νεκύια S : νεκύα P **10** μαθεῖν bis in PS Ὁ δὲ ἀδεῶς Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.12.5 : ὁ δὲ ὡς PS : ὃς ἀδεῶς coni. de Boor 1905 **18** Ματερνιανὸς Cramer 1841 : μαντερνιανός PS

He had two military prefects, Adventus and Macrinus. The one was a soldier, the other a lawyer. Antoninus used to tease Macrinus for his extravagant way of life.

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1 But it was inevitable that Antoninus' life should come to an end. Being a superstitious person, he wanted to find out who would become emperor after him. But because he suspected that all were prophesying to flatter him, he wrote to a certain Maternianus, whom he had put in charge of all affairs in Rome at the time and whom he considered his most reliable friend, and told him to search out the best seers and, by calling up the dead, to discover the answer to the question. Maternianus confidently carried out the emperor's orders, and, having discovered the answer, reported it to the emperor. The couriers came before Antoninus and presented him with the whole package of letters, including the message regarding Macrinus, just as he had picked up his charioteer's equipment and was getting into his chariot. Antoninus was already looking forward to the chariot race, so he told Macrinus to stand aside privately[1] and deal with the letters, then, if there was anything urgent, to bring it to his attention. Macrinus read the letters and found the one which would have been fatal to himself; so he hid it and reported to the emperor about the rest. But because he was afraid that Maternianus would send the news a second time, he ventured the following scheme. **2** There was a centurion named Martialis in Antoninus' bodyguard, whose brother had been executed on a false charge, and who himself felt threatened by the emperor. Knowing that Martialis was very distressed, Macrinus convinced him to conspire against Antoninus. He seized the opportunity when the emperor decided to leave his palace at Carrhae and visit the

[1] Whittaker (1969, 445 n. 4), remarks in his English translation: "Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*[8] s.v. ἰδιάζω take this to mean M. was in retirement, an impossible interpretation."

βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κάρραις αὐλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν ἠπείγετο τῆς Σελήνης (ἀφειστήκει δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὐ μικρόν), ἐπειχθέντα αὐτὸν πρὸς χρείας ὑποτοπεῖ, καὶ μονωθέντα παίει. Καιρίου δὲ τῆς πληγῆς γενομένης, καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ, πηδήσας ἵππῳ ἔφυγεν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος, καὶ ἐπιδιωχθεὶς κατηκοντίσθη. **3** Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ συνέδραμον ἅπαντες· καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Μακρῖνος ἐπιστὰς τῷ πτώματι, ὀλοφύρεσθαί τε καὶ θνήσκειν προσεποιεῖτο· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐχαλέπαινον· συστρατιώτην γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄρχοντα ᾤοντο ἀποβεβληκέναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιβουλὴν ὑπώπτευον ἐκ τοῦ Μακρίνου. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἕκαστος εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπανῄεσαν. Ὁ δὲ Μακρῖνος πυρὶ παραδοὺς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν κόνιν ἐν κάλπει βαλὼν ἔπεμψε τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατριβούσῃ. Ἐκείνη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων συμφοραῖς ἀπεκαρτέρησε. Τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ἐχρήσατο Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ ἐμονάρχησεν ἐν ἓξ ἔτεσι συνετελέσθη.

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EI 53 **1** Ὅτι Μακρῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβων, τρόπῳ τέ τινι φιλοσόφου τὸ γένειον καὶ τὸ βῆμα φυλάττων ἐπεβουλεύθη. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται παραλαβόντες τὰς Ἀντωνίνου μνήμας, κατεγίνωσκον τῆς Μακρίνου διαίτης, ἐλυποῦντο δὲ διότι μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ διέτριβε χώρᾳ, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντες. Ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν Μακρῖνον ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ χλιδῇ ζῶντα, προφάσεως ὀλίγης λαβέσθαι ηὔχοντο εἰς τὸ ἀποσκευάσασθαι τὸ λοιπόν. Ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα Μακρῖνον ἐνιαυτοῦ μόνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιτρυφήσαντα ἅμα τῷ βίῳ

Fr. 159 = fr. 136 M = fr. 216 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 44ff., Mendelssohn 1883, 235-237 | P (f. 122^{r}-f. 123^{r}) S (f. 127^{r}-f. 128^{r})

Fr. 159: Herod. 5.2.3-5.4.12

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1 βασιλεὺς – ἠπείγετο in textu S om. add. spr. vers. S^2 Κάρραις Cramer 1841 : κάρραις PS **3** Καιρίου – ἵππῳ P : καιρίσας ἵππῳ (om. -ου – πηδή-) S, cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 184 **6** θνήσκειν PS : θρηνεῖν Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.13.7 **10** κάλπῃ Müller 1851 **12** τέλει corr. Mendelssohn 1883 : τέλος PS **14** συνετελέσθη Müller 1851 ex Herod. 4.13.8 : συνετέλεσεν PS **17** τὸ γένειον Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.2.3 : τὸν νηον PS **18** παραλαβόντες PS : παραβάλλοντες Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.2.5 **19** ἐλυποῦντο P : ἐμποῦντο S **22** λοιπόν PS : λυποῦν Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.2.6

temple of Selene, located far away from the town; observing that the emperor hastened to relieve his bowels and was all alone, Martialis struck him. The blow was fatal and the emperor fell; Martialis jumped on a horse and fled, but was pursued and shot down. **3** All the soldiers hurried to the spot; first to get there was Macrinus, who stood over the dead body, pretending to weep and lament; the rest were bitterly angry: they felt that they had lost their comrade, not their commander, and they did not have any suspicions of a plot by Macrinus. And so they all went back to their tents. Macrinus put the body on a pyre, and then, after placing the ashes in an urn, sent them to Antoninus' mother, who was in Antioch. She starved herself to death on account of the misfortunes that had befallen her sons. Such was the end of Antoninus and his mother. The period of his sole rule was six years.

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1 While the Roman emperor Macrinus was spending his time in Antioch, paying close attention to his beard and the way he walked (he wanted to resemble a philosopher), he fell victim to a plot. The soldiers, still remembering Antoninus, censured Macrinus' way of life, and were angry because he did not hurry on to Rome, but was living in a foreign country, while sometimes they even felt a shortage of supplies. Observing that Macrinus was living in the lap of luxury, they longed to find only a slight excuse for taking care of the rest.[1] It was inevitable that

[1] *See* also the original wording in Herod. (restored in the text by Müller 1851). The translation would be: "...a slight excuse for getting rid of [the cause of] their trouble."

καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταλῦσαι, μικρὰν καὶ εὐτελῆ πρόφασιν τοῖς στρατιώταις τῆς τύχης παρασχούσης. **2** Μέσα ἦν τις ὄνομα, τὸ γένος Φοίνισσα, ἀπὸ Ἐμέσου καλουμένης οὕτω πόλεως, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Ἰουλίας τῆς Σεβήρου γυναικός, Ἀντωνίνου δὲ μητρός· παρὰ πάντα οὖν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς βίον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διέτριψε. Ταύτην ὁ Μακρῖνος μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἀδελφῆς τελευτὴν προσέταξεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανελθοῦσαν, ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καταβιῶναι, πάντα ἔχουσαν τὰ ἑαυτῆς· πλείστων γὰρ ἦν χρημάτων πλήρης. Ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ διέτριβε τοῖς ἑαυτῆς. **3** Ἦσαν δὲ θυγατέρες αὐτῇ δύο, Σοαιμὶς μὲν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα Μαμαία. Παῖδες ἦσαν, τῇ μὲν πρεσβυτέρᾳ Βασιανὸς ὄνομα, τῇ δὲ νεωτέρᾳ Ἀλεξιανός· ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς μητράσι καὶ τῇ μάμμῃ ἀνετρέφοντο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Βασιανὸς περὶ ἔτη γεγονὼς τεσσαρισκαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξιανὸς δεκάτου ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἔτους, ἱερῶντο, σχήματι βαρβάρῳ χιτῶνάς τε χρυσοϋφεῖς φοροῦντες, καὶ ἁλουργίδα ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι. Οὕτω τε ὁ Βασιανὸς ὡραῖος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφαίνετο, γένους τε βασιλικοῦ ὑπάρχων, καὶ ἀκμῇ ἡλικίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοὺς Φοινίκης στρατιώτας ἔχων ὑπερασπίζοντας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸς ἐφημίζετο, βασιλεύς τε παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ὠνομάζετο. **4** Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διηγγέλθη, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὴν ἡ πρεσβῦτις, ἑλομένη πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναδέξασθαι. Νύκτωρ τε λάθρα τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε σὺν ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις. Καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ῥᾷστα ὑπεδέχθησαν. Εὐθέως τε τὸν παῖδα πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀντωνῖνον προσηγόρευσε, τῇ τε πορφυρᾷ χλανίδι περιβαλόντες ἦγον· πάντα τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὅσα τε εἶχον ἐν κώμαις ἢ ἀγροῖς τοῖς πλησίον, εἰσκομίσαντες, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀποκλείσαντες, ἑαυτοὺς παρεσκεύαζον. **5** Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Μακρίνῳ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ διατρίβοντι, ἥ τε φήμη διέδραμεν

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2 Μεσα sine acc. P : Μαῖσα Cramer 1841 ex Herod. 5.3.2 : μέσα, μέτα, μέστα ? incertum in S : Μαισά Müller 1851 **8** post διέτριβε verbum ἐν add. Müller 1851 **9** Σοαιμὶς Cramer 1841 ex Herod. 5.3.3 : σοσγμία PS μαμέτα PS item in mg. uterque repetit μαμέτα, sed μαμαία recte codd. locis reliquis **12** τεσσαρακαίδεκα Müller 1851 : τεσσαρεισκαίδεκα ex τεσσαρισκ. vel τεσσαρισκαίδεκα ex τεσσαρεισκ. P^1 corr. : τεσσαρικαίδεκα S **13** χρυσοϋφεῖς Cramer 1841 : χροσοϋφεῖς PS **16** φοινίκης P (η ex altera litera (ει vel οι vid.) corr.) : φοινίκκης (η ex α corr. et altera κ sup. vers. scripta) S **23** χλανίδι PS : χλαμύδι Müller 1851 περιβαλόντες ἦγον PS : περιβαλόντες εἶχον ἔνδον Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.3.12

Macrinus should lose at once his life and power after only one year of revelling in imperial luxury, whenever the chance provided a small, trivial excuse for the soldiers. **2** There was a woman called Maesa, a Phoenician, named after the city of Emesa; she was the sister of Julia, the wife of Severus, and Antoninus' [Caracalla's] mother. During the whole life of her sister [Iulia Domna] she lived at the imperial court. After the death of her sister, Macrinus ordered her to return to her own country and to live among her own people in full possession of her property – she was an extremely wealthy person. She returned and lived on her property. **3** She had two daughters, Soaemis was the elder, and the other was Mamaea. Soaemis and Mamaea had children, Bassianus[1] was the son of the elder, and Alexianus,[2] of the younger; both were being raised by their mothers and grandmother. Bassianus, aged fourteen, and Alexianus, just turned nine, were priests,[3] and dressed in the manner of barbarians in chitons interwoven with gold and wore purple robe. Since he belonged to the imperial family, and was in the prime of youth, and besides had Phoenician soldiers as his bodyguard, Bassianus appeared so attractive to the soldiers that he was considered to be the son of Antoninus and proclaimed emperor by the entire army. **4** As the news was announced, the elder woman [i.e. Iulia Maesa] chose to risk danger and joined the cause. Quietly at night she slipped out of the city with her daughters and their children; they reached the camp walls and were received without the slightest trouble. Immediately the whole garrison saluted the child as Antoninus and, putting the purple cloak on him, they led him away. They moved all their supplies and children and wives from the settlements and land near by into the camp, shut the gates, and made themselves ready. **5** As the news reached Macrinus while he was tarrying in Antioch, and the rumours also spread throughout the rest of the army

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1 (Varius) Avitus (= Elagabalus).

2 (Gessius) Bassianus = Imp. M. Aurelius Severus Alexander.

3 In the context of Herodian's narrative the verb ἱερῶντο should have been translated as "were being trained," as Whittaker (1969, 19, n. 4) suggests: several sentences later, Herodian specifies that only Bassianus, the elder of the two boys *was a priest* of this god. This second remark, however, is subject to critical controversy: the editors oscillate between ἱερώμενος (ἱεράομαι) and ἱερωμένος (ἱερόω). The other reading would mean that he *was consecrated* to the gods, and will have some bearing on the interpretation of the previous passage.

ἀνὰ τὰ λοιπὰ στρατόπεδα, ὅτι τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸς εὑρέθη, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ᾿Ιουλίας ἀδελφὴ χρήματα δίδωσι· πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ πιστεύσαντες τὰς {τε} ψυχὰς ἐξεπτόηντο. ᾿Ενῆγε δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς πραγμάτων καινοτομίαν τὸ Μακρίνου μῖσος καὶ ἡ Ἀντωνίνου μνήμη καὶ πρό γε πάντων ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ἐλπίς, ὡς πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτομολοῦντας φοιτᾶν. **6** ῾Ο δὲ Μακρῖνος καταφρονῶν τοῦ πράγματος ὡς παιδαριώδους, χρώμενός τε τῇ συνήθει ῥᾳθυμίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν οἴκοι μένει, πέμπει δὲ ἕνα τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ στρατοπέδου, δύναμιν δοὺς ὅσην ᾤετο ἐκπορθήσειν τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας. ῏Ην δὲ ὁ ἔπαρχος ᾿Ιουλιανός. Οὗτος ὡς τῷ τείχει τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρέστη, οἱ ἔνδοθεν στρατιῶται ἀνελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους, τὸν παῖδα τῷ ἔξωθεν στρατῷ δεικνύουσιν, {καὶ} Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν εὐφημοῦντες, βαλάντιά τε χρημάτων μεστὰ ἐπεδείκνυον. Οἱ δὲ πιστεύσαντες αὐτοῖς, τοῦ μὲν ᾿Ιουλιανοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι, καὶ πέμπουσι τῷ Μακρίνῳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰσεδέχθησαν. Οὕτως ἡ δύναμις αὐξηθεῖσα, οὐ μόνον ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολιορκίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀντιστάσεως ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀξιόχρεως. 7 ῾Ο δὲ Μακρῖνος, ὡς ταῦτα ἐπύθετο, ἀθροίσας πάντα ὃν εἶχε στρατὸν ἀπῄει· καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὑπήντησε. Συμμιξάντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων, προεδόθη τε ὁ Μακρῖνος, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἀποδιδράσκει ἐν ἰδιώτου σχήματι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐμάχετο, ἄχρις οὗ Ἀντωνῖνος διεκηρυκεύσατο, τήν τε Μακρίνου φυγὴν διαγγέλλων, καὶ ἀμνηστίαν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου μαχομένοις ἔνορκον ὑπισχνούμενος. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πεισθέντες προσεχώρησαν. ῾Ο δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐκπέμπει τοὺς διώξοντας τὸν Μακρῖνον, καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι τῆς Βιθυνίας κρυπτόμενον, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον· ἐλέγετο δὲ εἰς τὴν ῾Ρώμην σπεύδειν. Τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ Μακρῖνος, συναναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ παιδός, βασιλεύσας ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα.

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3 τε del. Müller 1851 **10** οἱ ἔνδοθεν P et Herod. 5.3.3 : οἱ μενἔνθεν S[2] ex οἱ μενθεν S, cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 184 **11** τῷ S : τὰ P καὶ del. Müller 1851 **24** Βιθυνίας ex βιθανίας ut vid. corr. S **25** τὴν κεφαλὴν Müller 1851 : τῆς κεφαλῆς PS **26** συναναιρεθέντος P : συναναιρεθένιος S

that a son of Antoninus had been found and that the sister of Julia[1] was distributing money. The soldiers believed that the rumours were true and were greatly excited. It was their hatred for Macrinus and the memory of Antoninus that induced them to start a rebellion, but above all it was the hope of a lavish reward that made many quit their allegiance [to Macrinus]. **6** Macrinus discounted the affair as child's play and carried on in his usual negligence, remaining at home and sending one of his prefects with a force he thought was sufficient to wipe out the rebels. The prefect's name was Julianus. When he arrived at the camp walls, the troops inside came up on to the turrets and displayed the boy to the besieging army, praising him as the son of Antoninus and showing their purses full of money. Convinced by the soldiers inside the camp, Macrinus' troops cut off Julianus' head and sent it back to Macrinus, after which they were welcomed into the camp. As a result, their forces were increased to a size which was able not only to ward off a siege, but also to fight a pitched battle. 7 After this news reached Macrinus, he mustered his entire army and set off. Antoninus too advanced to meet him without delay. The two armies met, Macrinus was betrayed and took to flight in panic dressed as a private person. While he was fleeing, the armies continued the battle on both sides, until Antoninus announced the news of Macrinus' escape and affirmed on oath an amnesty to those who had been fighting on Macrinus' side. Convinced, they joined him. Antoninus dispatched some men to pursue Macrinus, who found him hiding in Chalcedon in Bithynia and decapitated him. It was said that he had been hurrying to Rome. This was the end of Macrinus, who was killed together with his son. The period of his rule was one year.

[1] Julia i.e. Iulia Domna. Her sister: Iulia Maesa, mother of Iulia Soaemias and grandmother of Elagabalus.

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EV 43 Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ νέος μετὰ τὸ ἀναγορευθῆναι βασιλέα ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ ὢν ἐξεβάκχευεν, ἐνδύμασί τε ξένοις χρώμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ τυμπάνοις καὶ αὐλοῖς προερχόμενος· τὴν γὰρ Ῥωμαϊκὴν πᾶσαν ἐσθῆτα ἐμυσάττετο. Ἡ δὲ Μέσα ταῦτα ὁρῶσα πάνυ ἤσχαλλε, πείθειν τε ἐπειρᾶτο μεταμφιάσασθαι τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν στολήν, μέλλοντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελεύσεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ καταφρονήσας τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πρεσβύτιδος λεχθέντων, μηδὲ ἄλλῳ τινὶ πεισθείς (οὐδὲ γὰρ προσίετο εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὁμοιοτρόπους τε καὶ κόλακας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων), δούς τε τὰς συνήθεις τῷ δήμῳ νομὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλείας διαδοχῇ, φιλοτίμους τε ἐπιτελέσας θέας, νεών τε μέγιστον κατασκευάσας, ἑκάστοτε προϊὼν ἑκατόμβας ἔθυε, καὶ περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐχόρευεν ὑπὸ παντοδαποῖς ἤχοις ὀργάνων. Περιειστήκει δὲ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ἐν θεάτρου σχήματι. Ὅμως δέ, καίτοι χορεύειν ἀεὶ καὶ ἱερουργεῖν δοκῶν, πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε τῶν ἐνδόξων, διαβληθέντας αὐτῷ ὡς σκώπτοντας αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον. Ὁ αὐτὸς νεὼν μέγιστον ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατασκευάσας τούς τε θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ἅρματι χρυσῷ καὶ λευκοῖς ἑξαζύγοις ἵπποις ἀναβιβάσας, αὐτός τε ἡνιόχει, καὶ πάντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ παντοδαποῦς δᾳδουχίας καὶ ἀνθέων προεπόμπευον. Ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἱδρύθησαν, ἀναβὰς ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐπὶ πύργου ἐρρίπτει τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ὀθόνας παντοδαπάς, ζῶά τε πάντα ὅσα ἥμερα, πλὴν χοίρων· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁρπαγαῖς διεφθείροντο. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἑωρᾶτο πολλάκις ὀρχούμενος, ἡνιοχῶν, προήει τε ὑπογραφόμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ἐρυθαίνων, φύσει τε πρόσωπον ὡραῖον ὑβρίζων

Fr. 160 = fr. 137 M = fr. 217 R; Valois 1634, 829, Mendelssohn 1883, 237f. | T (f. 96v-f. 97r)

Fr. 160: Herod. 5.5.3-6.1; 6.6-7.1

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3 τυμπάνοις καὶ αὐλοῖς ex Herod. 5.5.4 corr. Valois 1634 : τυμπάνους καὶ αὔλους s. acc. T **5** Μεσα sine acc. T : Μαῖσα Herod. : Μαισά Müller 1851 μεταμφιάσασθαι T : μεταμφιέσασθαι Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.5.5 **6** μέλλοντα corr. ex Herod. 5.5.5 Valois 1634 : μάλλοντα T **9** αὑτοῦ Müller 1851 : αὐτωῦ T : αὐτοῦ Valois 1634 Büttner-Wobst 1906b **17** αὐτοὺς T : αὐτοῦ Valois 1634 **18** παντοδαποὺς T : παντοδαπῆς Valois 1634 ex Herod. 5.6.8 **19** προεπόμπευον Valois 1634 : προσεπόμπευον T **20** πύργον Valois 1634 Müller 1851

160

After Antoninus was proclaimed emperor, he dwelt at Nicomedia, where he practised ecstatic rites and moved to the sound of kettledrums and flutes dressed in foreign attire because he loathed all Roman clothing. When she saw this Maesa was extremely worried and tried to persuade him to change into Roman dress now that he was going to come to Rome and enter the senate house. But Antoninus rejected the advice of the old woman and would not listen to anyone else. (No one was admitted to his presence except men of similar habit and those who flattered his faults.) He paid the people the cash bonus customary at the accession of a new emperor, provided lavish spectacles, and built an enormous temple; each day he came out and sacrificed a hecatomb and danced around the altars to the sounds of many different instruments. The entire senate and the equestrian order stood around like in the theatre. Although he seemed to spend his time dancing and performing sacrifices, he put to death very many distinguished people who were slanderously accused of disapproving of his way of life. In the suburbs he constructed a vast temple, placed the gods on a golden chariot drawn by a team of six white horses and held the reins himself;[1] and all the people of Rome went before them in a festal procession carrying torches and flowers. After he installed the gods in the temple, Antoninus ascended a tower and threw down onto the crowd gold and silver cups, all kinds of clothes and linen garments, and every kind of domestic animal, except pigs; and many people perished trying to seize these things. The emperor was often seen dancing or driving his chariot; he would go out with painted eyes and rouge on his cheeks, spoiling his natural good looks by using disgusting

[1] John of Antioch departs from his source and changes the meaning of the original passage. *See*: "No human person ever sat in the chariot or held the reins, which were fastened to the god as though he were driving himself." (Herod. 5.6.7)

βαφαῖς ἀσχήμοσιν. Ὁρῶσα δὲ ταῦτα ἡ Μέσα, ὑποπτεύουσά τε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπαρέσκεσθαι, πείθει αὐτὸν θέσθαι υἱόν.

161

EV 44 Ὅτι ἡ Μαμαία τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπῆγε μὲν τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀπρεπῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔργων, διδασκάλους τε πάσης παιδείας λάθρα μετεπέμπετο, παλαίστραις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρῶν γυμνασίοις * * * Ἐφ' οἷς Ἀντωνῖνος ἤσχαλλε καὶ μετεγίνωσκε, τούς τε διδασκάλους ἀπεσόβει. Ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξώκειλεν, ὡς δὴ πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν δημοσίων θεάτρων μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχάς, καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατοπέδοις ἔπαρχον ἐπιστῆσαι ὀρχηστήν τινα γεγονότα, τῆς τε τῶν ἱππέων ὑποστάσεως προέστησεν ἡνίοχον. Τοῖς τε δούλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις τὰς τῶν μεγίστων ἐθνῶν ἐξουσίας ἐνεχείριζε. Πάντων δὲ οὕτως τῶν πάλαι δοκούντων σεμνῶν ἐς ὕβριν καὶ παροινίαν ἐκβεβακχευμένων, οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μάλιστα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο. Ἐμυσάττοντο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον καλλωπιζόμενον, περιδεραίοις ⟨δὲ⟩ χρυσοῖς καὶ ἐσθῆσιν ἁπαλαῖς ἀνάνδρως κοσμούμενον. Ἐπιρρεπεστέρας τοίνυν τὰς γνώμας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον.

Fr. 161 = fr. 138 M = fr. 218.1-13 R; Valois 1634, 829f., Mendelssohn 1883, 238 | T (f. 97rv)

Fr. 161: Herod. 5.7.5-8.2

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1 Μέσα T : Μαῖσα Herod. : Μαισὰ Müller 1851 **5** διδασκάλου T **6** παλαίστραις ex Herod. 5.7.5 corr. Valois 1634 : παλαίστρας T lacunam statuit Büttner-Wobst 1906b : verbum εἴθιζεν ex Herod. 5.7.5 suppl. Müller 1851 **7** μετεγίγνωσκε Müller 1851 **8** ὡς δὴ *Suda* : ὡς ἂν T πάντα τὰ T : πάντας τοὺς Valois 1634 **12** Πάντων δὲ ex Herod. 5.8.1 Valois 1634 : παντασδε (sine acc.) T **16** δὲ ex Herod. add. Büttner-Wobst 1906b : τε Valois 1634 Müller 1851

Fr. 161: 4 ἀπῆγε – 9 ἀρχάς, 15 Ἐμυσάττοντο δὲ αὐτὸν *Suda* α 1124, 103.32-104.2 ἥτις ἀπῆγε τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀπρεπῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔργων, διδασκάλους τε πάσης παιδείας λάθρα μετεπέμπετο· ὁ δὲ παλαίστραις τε καὶ γυμνασίοις ἔχαιρε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους ἀπεσόβει. ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐξώκειλεν, ὡς δὴ πάντα τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν δημοσίων θεάτρων μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς μεγίστας. διὰ τοῦτο ἐμυσάττοντο αὐτόν.

make-up. Seeing his behavior, Maesa suspected that the soldiers would turn away from him in disgust and persuaded him to adopt a son.

161

Mamaea removed her son Alexander from contact with such activities that are shameful and unseemly for emperors; by stealth she summoned teachers of all the arts and . . . [1] him to the wrestling schools and manly exercises. These things enraged Antoninus who changed his mind[2] and expelled all the teachers. He fell into extravagant folly, taking men from the stage and the public theaters and putting them in charge of the most important imperial business: a man who had been a dancer was appointed military prefect; a charioteer was put in charge of the cavalry. He entrusted his slaves and freedmen with the administration of the largest provinces. When all that had once been held in respect was reduced in this way to a state of dishonour and frenzied madness, everyone, and particularly the soldiers, became indignant at him. They were disgusted at seeing him with his face made up and dressed effeminately in golden necklaces and soft clothes. So they grew more favorably inclined towards Alexander.

[1] Herodian has 'accustomed' here.

[2] The text of John of Antioch does not specify the object of Antoninus' regret. *See* Herodian, the source of this passage: ". . . regretted *the adoption of Alexander.*"

162

EI 54 **1** Ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ὁρῶντες τὸν νέον καλλωπιζόμενον καὶ ἀνάνδρως κοσμούμενον, ἐπιρρεπεστέρας τὰς γνώμας πρὸς τὸν τῆς Μαμαίας Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον, καὶ ἐλπίδας κρείττους· ἐφρούρουν τε αὐτὸν παντοίως ὁρῶντες ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου. Ἥ τε μήτηρ αὐτοῦ οὔτε ποτὸν οὔτε ἐδώδιμόν τι εἴα τὸν παῖδα προσφέρεσθαι τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πεμπομένων. Ὀψοποιοῖς τε καὶ οἰνοχόοις ὁ παῖς ἐχρῆτο, οὐ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς μητρός. Ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ χρήματα λαθραίως τοῖς στρατιώταις. Ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἀντωνῖνος παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς διεκώλυεν ἡ κοινὴ μάμμη. Ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ ⟨οὐ⟩ προὐχώρει, παραλῦσαι τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμῆς ἠθέλησε τὸν παῖδα· καὶ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προσαγορεύσεσιν οὔτε ἐν ταῖς προόδοις Ἀλέξανδρος ἑωρᾶτο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐπεζήτουν τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν, μηδὲ τὴν συνήθη φρουρὰν τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ πέμποντες. **2** Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐν δέει πολλῷ γενόμενος, παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κατῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Οἱ δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας, ἐδέξαντο αὐτούς, ὑπερφυῶς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐφημοῦντες. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀγανακτήσας, ἐκέλευσέ τινας πρὸς τιμωρίαν ἐκδοθῆναι. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μᾶλλον ταραχθέντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἀποσκευάσασθαι θέλοντες, ἀσχημονοῦντα βασιλέα, τότε δὴ καὶ τοῖς συλλαμβανομένοις ἐπαμύνειν δεῖν ἡγούμενοι, καιρὸν εὔκαιρον καὶ πρόφασιν δικαίαν νομίζοντες, τὸν μὲν Ἀντωνῖνον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα Σοαιμίδα (παρῆν γάρ) ἀναιροῦσι, τούς τε περὶ αὐτὸν πάντας, ὅσοι ἔνδον κατελήφθησαν, ὑπηρέται ⟨τε⟩ καὶ συνεργοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. Τὰ δὲ σώματα τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς παρέδοσαν σύρειν τε καὶ ὑβρίζειν τοῖς βουλομένοις· ἅπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως συρέντα καὶ λωβηθέντα, εἰς τὰς ὄχθας ἀπερρίφη τοῦ Θύβριδος. Ἀντωνῖνος μὲν οὖν, εἰς

Fr. 162 = fr. 139 M = fr. 218.13-37 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 46f., Mendelssohn 1883, 239 | P (f. 123r-f. 124r) S (f. 128rv)

Fr. 162: Herod. 5.8

2 οἱ deest in S **6** προσφέρεσθαι Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.8.2 : προφέρεσθαι PS **8** δὲ deest in P **11** οὐ add. Cramer 1841 **13** ἑωρᾶτο PS : ἐτιμᾶτο Müller 1851 ex Herod. **19** ἀντώνιον PS **22** Σοαιμίδα corr. Müller 1851 : σοαγμίδα PS **23** κατελλήφθησαν S et P[1] e κατελήφθ **24** τε add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 5.8.8 **27** τὰς ὄχθας PS : τοὺς ὀχετοὺς Müller 1851 ex Herod.

162

1 The soldiers were disgusted when they saw that the young emperor was wearing make up and dressed effeminately, and they grew more favourably inclined towards Mamaea's son Alexander, expecting more from him. Realising that Antoninus was plotting against him, they kept a close watch over him. His mother would not allow him to taste any food or drink sent by the emperor. The boy did not make use of the cooks and cup-bearers of the emperor, but only those of his mother. He also secretly distributed money to the soldiers. When Antoninus heard of this, he tried every means of plotting against Alexander and his mother, but all his intrigues were frustrated by [Maesa], the grandmother the young men shared in common. When the objectives of his plotting did not succeed, he decided to remove Alexander from his position as Caesar; and so Alexander was no longer seen at public salutations or at the head of processions. But the soldiers demanded his presence and became aggrieved, and refused to mount their usual guard over Antoninus. **2** Antoninus was greatly afraid and taking Alexander with him went to the camp. The soldiers opened the gates, received them in and welcomed Alexander with an over-eager expression of approval. Antoninus was furious at this and ordered that some of them should be seized for punishment. The tumult swelled: above all the soldiers wanted to get rid of Antoninus, who was a disgrace as an emperor; they also thought that they should aid those who were being held under arrest. Believing that the opportunity was right and their case just, they killed Antoninus and his mother Soaemis (for she was present) and all Antoninus' attendants who were caught inside, who were thought to be assistants and collaborators in his follies. The bodies of Antoninus and Soaemis were handed over to those who wished to drag them around and desecrate them. After being dragged through the city for a long time and mutilated, they were

ἕκτον ἔτος ἐλάσας τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ χρησάμενος τῷ προειρημένῳ βίῳ, οὕτως ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ κατέστρεψεν.

163

EV 45 Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἄρξας ὑπ' ἐκείνῃ τὰ πάντα διῴκει, ἥτις πανταχόθεν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀρχήν. Δικάζειν τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὡς ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἀσχολούμενος μὴ ἔχοι καιρὸν εἰς τὸ ἐπιτηδεύειν τι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. Ὑπῆρχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φυσικὸν ἦθος πρᾶον καὶ ἥμερον, εἴς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον πάνυ ἐπιρρεπές. Εἰς τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον οὖν ἐλάσας ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας, ἀναιμωτὶ ἦρξε, καίτοι τινῶν μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ὑποπεσόντων, ὡς μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν θαυμάζειν Ἀλεξάνδρου. Ἠτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ πάνυ ἤσχαλλεν, ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὖσαν φιλοχρήματον, καὶ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπηρειῶν θησαυρίζουσαν. Πολλὰ δὲ ἠναγκάζετο ὑπ' αὐτῆς πράττειν. Ἦρχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαλλόντως ἡ μήτηρ.

Fr. 163 = fr. 140 M = fr. 219 R; Valois 1634, 830, Mendelssohn 1883, 240 | T (f. 97^{v})

Fr. 163: Herod. 6.1.5-10

Fr. 163: *Suda* α 1124, 103.22-32 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας· σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἄρξας ὑπ' ἐκείνῃ πάντα διῴκει, ἥτις πανταχόθεν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀρχήν. δικάζειν τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὡς ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἀσχολούμενος μὴ ἔχοι καιρὸν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδεύειν τι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. ὑπῆρχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φυσικὸν ἦθος πρᾶον καὶ ἥμερον ἔς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον πάνυ ἐπιρρεπές. ἐς τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον οὖν ἔτος ἄρξας τῆς βασιλείας, ἀναιμωτὶ ἦρξε, καίτοι τινῶν μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ὑποπεσόντων, ὡς μετὰ τὴν Μάρκου τελευτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν θαυμάζειν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ᾐτιᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ πάνυ ἤσχαλλεν ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὖσαν φιλοχρήματον καὶ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπηρειῶν θησαυρίζουσαν. πολλὰ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠναγκάζετο πράττειν· ἦρχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαλλόντως ἡ μήτηρ.

thrown on to the banks of Tiber. So in the sixth year of his rule, having led such a life as has been described above, Antoninus perished together with his mother.

163

Alexander, the son of Mamaea, ruled together with his mother (who vigilantly guarded her power) and conducted all the buisiness under her supervision. She urged him to occupy himself with judicial work to the greatest extent in order that, being busy with these matters, he would have no chance to turn his attention to any vice. His character was naturally gentle and docile and much inclined to show sympathy. He reached the fourteenth year of his reign, ruling without bloodshed, even though some people were exposed to very serious charges, so that, after the death of Marcus the reign of Alexander came to be admired. Alexander reproached his mother and was very angry with her when he observed that in her avarice she had arrogantly been stashing away a fortune. But he was forced by her to do many things, for his mother had an excessive influence upon him.

164

EI 55 **1** Ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μαμαίας μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πέρσαις συμφορὰν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν διατρίβοντος, ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ, ὅτι Γερμανοὶ Ῥῆνον καὶ Ἴστρον διαβάντες, τὴν Ῥωμαίων πορθοῦσι γῆν, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις στρατόπεδα κατατρέχουσι, πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας ἐμπιπρᾶσι· δεῖσθαι τοίνυν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας. Δηλωθέντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐτάραξε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ στρατιώτας ἐλύπησε, διπλῇ δοκοῦντας κεχρῆσθαι συμφορᾷ, ἔκ τε ὧν ἐπεπόνθεισαν Πέρσαις μαχόμενοι, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐπυνθάνοντο τοὺς οἰκείους ὑπὸ Γερμανῶν ἀπολωλότας. Ἠγανάκτουν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον ἐν αἰτίᾳ. Ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δέος περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἀπέχει ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ἐπαγγέλλει δὴ καὶ ἄκων τὴν ἔξοδον, καταλιπὼν δύναμιν αὐτάρκη ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ὄχθαις. Ἀνύσας δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐφίσταται τῷ Ῥήνῳ, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Γερμανικὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύαζε· τόν τε ποταμὸν ναυσὶ γεφυρώσας, Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους πολλοὺς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ συμμίξας, ἤρτυε τὸν πόλεμον. Ἔδοξε δὲ πρότερον πρεσβείαν πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ χρήματα ἐπαγγείλασθαι, ὡς ἂν τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ πεισθέντες παύσωνται τοῦ πολέμου. Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, διατριβῆς τε ματαίας αὐτοῖς γινομένης, καὶ μηδὲν πρόθυμον ἢ γενναῖον παρέχοντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἡνιοχείαις τε καὶ τρυφαῖς σχολάζοντος. **2** Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ στρατῷ Μαξιμῖνος ὄνομα, τὸ μὲν γένος Θρᾲξ μιξοβάρβαρος· πρότερον μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ ποιμαίνων, ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας γενόμενος εἰς τοὺς ἱππεῖς στρατιώτας ταγείς, εἶτα κατ᾽ ὀλίγον αὐτὸν χειραγωγούσης τῆς τύχης, καὶ ἐθνῶν ἀρχὰς πιστευθείς. Τότε δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πάσης αὐτὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ νεολαίας ἐπέστησεν, ὡς ἂν ἀσκοίη τε αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐπιτηδείους παρασκευάζοι. Ὁ δὲ μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς τὰ ἐγκεχειρισμένα ποιούμενος, εὔνοιαν πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκτήσατο. Ὅθεν οἱ νεανίαι, ἐν

Fr. 164 = fr. 141 M = fr. 220 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 47ff., Mendelssohn 1883, 240-243 | P (f. 124^{r}-f. 125^{v}) S (f. 128^{v}-f. 130^{r})

Fr. 164: Herod. 6.7.2-9

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5 πόλις PS (S^2 corr. in S) **8** ἐπεπόνθεισαν de Boor 1905 : ἐπεπόνθησαν PS : ἐπεπόνθεσαν Müller 1851 **21** σχολάζοντος corr. de Boor 1905 : σχολάζοντι PS **22** πεδίῳ PS : παιδὶ Müller 1851 ex Herod. 6.8.1 **23** τῆς ἡλικίας deest in P

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1 While Alexander, the son of Mamaea, was staying in Antioch after the Persian disaster, he received the news that the Germans had crossed the Rhine and Danube and were devastating Roman territory, over-running the garrisons on the river banks, and burning down cities and villages; therefore his presence was essential. These tidings appalled Alexander and caused distress to the soldiers transferred from Illyricum, who felt that they had suffered a double misfortune: the hardships of the Persian war and the reports they had received about the destruction of their families by the Germans. They grew angry and held Alexander responsible. He was also afraid for Italy: the lands of the Romans are not far removed from the Illyrian provinces. Reluctantly, Alexander issued the proclamation of an expedition and left behind a military force that was sufficient for the defence of the Roman side of the river. At the end of the journey he reached the Rhine and began to prepare for the German war: he made a bridge over the Rhine by lashing together some boats, enrolled many Parthians and Mauretanians in the Roman army and made ready for the war. He decided first to send a mission to the Germans and offer them money in the hope that, prompted by avarice, they would stop the war. But the soldiers bitterly resented this plan, either considering it a waste of time or thinking that Alexander showed no honourable intention to pursue the war and was given to chariot-racing and a life of ease. **2** In the army there was a man called Maximinus, a semi-barbarian Thracian by birth, who was at first a shepherd on the plains, but in the prime of his youth drafted into the army as a horseman, and later, with the help of luck, was gradually entrusted with the command of entire provinces. At that time Alexander put him in charge of all the recruits to give them military training and make them fit for battle. He meticulously discharged his duties and earned great popularity among the troops. So the recruits,

οἷς ἦν τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος ⟨Παιόνων⟩ μάλιστα, τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τῇ Μαξιμίνου ἔχαιρον, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπέσκωπτον, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀρχόμενον. Ὑπεμίμνησκον δὲ ἀλλήλους τῶν τε ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς διὰ μέλλησιν αὐτοῦ πταισμάτων, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν γενναῖον παρέχοιτο ἐς Γερμανοὺς ἐλθών. Ὄντες οὖν καὶ ἄλλως εἰς τὸ καινοτομεῖν ἐπιτήδειοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ⟨παρὸν⟩ τῆς ἀρχῆς βαρὺ διὰ μῆκος ἐξουσίας ἡγούμενοι, ἀκερδές τε ἤδη, πάσης προανηλωμένης φιλοτιμίας, ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀποσκευάσασθαι μὲν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀνειπεῖν δ' αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Αὔγουστον τὸν Μαξιμῖνον. **3** Ἀθροισθέντες οὖν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὡπλισμένοι, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη γυμνάσια προελθόντα καὶ ἐπιστάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, πορφύρᾳ {τε} περιβαλόντες βασιλικῇ, αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα παρῃτεῖτο, καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ἀπέρριπτεν· ὡς δὲ ἐνέκειντο ξιφήρεις ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλοῦντες, τοῦ παρόντος κινδύνου τὸν μέλλοντα προελόμενος, ἀνεδέξατο τὴν τιμήν. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἠγγέλθη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐν μεγίστῃ ταραχῇ γενόμενος, προπηδήσας τῆς σκηνῆς, ἐνθουσιῶν καὶ δακρύων καὶ τρέμων, τοῦ τε Μαξιμίνου τῆς ἀπιστίας κατηγόρει, καὶ τοὺς νεανίας ἐπιόρκως ἔλεγε ταῦτα τετολμηκέναι, δώσειν τε πάντα ὑπισχνεῖτο ὅσα αὐτοὶ βούλονται. **4** Ὡς δὲ ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ὤφθη πλησίον, βοή τε καὶ ἦχος ἐξηκούσθη, πάλιν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐλιπάρει, προμαχεῖν καὶ σώζειν ὃν ἀνεθρέψαντο, καὶ ὑφ' ᾧ βασιλεύοντι τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἀμέμπτως βεβιώκεισαν· πάντας τε εἰς οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον προκαλούμενος, ὁλπίζεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὑπισχνοῦντο, κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ οὐδὲ ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπάρχοντα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους Ἀλεξάνδρου ᾔτουν πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. Παπιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ νομοθέτης. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐμέμφοντο.

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25 Παπιανὸς – νομοθέτης.] Haec non sunt ap. Herodianum. E margine irrepserint. (Müller 1851) Mendelssohn (1883, 242 n.) cum eo sentit. Cf. Sotiroudis (1989, 91): “Warum aber sollte dieser Zusatz nicht von Johannes selbst sein?”

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1 Παιόνων Müller 1851 ex Herod. 6.8.3 **3** ἀλλήλους corr. Cramer 1841 : ἀλλήλοις PS **6** παρὸν add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 6.8.4 ἀκερδές corr. Cramer 1841 : ἀκερδέστι ἤδη PS **11** τε del. Müller 1851 **17** ἐπιόρκως ἔλεγε ταῦτα S : ἔλεγε ταῦτα P : ἔλεγε ταῦτα προπετῶς καὶ ἐπιόρκως Müller 1851

of whom the great majority were Pannonians, admired Maximinus' courage and despised Alexander for being under his mother's control. They reminded themselves of the eastern disasters that were due to his procrastination and of the fact that he had displayed no distinction since his arrival to Germany. Being generally inclined to revolt and considering the current state of the empire not only annoying because of the length of Alexander's rule but also unprofitable given the fact that all his munificence had dried up, they planned to do away with Alexander and to declare Maximinus emperor and Augustus. **3** They gathered on the plain wearing their armour as if for their usual training, and, as Maximinus came forward and took charge of them, they threw the purple cloak around him and proclaimed him emperor. At first he refused and threw off the purple cloak, but when they threatened to kill him with their swords, he preferred to avoid the imminent danger rather than one in the future and accepted the honour. When Alexander was informed of the events, he was horrified, rushed out of his tent as if possessed, weeping and trembling, raving against the unfaithfulness of Maximinus. He blamed the recruits for daring such a thing in violation of their oath of allegiance, and he promised he would give them anything they wanted. **4** When Maximinus came into view nearby, and shouting and uproar could be heard, again Alexander entreated the soldiers to fight for him and protect the emperor whom they had brought up and under whose rule they had lived for fourteen years without complaint. After appealing to everyone's sympathy and pity, he gave the order to arm. At first the soldiers promised [to defend him], but then they backed out one by one and even refused to take up their weapons, and demanded the execution of the military prefect and Alexander's household. [The office of the mi-

Καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος τοιαῦτα βοῶντες προσέμενον. **5** Ὡς δὲ ὁ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου στρατὸς ἤγγισεν, βοῶντες οἱ νεανίαι προσεκαλοῦντο τοὺς συστρατιώτας, καταλιπεῖν μὲν γύναιον μικρολόγον καὶ μειράκιον δειλὸν μητρὶ δουλεῦον, προσιέναι δὲ συστρατιώτῃ ἐν ὅπλοις ἀεὶ καὶ πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις διῃτημένῳ· πεισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλιμπάνουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσίασι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ· αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκεῖνος ἀναγορεύεται. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τρέμων καὶ λιποψυχῶν, μόλις εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπανέρχεται, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ περιπλακεὶς καὶ ἀποδυρόμενός τε καὶ αἰτιώμενος αὐτήν, ἀνέμενε τὸν φονεύσοντα. **6** Ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ὑπὸ πάντων Σεβαστὸς προσαγορευθείς, πέμπει τινὰς τοὺς φονεύσοντας τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ εἴ τινες ἀνθίσταντο τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιπηδήσαντες τῇ σκηνῇ, αὐτόν τε ἀναιροῦσι καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ εἴ τινες ἐδόκουν ἐκείνῳ φίλοι, πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ὀλίγον φυγεῖν δυνηθέντων· πάντας γὰρ ὁ Μαξιμῖνος μετ' οὐ πολὺ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. Τέλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο κατέλαβε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν μητέρα, βασιλεύσαντα ἔτεσι ιδ', ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀναιμωτί· φόνων τε γὰρ καὶ ὠμότητος ἀκρίτων τε ἔργων ἀλλότριος ἐγένετο, εἴς τε τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ εὐεργετικὸν ἐπιρρεπής. Πάνυ γοῦν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεία εὐδοκίμησεν εἰς τὸ ὁλόκληρον, εἰ μὴ διεβέβλητο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς εἰς φιλαργυρίαν τε καὶ μικρολογίαν.

2 post ἤγγισεν verbum καὶ add. Müller 1851 προὐκαλοῦντο Müller 1851 ex Herod. 6.9.5 7 λιποψυχῶν correxi ex Herod. 6.9.6.2 : λειποψυχῶν edd. **9** φονεύσοντα corr. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 6.9.6 : φονεύσαντα PS **16** φόνων S : φόνον P : φόνου Cramer 1841 **18** post γοῦν verbum ἂν add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 6.9.8

litary prefect was occupied by] the jurist Papianus.[1] Some others also criticised Alexander's mother. Thus the soldiers remained there for some time shouting. **5** As Maximinus' army came closer, the recruits began to call out, urging their fellow-soldiers to desert their "mean little sissy" or "their timid little lad tied to his mother's apron strings"[2] and to come over to their faithful companion in battle, distinguished for his military exploits. The soldiers were persuaded and, abandoning Alexander, they joined Maximinus, who was universally acclaimed as emperor. Trembling in complete terror, Alexander managed to reach his tent, where he waited for the executioner, clutching his mother, weeping and blaming everything on her. **6** After Maximinus had been universally acclaimed as Augustus, he sent some men to kill Alexander and his mother, and any of his attendants that offered resistance. They burst into the tent and slaughtered him and his mother, and all those who were considered Alexander's friends, with the exception of those who managed to escape at a short distance. However, Maximinus soon caught them all and put them to death. So Alexander and his mother met their end after a rule of fourteen years which, as far as his subjects were concerned, was without fault or bloodshed; he remained disinclined to murder, cruelty or injustice, and was disposed to humane and beneficial deeds. Indeed, his reign would have been notable for its complete success, had he not earned the blame for his mother's avarice and meanness.

1 This sentence is puzzling. Apparently, it provides the name of the military prefect mentioned in the previous sentence. Müller (1851, 594) thinks this sentence was interpolated in the text from a marginal note or gloss. Sotiroudis (1989, 91), on the other hand, believes that this sentence may have been written by John of Antioch himself. The identity of the person mentioned is obscure. The names of Alexander's later military prefects are not known. It is possible that the jurist Julius Paulus was in office at the time (*see* Whittaker 1969, v. 2, p. 143, n. 1). The name Παπιανός recalls Aemilius Papinianus, a leading lawyer of the Severan age, prosecuted by the pretorians and put to death in 202 A.D., i.e. more than thirty years before the events described here.

2 Whittaker (1969).

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EV 46 Ὅτι Μαξιμῖνος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν, πολλὴν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ φόβου τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος, ἔκ τε ἡμέρου βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδος ὠμότητα μεταγαγεῖν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο. Φύσει δὲ ἦν τὸ ἦθος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γένος, βάρβαρος, τό τε φονικὸν πάτριον ἔχων. Εὐθέως οὖν τούς τε φίλους πάντας, οἳ συνῆσαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σύνεδροί τε ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπιλεχθέντες, ἀπεσκευάσατο, μόνος εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἐκ συνειδήσεως εὐγενοῦς. Πλείστους δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπιβουλὰς ὑποπτεύων. Τόν τε γὰρ Μάγνον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Γερμανοὺς νομισθεῖσαν προδοσίαν ἀνεῖλεν. Εἴχετο γὰρ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς μάχης.

166

EI 56 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετό τις καὶ Ὀσροηνῶν ἀπόστασις, οἳ πάνυ ἀλγοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ, τινὶ Κουαρτίωνι, τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διανύσαντι, φίλῳ δὲ γενομένῳ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, πορφυρίδα τε ὀλεθρίαν περιέβαλον ἄκοντι, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὠνόμασαν. Ἐ-

Fr. 165 = fr. 142 M = fr. 221 R; Valois 1634, 830, 833, Mendelssohn 1883, 243 | T (f. 97ᵛ) Fr. 166 = fr. 143 M = fr. 222 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 49f., Mendelssohn 1883, 243f | P (f. 125ᵛ) S (f. 130ʳ)

Fr. 165: Herod. 7.1.1-8 Fr. 166: Herod. 7.1.9-10

8 μηδένα Müller 1851 *Suda* : μηδὲν T **9** post εὐγενοῦς verbum κρείττονα add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 7.1.3 **13** Ὀσροηνῶν corr. Cramer 1841 : ὀσροηνῶν (corr. ex ὠσροηνῶν S[2]) PS **14** κουάρτίωνι S : κουἀρτίωνι P : Κουαρτίνῳ Müller 1851 ex Herod.

Fr. 165: 2 Ὅτι – 9 ὑποπτεύων *Suda* μ 172, 321.13-21 Μαξιμῖνος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. οὗτος παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν πολλὴν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ φόβου τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος, ἔκ τε ἡμέρου βασιλείας εἰς τυραννίδος ὠμότητα μεταγαγεῖν πάντα ἐπειρᾶτο. φύσει δὲ ἦν τὸ ἦθος ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γένος βάρβαρος τό τε φονικὸν πάτριον ἔχων. εὐθέως οὖν τούς τε φίλους πάντας, οἳ συνῆσαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σύνεδροί τε ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπιλεχθέντες ἀπεσκευάσατο, βουλόμενος μόνος εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ μηδένα αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἐκ συνειδήσεως εὐγενοῦς. πλείστους δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπιβουλὰς ὑποπτεύων.

165

When Maximinus had taken over the empire, he caused a great change, exercising his power cruelly and causing much fear. He tried everything to bring about a transformation from a mild tolerant autocracy to a savage tyranny. By character as well as by extraction he was a barbarian, possessing the bloodthirsty temperament of his ancestors. He immediately rid himself of all Alexander's friends and councillors selected by the senate because he wanted to be left on his own, surrounded by his army, without anybody being near him, who was aware of their own nobility. Many of them were executed because he suspected them of plotting against him. Thus he put to death Magnus and his associates, who were allegedly planning to betray him to the Germans, for Maximinus was in fact planning an attack against them.

166

In the reign of Maximinus there was a mutiny among the Osrhoenians, who bitterly regretted Alexander's death and offered the deadly purple to a certain Quartinus, a man invested with consular authority and a friend of Alexander, and declared him emperor even though this was against his

κεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καθεύδων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς νύκτωρ ἀνῃρέθῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ φίλου πρὸς χάριν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου.

167

EV 47 Ὅτι καὶ ἀποστάσεις ἐγίνοντο ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνου. Ἔτι γὰρ εἰς τραχύτητα μᾶλλον καὶ ὠμότητα ἠκόνησαν τὴν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ψυχήν, καὶ πρότερον οὕτω πεφυκυῖαν. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φοβερώτατος καὶ μέγιστος τὸ σῶμα.

168

EV 48 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνου πολλή τις ἦν περὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀπανθρωπία καὶ φόνοι πολλοί. Ἀνεσείσθη γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία συκοφάνταις τε καὶ δούλοις ἐκδοθεῖσα. Ἑκάστης γοῦν ἡμέρας ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς χθὲς πλουσίους μεταιτοῦντας. Τοσαύτη τις ἦν τῆς τυραννίδος ἡ φιλοχρηματία. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ φυγαῖς καὶ θανάτοις ἐζημιοῦντο. Καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν οὖν εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἕνα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς δήμοις ἔμελε· τὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐδαιμονεῖν δοκούντων ἢ πλουσίων πταίσματα πρὸς τῶν ὄχλων οὐ μόνον ἀμελεῖται, ἀλλά τινας τῶν κακοήθων καὶ φαύλων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ εὐφραίνει τῷ φθόνῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μαξιμῖνος τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἐνδόξων οἴκων εἰς πενίαν περιστήσας, ᾠήθη μετελθεῖν εἰς τὰ δημόσια, καὶ εἴ τινα χρήματα ἦν πολιτικὰ καὶ εἰς εὐθηνίας ἢ νομὰς τῶν δημοτῶν ἠθροισμένα, εἰς ἑαυτὸν μετήγαγε, ναῶν τε ἀναθήματα καὶ ἀγάλματα πόλεων, καὶ εἴ

Fr. 167 = fr. 144 M = fr. 223 R; Valois 1634, 833, Mendelssohn 1883, 244 T (f. 97^{v})
Fr. 168 = fr. 145 M = fr. 224.1-16 R; Valois 1634, 833f., Mendelssohn 1883, 244 | T (f. 97^{v}-f. 98^{r})

Fr. 167: Herod. 7.1.12 Fr. 168: Herod. 7.3

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1 ὑπό του Müller 1851 de Boor 1905 **5** Μαξιμίνου corr. Valois 1634 : μαξίμου T **6** οὕτω Valois 1634 ex Herod. 7.1.12 : αὐτῶι T : οὕτως coni. Büttner-Wobst 1906b **11** ἰδεῖν Valois 1634 : ἐστινδεῖν T : ἐσιδεῖν coni. Mendelssohn 1883 **13** Καὶ uncis incl. Müller 1851 **14** ἔμελε Valois 1634 : ἔμελλεν T **15** εὐδοκιμεῖν Valois 1634 **17** Ἐπεὶ δὲ Valois 1634 : ἐπειδὴ T **18** περιστήσας corr. Valois 1634 ex Herod. : παραστήσας T

wishes. While one night he was sleeping in his tent, he was assassinated by a companion of his, who was staying with him and wanted to please Maximinus.

167

There were also revolts in the reign of Maximinus, which made his personality even harsher and more savage, even though he had possessed these qualities before. He was frightening in his appearance and colossal in stature.

168

In the reign of Maximinus there was much cruelty, and many murderous deeds were perpetrated against the Romans. The whole Roman empire was trembling with fear, delivered over to informers and slaves. Men who were rich one day and beggars the next were a daily sight, so tremendous was the tyrant's greed. Many were punished with death or exile. As long as this treatment was confined to individuals, it made little difference to the population of the cities. The misfortunes that occur to those who are apparently fortunate and rich are not only of little concern to the common people, but sometimes even delight certain vicious and spiteful individuals on account of the envy they feel. But after Maximinus had reduced most of the distinguished families to indigence, he turned to the public treasury and began to expropriate any money in the city that had been collected for the corn-supply and cash distributions to the common people; he also melted down the temple dedications, statues and other

τι καλλώπισμα ἦν, ἐχωνεύετο (ὅπερ μάλιστα τοὺς δήμους ἐλύπει, πένθος τε δημόσιον ἐνεποίει, δίχα μάχης ὄψις πολιορκίας, ὥς τινας τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν) ἐντεῦθεν μάλιστα αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀπηρέσκοντο, οἵ τε στρατιῶται ὠνειδίζοντο, ὡς δὴ δι’ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντος Μαξιμίνου. Αἰτίαι μὲν οὖν αὗται εἰς μῖσος καὶ ἀπόστασιν ἅπαντας παρώξυνον.

169

EI 57 **1** Ὅτι διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ ὠμότητα τοῦ Μαξιμίνου εἰς μῖσος καὶ ἀπόστασιν πάντες παρωξύνοντο, ἄρξασθαι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, ἄχρις οὗ Λίβυες ἐπανέστησαν, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Ἐπετρόπευέ τις τῆς Καρχηδονίας χώρας τραχύτατα καὶ μετὰ πάσης ὠμότητος, καταδίκας τε ποιῶν καὶ χρημάτων εἰσπράξεις, βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ. Ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας τῇ αὑτοῦ γνώμῃ ἐπελέγετο. Διὸ τῆς Λιβύης ἄρχων πᾶσιν μὲν βιαίως ἐπεφέρετο, νεανίσκους δέ τινας τῶν παρ’ ἐκείνοις εὖ γεγονότων πλουσίων, καταδίκαις περιβαλών, εἰσπράττειν χρήματα εὐθέως ἐπειρᾶτο, πατρῴων τε καὶ προγονικῶν οὐσιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Ἐφ’ οἷς ἀλγήσαντες οὗτοι, τὰ μὲν χρήματα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο, τριῶν ἡμερῶν αἰτήσαντες ἀνάθεσιν· συνωμοσίαν δὲ ποιησάμενοι, πάντας τε οὓς ᾔδεισαν ἢ πεπονθότας τι δεινὸν ἢ παθεῖν δεδοικότας, πείσαντες, κελεύουσι νύκτωρ κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν νεανίσκους, ξύλα τε καὶ πελέκεις ἐπιφέρεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ μέγα τι πλῆθος συνελθόντες, ἅμα

Fr. 169 = fr. 146 M = fr. 224.16-190 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 50-56, Mendelssohn 1883, 245-251 | P (f. 125^{v}-f. 129^{v}) S (f. 130^{r}-f. 133^{r})

Fr. 169: Herod. 7.4.1-7.5.2; 7.7.4-7.8.1; 7.9.1-7.10.3; 8.1.5-8.2.2; 8.2.5-8.7.3; 8.7.7-8.8

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5 πράττοντος corr. Valois 1634 ex Herod. 7.3.6 : πράττοντας T **10** ἐπετρόπευέ τις S : ἐπετρόπεύεται P **13** αὑτοῦ corr.Müller 1851 : αὐτοῦ PS **15** post γεγονότων verbum καὶ ex Herod. 7.4.3 add. Müller 1851 post εἰσπράττειν verbum τὰ ex Herod. 7.4.3 add. Müller 1851 **17** ἀφαιρεῖσθαι S : ἀναιρεῖσθαι P

Fr. 169.1: 17 τὰ μὲν – 18 ἀνάθεσιν *Suda* α 1874 τὰ χρήματα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο τριῶν ἡμερῶν αἰτήσαντες ἀνάθεσιν. | 21 ἅμα – 314.1 ἀπαντῶσι *Suda* α 2900, 262.17-18 ἅμα τῷ περὶ ὄρθρον εἰς τοὺς τῶν δεσποτῶν οἴκους ἀπαντῶσι.

decorations. (That was what caused public irritation and filled people with particular resentment: the appearance of a siege, when there was no fighting, so that some people resorted to violence.) It was because of this especially that the sensibilities of everyone were offended and they severely reproached the soldiers, alleging that Maximinus was acting in this way with their support. These were the reasons that stirred everyone to hatred and revolt.

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1 The savagery and cruelty of Maximinus impelled everybody towards hatred and revolt, but nobody had the courage to take the initiative until the Libyans started an uprising for the following reason: the governor of the district of Carthage administered his office in the most savage and cruel way, passed the most severe sentences and extorted money, hoping to find favour with Maximinus, for the latter selected people of the same mind as himself. Consequently the governor of Libya abused all his subjects and, having passed a sentence against several young man belonging to rich local families, he tried to exact money from them at once, thus stripping them of the property of their fathers and grandfathers. In great distress over the sentence, they promised to pay the money, but asked for a respite of three days. They formed a conspiracy of all those who were known to have suffered abuse or feared they would in the future, and ordered the young slaves from their country estates to come into town by night, armed with clubs and axes. A very large crowd gathered toge-

τῷ περιόρθριον γενέσθαι εἰς τοὺς τῶν δεσποτῶν οἴκους ἀπαντῶσι, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντες ὁρμῶσι ξιφήρεις· καὶ πρότερον μὲν τὸν ἐπίτροπον αἰφνιδίως ἀναιροῦσι, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιωτῶν· ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν τῆς χώρας ἡγούμενον. **2** Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς προεχώρησεν, ἐν ἔργοις μείζοσιν † ἔδοσαν, † πᾶν τε τὸ ἔθνος ἀναπείσαντες εἰς ἀπόστασιν (ὅπερ ᾔδεσαν πάλαι μὲν εὔχεσθαι μίσει Μαξιμίνου, φόβῳ δὲ κωλύεσθαι) μεσαζούσης ἡμέρας ⟨ἐπίασιν⟩ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπατεύοντος οἰκίαν· Γορδιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὄνομα, κλήρῳ μὲν τὴν ἀνθύπατον λαχών, πρεσβύτης δὲ εἰς ἔτος π′ ἐληλακώς, πολλῶν τε πρότερον * * * **3** * * * πράξεις ὑπατικάς, Σαβῖνος δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ, βουλόμενον κωλῦσαι τὰ γινόμενα, ξύλῳ παισθέντα κατὰ τοῦ κρανίου τελευτῆσαι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐν τούτοις ἦν. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἅπαξ ἀναρριφθέντος κινδύνου, πάντα ἔπραττεν εἰς τὸ ἀποστῆσαι τὰ ἔθνη, πρεσβείαν πρὸς πάντας ἡγουμένους πέμπουσα, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων γνώμην δηλοῦσα, δεομένη τε συναίρεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι. Οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν οὖν προσήκαντο τὴν πρεσβείαν· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες διεχρήσαντο τοὺς ἐλθόντας. **4** Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ γνώμην τοιαῦτα ἦν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδόνι οὐχ ὡς ἤλπισαν τὰ πράγματα προὐχώρει. Καπελλιανὸς γὰρ ἦν τις ὄνομα τῶν ἀπὸ συγκλήτου· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Μαυρουσίων τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Νομάδων, ἔχων καὶ στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον δύναμιν. Τοῦτον ὁ Γορδιανὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλύσας, τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας τῷ τε Μαξιμίνῳ καθοσιούμενος, ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἀθροίσας, κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. Ὡς δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Γορδιανῷ ὁ στρατὸς προσιὼν τῇ πόλει, αὐτός τε ἐν ἐσχάτῳ δέει ἦν, οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι ταραχθέντες,

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4 ἐν ἔργοις Müller 1851 : ἐνέργοις PS **5** ἔδοσαν PS : ᾔδεσαν Müller 1851 post ἔδοσαν verba μόνην ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχουσαν ex Herod. 7.5.1 add. Müller 1851 7 ἐπίασιν add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 7.5.2 ἀνθυπατεύοντος Müller 1851 : ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος PS **9** post πρότερον verba ἄρξας ἐθνῶν, ἐν τε πράξεσι μεγίσταις ἐξετασθείς ex Herod. *l.c.* suppl., folium excidisse putavit Müller 1851 lacunam indciavit Cramer 1841 **12** πάντα ἔπραγεν ἐποἀποστῆσαι τῷ ἔθνη (ἔθνει corr. S²) S **14** δηλοῦσα P : δηλοῦσαι S **15** προσήκαντο P : προσήκωντο S **18** προὐχώρει corr. Cramer 1841 : προὐχάρει (ex —ρεις corr. in S) PS καπελλιανὸς S : καπελιανὸς P **21** ἀγανακτήσας – ἅπαντα deest in P

Fr. 169.4: 21 Ὁ δὲ – 23 Καρχηδόνα *Suda* κ 119 ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλύσει τῷ τε Μαξιμίνῳ καθοσιούμενος, ἀθροίσας στρατὸν ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. | 21 παραλύσας cf. Fr. 234.4

ther and at dawn came to the houses of their masters, and together they set off, swords in hand; first they killed the procurator in a sudden attack and many of his soldiers; then they made away with the provincial governor as well.[1] **2** Having succeeded in this deed, they put their hands to more daring enterprises,[2] and induced the entire province to revolt, which they knew was what everybody had long craved out of hatred for Maximinus, but had been restrained by fear. It was midday when they reached the proconsul's house. The proconsul's name was Gordian; he had obtained the office by lot. He was an old man of about eighty; previously he...[3] **3** ... consular activities, his name was Sabinus; he attempted to put an end to what was going on, and was struck on the head with a club and killed. And this was the situation among the populace. The senate, having just this once risked danger, did its best to foment revolt in the provinces: delegations were sent to all provincial governors to explain the position of the Romans and to urge them to come to the aid of their fatherland. Most of the governors admitted the delegations, but a few others put the emissaries to death. **4** This was the situation and the state of opinion in Rome. The events in Carthage, however, had not been developing as expected. A senator called Capellianus was the governor of the Moorish Numidians under Roman rule,[4] and had a considerable army at his disposal. Gordian had relieved him of his command and ordered him out of the province. Capellianus, who was angry at this treatment and remained firm in his adherence to Maximinus, collected his troops and marched against Carthage. Gordian was dismayed at the news of the army's advance on the city and there was turmoil among the

1 This sentence is inconsistent with the following narrative. The inconsistency was noticed by Müller (1851, 595 n.), who remarked: "τὸν τῆς χώρας ἡγούμενον, i.e. Gordianum. Sed eum tunc non interfecerunt, ut ex sqq. patet. De suo haec excerptor adjecit."

2 The text is most certainly corrupt, however the same wording is present in the both extant manuscripts and I refrain from emending it using Herodian; the translation renders the likely meaning of the corrupt passage.

3 The text has a lacuna here.

4 The text of Herodian speaks of the Moors under Roman rule, the ones *called* Numidians. John of Antioch's text omits the word "called," hence a different meaning of the phrase. It is also possible that John of Antioch misunderstands "Numidians" as generic "nomads". In this case the phrase would mean "Moorish nomads".

οἰόμενοί τε ἐν πλήθει ὄχλου, οὐκ ἐν εὐταξίᾳ στρατοῦ, νικᾶν, πανδημεὶ πάντες ἐξίασιν. **5** Ὁ Γορδιανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἅμα τῷ τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐπιβῆναι ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενος, ἐννοῶν τὴν δύναμιν Μαξιμίνου, οὐδὲν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἀξιόμαχον, ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτὸν βρόχῳ. Κρυπτομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσοντα τοῦ πλήθους εἵλοντο. Γενομένης δὲ συμβολῆς, ἅπαντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διεφθάρησαν· οὐχ ὑπομείναντες γὰρ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἃ ἐπεφέροντο ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἔφυγον· ὠθούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. Ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ υἱὸς ἀνῃρέθη, καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντες, ὡς διὰ πλῆθος πτωμάτων μηδὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ταφῆναι μηδὲ τοῦ Γορδιανοῦ τοῦ νέου εὑρεθῆναι σῶμα. Πολλὴ δὲ οἰμωγὴ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων ἐγένετο. Τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τέλει ὁ Γορδιανὸς ἐχρήσατο, βιώσας τὰ πρῶτα εὐδαιμόνως, ἐν εἰκόνι τε βασιλείας τελευτήσας. **6** Ὁ δὲ Καπελλιανὸς εἰς Καρχηδόνα εἰσελθών, πάντας τε τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἀπέκτεινεν, καὶ εἴ τινες διεσώθησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ἐφείδετο οὐδενός, οὔτε ἱερῶν συλήσεως, οὔτε χρημάτων ἁρπαγῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς περιῄει πόλεις τοιαῦτα δρῶν. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδηλώθη ἡ τοῦ πρεσβύτου τελευτή, ἐν πολλῇ ἀφασίᾳ ἐγένοντο. Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων σκέψασθαι, καὶ προστησαμένους ἐπιλέξασθαι βασιλέα. Συνῆλθον ⟨οὖν⟩ εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ψηφίζονται βασιλεῖς Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Βαλβῖνον, εὐθέως τε αὐτοκράτορας ὀνομάζουσιν. 7 Ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἥσθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν εὐθὺς φυγῇ, ἐλπίζων πάντας τοῦτο ποιήσειν· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο, ἐν ἀρχῇ λιμοῦ πειρώμενος. Διανυκτερεύσαντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις ἤγοντο, ὄρη

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5 post Κρυπτομένης verbum δὲ add. Müller 1851 στρατηγήσοντα corr. Cramer 1841 : στρατηγήσαντα PS **20** οὖν add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 7.10.2 **24** Διανυκτερεύσαντες Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.1.5 : διανυκτερεύοντες PS post Διανυκτερεύσαντες οὖν verba οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ add. Müller 1851 ὄρη ὑψηλά corr. Cramer 1841 : ὀρῆν ψηλά PS

Fr. 169.7: 24 Ἄλπεις – 318.2 καθήκειν cf. *Suda* α 1407: Ἄλπεις, ὄρη ἐπιμήκη, ἃς ὥσπερ τεῖχος Ἰταλίας ἡ φύσις ἤγειρεν, ὑπερνεφῆ μὲν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπιμηκέστατα δέ, ὡς πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν διειληφότα καθήκειν· ἃς εἰσβολὰς καλοῦσι. | 318.4 Ἔνθα – 318.4 Ἀκυληία cf. *Suda* α 1043: Ἀκυληΐα· πόλις Ἰταλίας πολυάνθρωπος, προκειμένη ἐν θαλάττῃ. Cf. etiam Sotiroudis 1989, 72f.

inhabitants of Carthage, who imagined that their best hope of victory lay in the size of the masses and not in an army's discipline and came out in large numbers. **5** The elder Gordian fell into despair during the attack on Carthage, because he was fully aware of the power of Maximinus and knew that there was no force in Libya to oppose him, and so hanged himself. His death was concealed and his son was chosen to lead the mob. In the ensuing engagement all the inhabitants of Carthage were utterly destroyed: they did not even wait for the charge of the barbarians, but threw away all the weapons they had brought with them and fled; the majority perished by being trampled to death by their own comrades. The son of Gordian and his entourage were also killed at this point; the great number of the fallen impeded the burial of the corpses and made it impossible to find the body of the younger Gordian. Great were the lamentations of the wives and children in the city. This was the end of Gordian, whose life was fortunate in its early stages and who died in the guise of an emperor. **6** On his entry into Carthage, Capellianus put to death all the prominent citizens and did not spare anyone who had escaped the battle; neither did he refrain from despoiling the temples or confiscating money. He assailed other towns as well, treating them in the same manner. The news of the elder Gordian's death overwhelmed Rome with paralysing astonishment. They [the senators] decided to hold a meeting to deliberate on the necessary course of action and to elect an emperor for themselves. The meeting took place on the Capitol, and the votes came down in favour of Maximus and Balbinus, who were immediately proclaimed emperors. **7** Maximinus was delighted that the Italians had immediately fled before him and hoped that all his enemies would do the same. But the army was annoyed that at the beginning of the campaign they had been short of food. Having rested for the night, they made for the Alps, some very high mountains, which have been

ὑψηλά, ⟨ἃς ὥσπερ τεῖχος Ἰταλίας ἡ φύσις ἤγειρεν, ὑπερνεφῆ μὲν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπιμηκέστατα δέ, ὡς πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν διειληφότα καθήκειν.⟩ Ὡς δὲ ταύτας διέβησαν ἀκωλύτως, καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἤδη ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ ἐπαιώνησαν. Ἔνθα ἦν πόλις Ἀκυληία· πρὸς ἣν καταχθεὶς ὁ Μαξιμῖνος εὗρε μὲν τὰς πύλας κεκλεισμένας, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἤδη ἀπαγορεύειν καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν βουλόμενον τῆς πολιορκίας, βαλλόμενον λίθοις τε καὶ δόρασιν. Ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ἀγανακτήσας πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὡς ἀμελέστερον μαχομένους, αὐτὸς τῆς μάχης εἴχετο. **8** Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκυληίας πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπεμάχοντο. Ἐστρατήγουν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα διὰ φροντίδος εἶχον ἄνδρες β′ ἀπὸ ὑπατείας, ἐπιλεχθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου· ὧν ὁ μὲν Κρισπῖνος, ὁ δὲ Μηνόφιλος ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἰσεκομίσαντο. Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀφθονία. Τῷ δὲ Μαξιμίνῳ ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἐν σχήματι πρεσβείας τοὺς κάτωθεν διαλεξομένους, εἰ ἄρα πείσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας. Ὁ δὲ Κρισπῖνος περιέθεε, δεόμενος μὴ πείθεσθαι ὑποσχέσεσι τυράννου ἐπιόρκου, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητον εὔνοιαν φυλάττειν· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ χρησμῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ μαντείων αἰσίων γενομένων, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδιῶξαι τοὺς πρέσβεις. **9** Ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος ταῦτα μαθὼν πλείονι τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ γεφυρώσας τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμόν, προσήγγισε τῷ τείχει, καὶ τειχομαχεῖν ἤρξατο παντὶ σθένει. Πολλῶν δὲ σχεδὸν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας γενομένων προσβολῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥσπερ σαγηνεύοντος τὴν πόλιν, μετὰ πολλῆς βίας καὶ προθύμου μάχης ἀντεῖχον οἱ Ἀκυλήσιοι πανδημεὶ ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν, οὐδέ τις ἦν, ὃς μὴ μετεῖχε τῶν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος πόνων· οὐδὲ ᾤετο Μαξιμῖνος ἄλλως αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ὁδὸν ἔσεσθαι εὐπρεπῆ, εἰ μὴ πρότερον τὴν ἀντιστᾶσαν τῆς Ἰταλίας πόλιν καθέλῃ. Ὑποσχέσεσί τε οὖν καὶ δωρεαῖς αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, ὃν πεποιήκει Καίσαρα,

1 ἃς ὥσπερ τεῖχος Ἰταλίας ἡ φύσις ἤγειρεν, ὑπερνεφῆ μὲν τὸ ὕψος, ἐπιμηκέστατα δέ, ὡς πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν διειληφότα καθήκειν inserui ex *Suda* α 1407, cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 73 **4** ἐπαιώνησαν (P[1] ex ἐπεώνησαν P) PS : ἐπαιάνισαν Müller 1851 **12** Μηνόφιλος corr. Cramer 1841 : μινόφιλος PS **13** Τῷ δὲ Μαξιμίνῳ Müller 1851 : ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος PS

provided by nature as a kind of fortification for Italy; they are so high that they reach above the clouds, and so extensive that they completely cut off Italy.[1] When, however, they had crossed them unhindered and descended to the plain, their spirits rose again and they sang in triumph. The city of Aquileia was located there. When Maximinus approached it, he found its gates shut and his own army was ready to give up and abandon the siege, because it was suffering from [a hail] of stones and spears.[2] Maximinus was indignant at his generals for fighting with indolence and longed for a battle. **8** The entire population of Aquileia fought off the attacks from the walls day and night. The military command and the overall responsibility in the city were entrusted to two consulars selected by the senate, named Crispinus and Menophilus. With great foresight they had imported provisions; there was an unlimited supply of water too. Maximinus decided to send some of his men, under the guise of a diplomatic mission, to negotiate with the people on the walls and try to persuade them to open the gates. Crispinus, however, dashed around [the fortifications] and urged the citizens not to believe the promises of the tyrant who breaks his word, but to remain loyal to the senate of Rome; they had received many auspicious omens and well-boding oracles and so he succeeded in convincing them to dismiss the emissaries. **9** When Maximinus learned these facts, he became even more angry and, having built a bridge across the river that flows past the city, he advanced to the city-walls and assaulted the fortifications in full strength. Practically every day several attacks were launched, and the entire army kept the city encircled as if in a net. But all the inhabitants of Aquileia fought back vigourously and enthusiastically, including women and children, and there was no one who would not play some part in the defence of his country. Maximinus believed that he could not make his march on Rome without loss of face, unless he first crushed this city in Italy which had opposed him. So Maximinus and his son (whom he had made Caesar) rode around trying to encourage the army by making

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1 This sentence does not appear in the text of John of Antioch as preserved in the *Excerpta de insidiis.* As it has been pointed out by Adler (1928, v. 1, p. 126 n.) and by Sotiroudis (1989, 72f.) this text might have been a part of John's Chronicle, but was excised by the epitomators of the *Excerpta de insidiis*, because this information appeared irrelevant to the purpose of the collection.

2 The sentence refers to the force of Pannonian legions that had been sent in advance.

περιθέοντες τὸν στρατὸν ἀνέπειθον. **10** Οἱ δὲ Ἀκυλήσιοι λίθοις τε κιρνῶντες θείῳ καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πίσσαν καὶ ἔλαιον ἔβαλλον τὸν στρατόν· πυρώσαντες γὰρ ταῦτα, ὄμβρου δίκην κατεχώννυον, ὥστε γυμνοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῶν ὅπλων καιομένους, καὶ διαφθείρεσθαι τά τε πρόσωπα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀκρωτηριαζομένους· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς προσαγομένας μηχανὰς ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ κατέκαιον. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πρώτων ἡμερῶν ἀντίπαλός πως καὶ ἰσόρροπος ἔμενεν ἡ τύχη τῆς μάχης· χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, ὅ τε στρατὸς τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ὀκνηρὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ πταίων τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀθύμως διέκειτο· οἱ δὲ Ἀκυλήσιοι ἐρρώνυντό τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ σκώπτειν τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, καὶ ὕβρεις αἰσχρὰς ⟨ἐς⟩ αὐτὸν ἀπορρίπτειν· ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνος κινούμενος τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκόλαζεν, ὡς ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἀνάνδρως προσφερομένους τῇ πολιορκίᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτῷ περιεγένετο πρὸς μὲν τῶν οἰκείων μῖσός τε καὶ ὀργή, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀντιπάλων καταφρόνησις. **11** Συνέβαινε δὲ τοῖς Ἀκυλησίοις πολλὴν ὑπάρχειν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν, πάντων ἐν τῇ πόλει σεσωρευμένων· ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τοὐναντίον ἐν σπάνει πάντων ὑπῆρχεν, ὑπὸ σκηναῖς τε αὐτοσχεδίοις καὶ γυμνῷ τῷ ἀέρι διατρίβων. Οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντα προκατέλαβον, ὑπατικοὺς ἄνδρας προχειρισάμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φρουρᾶς. Συνέβαινε δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατὸν δοκοῦντα πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸν πολιορκεῖσθαι· ὅθεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται, τά τε κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν πυθόμενοι, αἰφνιδίως, ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἀνέσει τοῦ πολέμου οὔσης, τῶν τε πλείστων εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς ἀνακεχωρηκότων, ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις, οἳ πρὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει στρατόπεδον εἶχον ὑπὸ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀλβανόν, ἔνθα παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καταλελοίπεσαν, φονεῦσαι τὸν Μαξιμῖνον, ὡς παύσαιντο χρονίου πολιορκίας, μηκέτι δὲ πορθοῖεν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ τυράννου κατεγνωσμένου καὶ μεμισημένου. Τολμήσαντες οὖν ἐπίασι τῇ σκηνῇ περὶ μέσην ἡμέραν, συναραμένων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐκ τῶν σημείων κατασπῶσι, καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ παιδὶ ἀναιροῦσι. Φονεύουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔπαρχοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ, πάντας τε ἀναιροῦσι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ θυμήρεις· ῥίψαντές τε τὰ σώματα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν, τούτων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν. Τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ

1 post λίθοις τε verbum καὶ add. Müller 1851 **2** ἔβαλλον P : ἔβαλον S **10** ἐς add. Cramer 1841 **26** δὲ deest in P **32** post ἐνυβρίζειν verba εἴασαν κυσί τε καὶ ὄρνισι βοράν add. Müller 1851

promises and offering rewards. **10** The Aquileians hurled down rocks and prepared a mixture of sulphur, bitumen, pitch and oil, which they would set on fire and pour it out on the besiegers like rain, causing the burning men to strip off their armour, disfiguring their faces and mutilating their hands. With the same device they would burn down the siege-engines that were brought up. For the first few days the outcome of the conflict remained evenly balanced and undecided, but as time went on Maximinus' army started to lose determination and, as their hopes were frustrated, grew more and more dispirited. By contrast, the inhabitants of Aquileia were growing stronger and becoming contemptuous of the enemy; they even derided Maximinus by calling out disgraceful insults against him. He became more and more enraged at these mockeries and started to punish his subordinates for the torpid and cowardly conduct of the siege. As a result, he earned hatred and anger from his own soldiers and disdain from the enemy. **11** It happened that the inhabitants of Aquileia had an abundant supply of provisions, all of which were stored inside the city; the army, on the contrary, was suffering from a shortage of everything, and had to camp in improvised shelters and in the open air. For the Romans had taken control of all communication lines by putting some ex-consuls in charge of defending Italy. Thus it came about that the army that appeared to be mounting a siege was actually besieged, and the soldiers found themselves in a desperate position after they had learned of the situation in Rome and in the rest of Italy. Suddenly, while Maximinus was resting in his tent (there was a break in the fighting that day and most of the soldiers had returned to their shelters) the soldiers who were usually stationed in the camp close to the city of Rome at the foot of Mount Alba (where they had left behind wives and children), decided to murder Maximinus, so that they could abandon the long siege and stop devastating Italy under the command of a despised and hated tyrant. They were bold enough to enter Maximinus' tent at midday and then, with the assistance of his bodyguards, tore down his portraits from the standards and killed him together with his son. They also murdered the military prefect and all of Maximinus' close advisors, whose bodies were thrown out for everybody to desecrate, while their heads were sent to Rome. Thus, after a rule of three years,

τέλει Μαξιμῖνος καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐχρήσαντο, βασιλεύσαντες ἔτη γ′, δίκας πονηρᾶς ἀρχῆς ὑποσχόντες. **12** Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ γινόμενα, πρὸς τὴν Ἀκυληίαν παραγενόμενος ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι, ἐντὸς μὲν τῶν τειχῶν οὐχ ὑπεδέχθη, τούς τε ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἀναδειχθέντας αὐτοκράτορας εὐφήμει· οὕτω τε ἔμεινεν παρὰ τὰ τείχη, κομιζόμενος τὰ χρειώδη παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον. Οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς οἱ τὴν Μαξιμίνου κεφαλὴν κομίζοντες, μεταξὺ Ἀλτίνου τε καὶ Ῥαβέννης περιέτυχον Μαξίμῳ αὐτοκράτορι, διατρίβοντι ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ, ἔνθα τούς τε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας λογάδας ἤθροιζεν· ἀφῖκτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συμμάχων πλῆθος. Παρασκευάζοντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς δυνάμεις προσίασιν ⟨οἱ⟩ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μαξιμίνου φέροντες καὶ τοῦ παιδός· εὐθέως τε Μάξιμος πέμπει τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀγγέλλοντας τὰ πραχθέντα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίζοντας τοῦ πολεμίου ἀνεσκολοπισμένην, ὡς πᾶσι περίοπτος εἴη. Καὶ οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἔστιν λόγῳ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν ἑορτήν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡλικία τις ἦν ἢ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς τε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἠπείγετο, συνηδόμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον συνθέοντες. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκατόμβας ἔθυεν· ἀρχαί τε πᾶσαι καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος, ἕκαστός τε ὥσπερ ἀποσεισάμενος πέλεκυν τοῖς αὐχέσιν ἐπικείμενον, ὑπερευφραίνετο, εἴς τε τὰ ἔθνη ἄγγελοι καὶ κήρυκες διεπέμποντο. Καὶ ὁ Μάξιμος ἐπιστὰς τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ, ὑπεδέχθη μεγαλοφρόνως, πρεσβείας τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς Ἰταλίας δεχόμενος, εἰκόνας τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ στεφάνους. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν πορθήσας προῄει ἐν εἰρηνικῷ σχήματι δαφνηφορῶν ἀνάγκῃ· ἠγανάκτουν γὰρ ὁρῶντες τὸν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεχθέντα βασιλεύειν καθῃρημένον, κρατοῦντας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ᾑρημένους. **13** Ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος, συγκαλέσας πάντας, βασιλικῶς ἀπεφήνατο, ἀμνηστίαν τε πάντων ὑποσχόμενος καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν διανομάς· ὀλίγων τε ἡμερῶν διατρίψας, τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάνοδον συνεκρότει. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτικὸν ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα στρατόπεδα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Βαλβίνῳ στρατευομένοις. Ἐπανῆλθον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Γερμανίας ἐληλυ-

3 ἀκυλήιαν S : ἀκυλίαν P **4** τε PS : δὲ Müller 1851 **7** Ἀλτίνου Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.6.5 : τἀλσινου sine acc. P : ταλσινοῦ corr. ex τἀλυσινοῦ S **10** οἱ add. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.6.6 **15** ἢ Müller 1851 : ἡ Cramer 1841 : ἣ PS post ἠπείγετο verba οὔτε τις ἔμενεν οἴκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες ἐφέροντο add. Müller 1851 **16** post συνθέοντες verba ὥσπερ ἐκκλησιάζοντες χωρίῳ. Ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος add. Müller 1851 ἑκατόμβας corr. Cramer 1841 : ἑκατόμενας PS **18** πέλεκυ PS **20** μεγαλοφρόνσα, ας S[2] sup. vers. adscripto

Maximinus was punished for his disgraceful reign together with his son. **12** When the army heard the news, they approached Aquileia with peaceful intent (but were not admitted inside the city walls), acclaimed the emperors elected by the senate and remained in their positions around the city, buying all the necessary provisions from the people inside. The horsemen carrying Maximinus' head chanced upon the emperor Maximus between Altinum and Ravenna, where he was staying while he assembled both elite troops from Rome and units from Italy; a number of allies had joined him there as well. He was in the middle of these preparations when the horsemen arrived bringing the head of Maximinus and his son; Maximus sent the horsemen on to Rome immediately to tell the people the news and to carry the head of their enemy stuck on a pole for all to see. It is impossible to describe with words the celebration on that day! People of all ages ran to the altars and the temples, congratulating each other, and then all rushed together to the hippodrome. Balbinus[1] himself sacrificed hecatombs, while all the magistrates, the senate and every private citizen rejoiced as if they had shaken off an axe that was hanging over their heads; heralds and messengers were sent out to the provinces. Upon his arrival in Aquileia Maximus was given a magnificent welcome and received delegations from all over Italy, who were carrying images, statues and wreaths. And the same army that had devastated[2] the city marched forth in peaceful attire, with laurel branches in their hands, but doing it under constraint, because they were angry at seeing the emperor of their choice murdered and the emperors selected by the senate in power. **13** Maximus summoned everybody, paraded himself as an emperor and promised a universal amnesty and liberal distribution of money. After a few days sojourn he organised a return trip to Rome. A part of the army was sent back to the provinces and to their own camps; he himself returned to Rome with his bodyguards and those serving under Balbinus.[3] With him also departed the allies, who had ar-

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1 The name is missing in the Greek text and has to be supplied in the translation for clarity.

2 Probably a careless expression on part of the author, as the army did not actually capture and devastate the city. The intended meaning could be: "The army that threatened to devastate the city."

3 *See* Whittaker (1969, 299 n. 3), who emends Balbinus to Maximus in Herodian's text.

θότες σύμμαχοι· ἐθάρρει γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἐπιεικῶς πρότερον ἄρξας, ὅτε ἰδιώτευεν. Εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὅ τε Βαλβῖνος ὑπήντετο, ἐπαγόμενος Γορδιανὸν Καίσαρα, ἥ τε σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ δῆμος εὐφημοῦντες ὥσπερ θριαμβεύοντα ὑπεδέχοντο· ἔχαιρέ τε ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς, σεμνυνόμενος εὐπατρίδαις καὶ ἀξίοις τῆς βασιλείας. **14** Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διοίδαινον τὰς ψυχὰς ἐβαροῦντό ⟨τε⟩ αὐτῶν αὐτὴν τὴν εὐγένειαν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν ὅτι ἄρα ἔχοιεν ἐκ συγκλήτου βουλῆς βασιλέας. Ἐλύπουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ Γερμανοὶ παρόντες· ἀντιπάλους γὰρ ἤλπιζον ἔχειν· τό τε Σεβήρου ὑπόδειγμα αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν, ὃς τοὺς Περτίνακα ἀποκτείναντας ἀπέζωσεν. Ἐπιτελουμένου δὲ ἀγῶνος τοῦ τῶν Καπιτωλίων, πάντων τε περὶ τὴν πανήγυριν ἀσχολουμένων, αἰφνιδίως ἣν εἶχον γνώμην λανθάνουσαν ἐξέφηναν, καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ μὴ κρατήσαντες ἀνῆλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβύταις βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεισῆλθον. Συνέβαινε δὲ κἀκείνους μὴ πάνυ τι ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν, οἷάπερ ἡ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία εἴωθε ποιεῖν· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἀπωλείας αἴτιον. Ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθετο ὁ Μάξιμος ἀφικνεῖσθαι τοὺς πραιτωριανοὺς καλουμένους, ἐβούλετο μεταπέμψασθαι τοὺς Γερμανοὺς συμμάχους. Ὁ δὲ Βαλβῖνος οἰόμενος δόλον τινὰ εἶναι κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σόφισμα (ᾔδει γὰρ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς τῷ Μαξίμῳ εὐνοοῦντας), ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐ διὰ τοὺς πραιτωριανοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ περιποιῆσαι τῷ Μαξίμῳ τὴν μοναρχίαν. Ἐν ᾧ δὴ περὶ τούτων διεφέροντο, εἰσδραμόντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκστάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλωρῶν, ἁρπάζουσι τοὺς πρεσβύτας· περιρρήξαντες δὲ ἃς εἶχον ἐσθῆτας, γυμνοὺς τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς ἐξάγουσιν μετὰ πάσης αἰσχύνης καὶ ὕβρεως, παίοντες καὶ ἀποσκώπτοντες, γενείων τε καὶ ὀφρύων σπαραγμοῖς καὶ πάσαις τοῦ σώματος λώβαις ἐμπαροινοῦντες διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆγον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι οἱ Γερμανοὶ ὅπλα ἐλάμβανον ὡς ἀμυνοῦντες αὐτοῖς, μαθόντες οἱ πραιτωριανοὶ ἀφικνουμένους αὐτούς, ἤδη πᾶν τὸ σῶμα λε-

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3 ὑπήντετο corr. Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.7.8 : ὑπήντητο PS **6** ἐβαροῦντό τε Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.8.1 : ἐβάρουν τε S : ἐβάρουντο P **8** Ἐλύπουν Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.8.2 : ἐλυποῦντο PS **9** ὃς Müller 1851 ex Herod. *l.c.* : ὃ PS **10** ἀπέζωσεν PS : ἀπέσωζεν Müller 1851 an errore typ.? **15** αὐτοῖς S^2 ex αὐτοὺς S : αὐτοῦς ex αὐτοὺς P **16** πραιτωριανοὺς corr. Cramer 1841 : πετρωνιανοὺς PS **20** πραιτωριανοὺς corr. Cramer 1841 : πετρωνιανοὺς PS **25** σπαραγμοῖς Müller 1851 ex Herod. 8.8.6 : ἐσπαραγμένοι PS καὶ πάσαις – πυθόμενοι deest in P : καὶ πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος λώβαις ἐμπαροινοῦντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι Müller 1851 ex Herod. **28** post αὐτοὺς verbum φονεύουσιν add. Müller 1851

rived from Germany and of whose loyal disposition Maximus was confident because he had administered that province fairly in the past, before becoming emperor. As he was entering Rome, Balbinus came to meet him with Gordian Caesar; the senate and the people hailed him as if he were celebrating a triumph. The populace was pleased with them and paid homage to these two men of patrician origin who were worthy of the principate. **14** The soldiers, on the contrary, were bitterly distressed: they disapproved of the emperors' noble birth and hated having emperors chosen by the senate. The presence of the German troops distressed them, because they perceived them as potential enemies, and the example of how Severus had discharged the murderers of Pertinax made them extremely worried. During the celebration of the Capitoline Games, while everyone was busy with the festival, the hidden attitude of the soldiers became suddenly manifest: they were no longer able to check their anger and rushed into the palace with one accord, bursting in on the old emperors. As it was, the two men did not agree with each other, which was a typical result of the desire for sole rule and proved fatal to them both. When Maximus heard that the so-called praetorians had arrived, he wanted to summon his German allies, but Balbinus thought that this was a clever trick designed against him (for he knew that the Germans were loyal to Maximus) and opposed this measure, saying that the Germans would not be coming because of the praetorians, but to put sole rule in the hands of Maximus. While they were arguing, the soldiers burst in (the guards at the gates had abandoned their posts) and seized the two old men. They stripped them of their clothes, dragged them naked from the courtyard of the imperial palace, subjecting them to every imaginable humiliating treatment, beating them and jeering at them; they tore out their beards and their eyebrows, and did them every kind of physical outrage while dragging them through the middle of the city to the camp. When the Germans found out what had happened, they took up their weapons to defend them, but since the praetorians were informed of their approach, they threw the totally mutilated bodies

λωβημένους τοὺς βασιλέας, ἐπὶ τῆς λεωφόρου ἀπέρριψαν· ἀράμενοί τε τὸν Γορδιανὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄλλον οὐχ εὗρον· βοῶντές τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὅτι ἄρα εἴησαν ἀποκτείναντες, οὓς ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἄρξαι, Γορδιανόν τε ἐπελέξαντο, ἐκείνου τε ἀπόγονον, καὶ οἷον αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξεβιάσαντο· ἔχοντές τε αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ κλείσαντες τὰς θύρας ἡσύχαζον. Οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ μαθόντες ἀνῃρημένους καὶ ἐρριμμένους, ὧν χάριν ἠπείγοντο, οὐχ ἑλόμενοι πόλεμον μάταιον ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τεθνηκότων, ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν καταγώγιον. Τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ἐχρήσαντο οἱ προειρημένοι πρεσβῦται.

170 Dubium

Suda ε 1915 Ἐπαγγέλλει τε τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίας ἔξοδον.

171

EI 58 Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ καὶ Γορδιανὸν ἔμελλε τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ βίου καταλαβεῖν τέλος, ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγούμενος ἐπιστέλλει τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα τοὺς ἰδίους ὅρους ὑπερβάντα τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν κατατρέχειν· καὶ δεῖσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τὸν πόλεμον. Ταῦτα Γορδιανὸς ὁ νέος πυθόμενος λίαν τε ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ γενόμενος ὅμως ἐπαγγέλλει τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἔξοδον, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ πύλας ἀναπετάσας, αἵπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων πολέμων διηνοίγοντο, ᾤχετο πρὸς τὴν ἕω. Καὶ ὡς εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἀφίκετο εἴς τε

Fr. 170 = Adler 1928, ii, 326.13. Cf. Sotiroudis 1989, 74f. Fr. 171 = fr. 147 M = fr. 225 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 56f., Droysen 1879, 151-153 | P (f. 129v-f. 130r) S (f. 133rv)

Fr. 170: Herod. 7.8.9 Fr. 171: Eutr. 9.2.2-3

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1 post βασιλέας verbum καὶ add. Müller 1851 **5** οἷον PS : ὃν Müller 1851

Fr. 171: 18 τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ – 20 ἕω *Suda* ι 38 Ἴανος· τὰς πύλας τοῦ Ἰάνου διαπετάσας ὁ βασιλεύς, αἵπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων πολέμων διηνοίγοντο, ᾤχετο πρὸς τὴν ἕω.

of the emperors on to the road and raising up Gordian proclaimed him emperor, because they were unable to find anyone else at this stage. They shouted out to the people that the men whom the people did not want to rule in the first place were now dead, and that they had chosen Gordian as emperor, the descendant of the other Gordian, whom the Romans themselves had forced to accept the rule. Then they took Gordian with them back to the camp, shut the gates and remained inactive. Once the Germans realised that the men to whose assistance they were hurrying were dead and thrown out on to the road, they decided not to fight a futile war for dead men and returned to their quarters. This was the end of the old men described above.

170

And he gives orders for the departure for Italy.

171

When Gordian's[1] life was approaching its natural end, the governor of Syria reported that the King of Persia had passed beyond the boundaries of his own country and was devastating Roman territory, and that the war required his [Gordian's] presence. When the younger Gordian heard the news, he grew despondent but nevertheless ordered a military expedition against the Persians, opened the doors of the Temple of Janus, which were left open for the duration of the most important wars, and set out for the East. Having reached the Euphrates and the mouth of

[1] In this passage John of Antioch follows Eutropius who thought that there were two Gordians, not three. Therefore Gordian mentioned in this sentence is a "mixture" of Gordian I and Gordian II.

τὰ τοῦ Τίγρητος στόμια, συμβαλὼν τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐτυχέστατα τὸν πόλεμον διεχείρισεν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι τὰς Παρθικὰς δυνάμεις καταβαλών. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ μετὰ τὸ πέρας ἐπανιών, ἕκτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνιαυτῷ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς ὅροις τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξαμένου, τοῦ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν νεολαίαν ἀσκοῦντος, ἐδολοφονήθη· καὶ Φίλιππος ἀναγορευθεὶς βασιλεύς.

172

EI 59 Ὅτι Φίλιππος βασιλεύσας καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας νικήσας ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤλαυνεν. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐς Πέρινθον, ὡς ἠγγέλθη αὐτῷ ἐμφυλίους στάσεις συμβῆναι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἅστινας Δέκιος ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δυναμένους ἐπισχεῖν τὰ πραττόμενα στέλλει καὶ τὴν Δεκίου προκαταληψομένους ἐπανάστασιν· αὐτός τε σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐπηγγείλατο. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔφθασαν οὓς ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος, δώροις τε καὶ κολακείαις τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπαχθέντες ἀπαγορεύουσί τε Φιλίππῳ καὶ τὸν Δέκιον αὐτοκράτορα σὺν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσαγορεύουσι. Τούτων ἀγγελθέντων τῷ Φιλίππῳ κατὰ τὴν Βερόην φεύγοντι * * * καὶ τοῖς ὑποκολπίοις ξίφεσιν ἀναιροῦσιν πέμπτον ἐνιαυτὸν προστάντα τῶν πραγμάτων. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν παῖδα τούτου οἱ τῆς πόλεως στρατιῶται διέφθειραν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούτους τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος.

Fr. 172 = fr. 148 M = fr. 226 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 57, Droysen 1879, 153 | P (f. 130r) S (f. 133v)

Fr. 172: Eutr. 9.3

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1 Τίγρητος corr. Cramer 1841 : τίγριτος PS **5** νεολαίαν corr. Cramer 1841 : νεαλαίαν PS **6** post βασιλεύς lacunam indicavit de Boor 1905 **10** δέβιος S : corr. S[1] **12** δεβίου S : corr. S[1] **14** κολακείαις probabiliter Müller 1851 : λακίαις PS : λαλιαῖς etiam Müller 1851 **15** ἀπογορεύουσί PS **17** lacunam indicavit Müller 1851 **18** πέμπτον corr. S[3] : πέπτον PS

the river Tigris, he engaged the barbarians in battle and conducted the war in the most successful way, defeating the Parthian forces in major encounters. When the war was over and he was returning from there, he was treacherously murdered just on the border of the Roman territory in the sixth year of his reign by Philip, his successor, who at that time was in charge of training the young soldiers; and Philip was proclaimed emperor.

172

After becoming emperor and winning a victory over the Scythians, Philip set out for Byzantium. When he reached Perinthus and learned that civil strife had started in Rome (fomented by Decius, an ex-consul and prefect of the city), he sent off some influential men to bring the situation under control and to frustrate Decius' revolt and announced that he himself was to follow them shortly with his sons. Upon their arrival in Rome, Philip's ambassadors were corrupted by presents and the flattering attitude of the people and the senate, and they renounced Philip and together with the Romans proclaimed Decius emperor. When this news reached Philip, who had taken refuge in Verona, … in the fifth year of his reign he was killed with daggers which the assassins had concealed in the folds of their robes. His son was killed in Rome by the soldiers stationed in the city. And this is how they met their end.[1]

1 This description diverges from the known accounts about the death of the Philippi. The detailed discussion of this passage is found in Dusanic 1976. *See* also Prickartz 1993.

173

EV 49 Ὅτι Δέκιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Φιλίππου διάδοχος βασιλικῷ θεσπίσματι τοὺς τὰ Χριστιανῶν δοξάζοντας ἐθανάτου καὶ τοὺς οὐ θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν.

174

EI 60 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Γάλλου καὶ Βουλουσιανοῦ Αἰμιλιανὸς ὁ τῆς Μυσίας ἔπαρχος καινοτομεῖν ἐπεβάλετο, αὑτῷ τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκ προγόνων ἁρμόττειν φιλονεικῶν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς μεγίστας κατηγορίας ποιούμενος. Ἐφ' ὃν οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων προστατοῦντες ἐξουσίας μεγίστῳ πλήθει στρατεύσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιβουλευθέντες διεφθάρησαν, οὔπω τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῇ προστασίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν διατετελεκότες οὐδέ τι λαμπρὸν ἢ βασιλείας ἄξιον κατειργασμένοι, ἐν μνήμῃ δὲ μόνῃ τῶν βασιλέων γενόμενοι. Ὅ γε μὴν Αἰμιλιανὸς ἐπιπηδήσας τῇ ἀρχῇ κατὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν χώραν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἄφιξιν προθυμούμενος τετάρτῳ μηνὶ τῆς τυραννίδος προδιεφθάρη τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνισται.

Fr. 173 = fr. 149 M = fr. 227 R; Valois 1634, 834 |T (f. 98r) Fr. 174 = fr. 150 M = fr. 229 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 57, Droysen 1879, 153 | P (f. 130rv) S (f. 133v-f. 134r)

Fr. 173: fontem non inveni Fr. 174: Eutr. 9.5-6

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3 post προσκυνεῖν verbum θέλοντας add. Müller 1851 **6** βουλουσιανοῦ S : βαυλουσιανοῦ P **7** αὑτῷ corr. Müller 1851 : αὐτῷ PS **9** Ἐφ' ὃν de Boor 1905 : ἐφ' ὧν (ἐφῶν P) PS : ἐφ' οὗ Müller 1851 **13** Αἰμιλιανὸς PS

Fr. 173: *Suda* δ 193 Δέκιος, Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, Φιλίππου διάδοχος, ὃς βασιλικῷ θεσπίσματι τοὺς τὰ Χριστιανῶν δοξάζοντας ἐθανάτου καὶ τοὺς οὐ θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν.

173

Decius, emperor of the Romans, the successor of Philip, put to death by imperial decree those who professed the Christian doctrine and compelled them to worship false gods.

174

In the time of Gallus and Volusianus, Aemilianus, the governor of Moesia, started a rebellion, contentiously asserting his ancestral claim to imperial power for himself and levelling serious accusations against the senate of Rome. Those in charge of the Roman government set out with large forces against him, but fell victims to a plot by their own people and perished, without even completing three years in power and having achieved nothing at all remarkable or worthy of imperial dignity; they merely appear in the lists of the emperors. Aemilianus seized power while he was in the territory of the Scythians; he was looking forward to arriving in Rome when he was murdered in the fourth month of his reign and departed this life.

175

EI 61 Ὅτι Γαλλιηνὸς ἀνῃρέθη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων στρατιωτῶν ἐς ὀργὴν ἀναφθέντων, ὅτι δὴ πόλιν Μογοντίναν συναραμένην Λολλιανῷ, ὃν νεωτερίσαντα καθεῖλε Ποστούμιος, διαρπάσαι μετὰ τὴν νίκην οὐ συνεχώρησεν. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Μάριος, ἀνὴρ εὐτελὴς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς βαναύσους γεγονὼς τέχνας, τὴν ἁλουργίδα περιθέμενος δευτέρᾳ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμέρᾳ κατακτείνεται. Ἐφ᾽ ᾧ Βικτωρῖνος τῶν Γαλλιῶν τὸ κράτος ἐκδέχεται, ἄριστος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ταῖς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναῖς ἡττημένος ἀλλοτρίους τε ἐνυβρίζων γάμους καὶ παρθένους ἁρπάζων. Ὅθεν ἐν Ἀγριππίνῃ πόλει Γαλατικῇ πρός τινος στρατιώτου διαφθείρεται δευτέρῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνιαυτῷ. Καὶ τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδέχεται Τέτρικος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς· ὃς τὴν Ἀκυτανίαν πρότερον ἡγεμονεύων βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μὴ παρὼν ᾑρέθη· περιθέμενός τε τὴν πορφύραν ἐν Βουρδογάλλῳ πόλει τῆς Γαλατίας μεγίσταις ἐνέπεσε ταραχαῖς.

176

EI 62 Ὅτι Ὀδενάθος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Γαλλιηνοῦ ἀναιρεῖται· καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδενάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδικοῦσα.

Fr. 175 = fr. 152.1 M = fr. 230 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 57f., Droysen 1879, 155 | P (f. 130^v) S (f. 134^r) Fr. 176 = fr. 152.2 M = fr. 231 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 58 | P (f. 130^v) S (f. 134^r)

Fr. 175: Eutr. 9.9-10 Fr. 176: 17 ἐξ – 19 συνόντων Zos. 1.39.2

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2 Γαλλιηνὸς PS : ἐπὶ Γαλλιηνοῦ Ποστούμιος Müller 1851 in app., Roberto 2005 in textu **3** μογόντιναν S : sine acc. P **9** ἐναγριππίνῃ S : ἐναγριππινει s. acc. P **12** Ἀκυτανίαν Cramer 1841 : ἀκτανίαν PS **14** ἐνέπεσε S : ἀνέπεσε P **17** ὀδεναθος sine acc. P : οδενάθος sine sp. S γαλλιηνοῦ ex γαλλιανοῦ S^1 ut vid. corr. et S^2 iterum sprscr. **18** ὀδενάθῳ P : ὁδενάθῳ S et P^1

175

Gallienus[1] was killed by his own soldiers who were filled with rage because after the victory he did not allow them to plunder the city of Mogontiacum [Mainz], which had taken the side of Laelianus, who was killed by Postumus for starting a rebellion. After him Marius, a worthless man whose family was engaged in base trades, received the purple and was killed on the second day of his reign. Afterwards Victorinus acquired the government of the Gauls; he was an excellent soldier, but a slave to the pleasures of the body who used to seduce other men's wives and rape maidens. And so he was killed by a soldier at Colonia Agrippinensium [Cologne], a Gallic town, in the second year of his reign. He was succeeded in power by Tetricus, a senator who, while he was governor of Aquitania, was chosen emperor in his absence by the soldiers; after assuming the purple in the Gallic town of Burdigala [Bordeaux], he faced major upheavals.

176

Odaenathus was killed as a result of a conspiracy by Gallienus; Zenobia came to power in that country: though she had been his wife, she possessed the boldness of a man and, with the help of her husband's friends, avenged his death.

1 It was M. Cassanius Latinius Postumus and not Gallienus who was killed by his own soldiers after capturing Mainz. However, this historical fact alone does not justify the emendation of the Greek text.

177

EI 63 Ὅτι Γαλλιηνὸς περὶ Μεδιόλανον πόλιν σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βαλεριανῷ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕξ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Δελματῶν ἱππάρχου κατακτείνεται· οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἡρακλειανός, ὃς συμπραξάμενος Κλαυδίῳ διά τινος τῶν τολμηροτάτων κατὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τὸν Γαλλιηνὸν ἀποσφάττει.

178

EI 64 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου τοῦ βασιλέως Αὐρίολος ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἔξω τῆς Γαλλιηνοῦ καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν ἐξουσίας ἐπικηρυκεύεται παραχρῆμα πρὸς Κλαύδιον, καὶ παραδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα στρατιωτῶν ἀναιρεῖται τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐχομένων ὀργῇ.

179

EI 65 Ὅτι Κυντίλιος ἀδελφὸς Κλαυδίου, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε Ῥωμαίων, ἅμα δὲ τῷ γνῶναι τὴν βασιλείαν Αὐρηλιανῷ παραδεδομένην, ἑκόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν τινος τεμόντος φλέβα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐνδόντος ῥεῦσαι τὸ αἷμα, μέχρις ἄναυδος ἐγένετο.

Fr. 177 = fr. 152.3 M = fr. 232 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 58 | P (f. 130^{v}-f. 131^{r}) S (f. 134^{r}) Fr. 178 = fr. 153 M = fr. 233 R; | P (f. 131^{r}) S (f. 134^{r}) Fr. 179 = fr. 154 M = fr. 234 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 58 | P (f. 131^{r}) S (f. 134^{r})

Fr. 177: cf. Zos. 1.40 Fr. 178: 8 Αὐρίολος – 11 ὀργῇ Zos. 1.41 Fr. 179: 13 ἅμα – 16 ἐγένετο Zos. 1.47

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2 βαλεριανῷ S : βελεριανῶ P **3** ὃς Müller 1851 : ὁ PS ἀπὸ PS : ὑπὸ coni. Kambylis probabiliter **6** Γαλλιηνὸν corr. Cramer 1841 : γαλλιὴν S sine acc. P **13** κυντίλιος P : κηντίλιος S δὲ del. Müller 1851 **14** ἀποστῆναι S : ὑποστῆναι P post ἀποστῆναι verbum λέγεται add. Müller 1851 **16** ἄναυδος PS : αὖος Müller 1851 e Zos. 1.47

177

Gallienus was killed near Mediolanum [Milan] together with his brother Valerianus after the death of his father, who had ruled for six years; his death was brought about by the commander of the Dalmatian cavalry; this man was Heraclianus, who, acting together with Claudius, killed Gallienus at dinner with the assistance of one of his most audacious men.

178

In the reign of the emperor Claudius, Aureolus, who for a long time had placed himself outside Gallienus' sovereignty, suddenly sent messengers to Claudius and gave himself up, but was killed by the emperor's soldiers who were enraged at his defection.

179

Quintillus, the brother of Claudius, who was emperor of the Romans, renounced his power willingly when he learned that the throne had been given to Aurelian; and one of the doctors cut his veins and let the blood flow until Quintillus grew silent.

180

EV 50 Ὅτι Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ πολέμια δεινῶς ἦν ἠσκημένος, ἀκάθεκτος δὲ περὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ πολὺ πρὸς ὠμότητα ῥέπων. Τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισήμων θανάτῳ πολλοὺς ἐζημίωσεν ὑπὸ Ζηνοβίας ἐλεγχθέντας, χαλεπός τις καὶ φονικὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖος στρατηγὸς ἤπερ αἱρετὸς βασιλεύς, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ δυσχερὴς καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ τῶν οἰκείων αἵματος διαμεῖναι καθαρός· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς γαμετὴν καὶ ἀνέγκλητον διεχρήσατο. Τοῦ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τάγματος καὶ τῶν ἐξιτήλων καὶ διαλελυμένων ἠθῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν γενναῖος ἐπανορθωτὴς ἦν.

181

Suda μ 1223 Μονιτάριοι· οἱ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα τεχνῖται· οἳ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ διέφθειραν τὸ νόμισμα καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἄρχοντα Φηλικήσιμον ἀνελόντες ἐμφύλιον ἐγείρουσι πόλεμον· οὓς μόλις Αὐρηλιανὸς χειρωσάμενος ὑπερβαλλούσῃ κολάσεων ὠμότητι κατειργάσατο.

Fr. 180 = fr. 155 M = fr. 235 R; Valois 1634, 834, Droysen 1879, 157 | T (f. 98r)
Fr. 181 = Adler 1928, iii, 408.32-409.2 = fr. 236 R; Droysen 1879, 159

Fr. 180: Eutr. 9.13-14 Fr. 181: Eutr. 9.14.1

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12 περὶ Adler 1928 : ἐπὶ F*Suda* **14** ὑπερβαλούσῃ V*Suda*

Fr. 180: *Suda* α 4458 Αὐρηλιανός, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, τὰ πολέμια δεινῶς ἠσκημένος, ἀκάθεκτος δὲ περὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ πολὺ πρὸς ὠμότητα ῥέπων τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισήμων θανάτῳ πολλοὺς ἐζημίωσεν ὑπὸ Ζηνοβίας ἐλεγχθέντας, χαλεπός τις καὶ φονικὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖος στρατηγὸς ἤπερ αἱρετὸς βασιλεύς, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ δυσχερὴς καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων αἵματος διαμεῖναι καθαρός· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς γαμετὴν καὶ ἀνέγκλητον διεχρήσατο. τοῦ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τάγματος καὶ τῶν ἐξιτήλων καὶ διαλελυμένων ἠθῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν γενναῖος ἦν ἐπανορθωτής. | 2 Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, 4 θανάτῳ – 4 ἐζημίωσεν *Suda* ε 281 ὁ δὲ Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ πολλοὺς ἐζημίωσεν. | 2 Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, 5 μᾶλλον – 7 καθαρός *Suda* αι 291, 30-32 ὁ δὲ Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖος ἦν στρατηγὸς ἤπερ αἱρετὸς βασιλεύς, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δυσχερὴς ὢν καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων αἵματος διαμεῖναι καθαρός.

180

The emperor Aurelian was an excellent soldier, but had an unrestrained temper and was excessively inclined to cruelty. He punished with death penalty many nobles of Rome who had been been accused by Zenobia[1]; he was ferocious and bloodthirsty; he was an indispensable general rather than a desirable emperor; he was ill-tempered and unapproachable at any time; he did not even remain untainted with the blood of his own relatives: he executed his son's wife even though she was innocent.[2] On the whole, however, he was a noble improver of military discipline and lax and declining morals.

181

Monetarii: the mint workers. Under Aurelian they debased the coinage, killed their own officer Felicissimus and started a civil struggle; having with difficulty brought them under control, Aurelian inflicted exceedingly cruel punishments upon them.

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[1] John of Antioch misenterpreted the name of the Queen Zenobia mentioned by Eutropius as referring to an evil slanderer and denouncer who had influence upon Aurelian.

[2] Eutropius speaks of his sisters's son: etiam filii sororis interfector.

182

Suda δ 23 Δακία χώρα· ἣν ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἐν τοῖς πέραν τοῦ Ἴστρου χωρίοις κατῴκισε. Καὶ ταύτην Αὐρηλιανὸς ἀπέλιπε, κεκακωμένης τῆς Ἰλλυριῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν χώρας, ἡγούμενος ἀδυνάτως ἔσεσθαι τὴν πέραν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἀπειλημμένην διασῴζεσθαι. Ἐξαγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Ῥωμαίους ἀπῳκισμένους ἔκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Μυσίᾳ καθίδρυσε, τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσας Δακίαν· ἣ νῦν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο Μυσιῶν κειμένη διαιρεῖ αὐτὰς ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων.

183

EI 66 Ὅτι Αὐρηλιανὸς ἕκτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνιαυτῷ διαφθείρεται, τῶν εἰς τάχος γραφόντων οἰκετῶν τινὸς κατασκευάσαντος αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον. Ὃς τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μιμησάμενος χεῖρα πρός τινας χιλιάρχους αὐτῷ τε τῷ Αὐρηλιανῷ φίλους γραμματίδιόν τι ἐκόμισε τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων φέρον προσηγορίας σεσημειωμένον τὸν εἰωθότα τρόπον τῶν ὑπάγεσθαι θανάτῳ κατεγνωσμένων, ἐπιψευσάμενος ταῦτα τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἀναγεγραφέναι. Οἱ δὲ τὸ πιστὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς ἅπασαν πρᾶξιν ἄτοπον καὶ σκληρὰν ὀξύτητος εἰληφότες φθάσαι τι δράσαντες πρὶν ἢ παθεῖν ἔγνωσαν, διαφθείρουσί τε αὐτὸν κατὰ μέσην τὴν πορείαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου πρὸς Ἡράκλειαν ἰόντα, περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Καινὸν φρούριον. Οὐ μὴν ἀτιμώρητος ἐτελεύτα. Οἵ τε γὰρ φονεῖς αὐτοῦ δίκας ὑπέσχον, καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς θείοις τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἐψηφίσθη.

Fr. 182 = Adler 1928, ii, 2.24-30 = fr. 237 R; Droysen 1879, 159 Fr. 183 = fr. 156 M = fr. 238 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 58f., Droysen 1879, 159 | P (f. 131r) S (f. 134v)

Fr. 182: Eutr. 9.15.1-2 Fr. 183: Eutr. 9.15.2

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12 τινας χιλιάρχους corr. Müller 1851 : τινος χιλιάρχου PS **14** σεσημειωμένον S : σεσημειωμενών P : σεσημειωμένας Kambylis τὸν εἰωθότα – κατεγνωσμένων S : om. P **19** βυζαντίου S : βιζαντίου P καινὸν φρούριον PS : Καινονφρούριον in textu Roberto 2005 ex Eutr. ix.15.2 *Caenophrurium*, authoritate de Boor 1905 ubi emendatio haec non invenitur **20** ὑπέσχον P : ὑπέχων S

182

The province of Dacia, which Trajan established in the areas beyond the Danube. And Aurelian abandoned this territory, once the provinces of the Illyrians and the Mysians [Moesians] had been devastated, thinking that it would be impossible to preserve the territory on the other side which was cut off by the rivers. He moved the Romans who had settled there out of the cities and fields and settled them in the middle of Mysia [Moesia], having named the province Dacia; it now lies between the two Mysias and divides them from one another.

183

Aurelian was assassinated in the sixth year of his reign; his death was arranged by one of his shorthand scribes. He imitated Aurelian's hand and brought a writing tablet to some military commandants friendly to Aurelian which contained a list of their names written down in the way that was usual for death warrants, alleging that this document had been drafted by Aurelian. Knowing the emperor's inclination to any action which was both strange and cruel, they became convinced and decided to act before they should suffer any harm; and so they killed him half-way along the road that goes from Constantinople to Heraclea, in the vicinity of the fort called Kainon ('the New').[1] He did not die unavenged; his murderers suffered punishment and it was decided to enrol him among the deified emperors.

1 The toponym Caenophrurium used in the text of Eutropius is split in two parts which are interpreted separately.

184

EI 67 Ὅτι Τακίτου τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναδεξαμένου βασίλεια, Σκύθαι διὰ τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἐπεραιώθησαν· οὓς καταπολεμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐξώρμησεν. Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐμπεσὼν ἐξ αἰτίας ἀναιρεῖται τοιᾶσδε. Μαξιμίνῳ γένει προσήκοντι τὴν Συρίας ἀρχὴν παραδέδωκεν. Οὗτος τοῖς ἐν τέλει τραχύτατα προσφερόμενος εἰς φθόνον ἅμα καὶ φόβον τὸν βασιλέα κατέστησεν. Τεκόντων δὲ τούτων μῖσος, τὸ λειπόμενον εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἧς κοινωνοὺς ποιησάμενοι τοὺς Αὐρηλιανὸν ἀνελόντας, αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπιθέμενοι τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ κατέσφαξαν, διώξαντες δὲ ἀναζευγνύντα ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην Τάκιτον ἀναιροῦσιν ἓξ μησὶ τοῖς ὅλοις βασιλεύσαντα.

185

EI 68 Ὅτι Πρόβος καὶ Φλωριανὸς οἱ δύω ἅμα συνεβασίλευσαν. Καὶ ὁ Πρόβος οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἀνεῖλε τὸν Φλωριανὸν μῆνας β′ πρὸς ἡμέρας κ′ ἀπολαύσαντα τῆς ἐξουσίας.

Fr. 184 = fr. 157 M = fr. 239 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 59 | P (f. 131^{rv}) S (f. 134^{v}) Fr. 185 = fr. 158.1 M = fr. 240 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 59 | P (f. 131^{v}) S (f. 134^{v})

Fr. 184: Zos. 1.63 Fr. 185: 13 Καὶ ὁ – 14 Φλωριανὸν Zos. 1.64.4

5 Μαξιμίνῳ corr. Müller 1851 : μαξίμῳ PS **8** Αὐρηλιανὸν corr. Müller 1851 : αὐρήλιον PS

184

After Tacitus had become Roman emperor, the Scythians crossed Lake Maeotis. He destroyed them in battle and set out for Europe. There, however, he fell victim to a conspiracy and was murdered for the following reason. He had entrusted the government of Syria to his relative Maximinus, who treated those in authority so harshly that he made the emperor[1] both disliked and feared. These feelings then produced hatred which culminated in conspiracy, into which they drew Aurelian's murderers, and they set on Maximinus and killed him. After that they pursued Tacitus on his way to Europe and killed him as well; he ruled for a whole six months.

185

Probus and Florianus both ruled together at the same time. And Probus killed Florianus {against his will},[2] who had enjoyed power for two months and twenty days.

[1] The addition of the object τὸν βασιλέα which is not present in Zosimus obscures the meaning. The grammar of the extant sentence would justify the translation "... that he made the emperor envious and afraid". However this meaning is very unlikely in the context of the fragment. Hence, the present translation makes the word τὸν βασιλέα a *semantical* object of φθόνος and φόβος.

[2] The words οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν derive from Zosimus οὐ κατὰ τὴν Πρόβου προαίρεσιν where they refer to the assumption of the purple and not to the murder as in the present contracted version where they hardly make any sense at all.

186

EI 69 Ὅτι Πρόβου βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων Σατουρνῖνος, τῷ γένει Μαυρούσιος, ὢν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσφιλὴς διὰ τοῦτό τε καὶ τὴν τῆς Συρίας ἀρχὴν ἐπιτετραμμένος, τῆς βασιλέως ἀποστὰς πίστεως εἰς ἐπαναστάσεως ἔννοιαν ἦλθεν. Ὅπερ ἀκούσαντι τῷ Πρόβῳ καὶ διανοουμένῳ τὸ ἐγχείρημα μετελθεῖν ἔφθησαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἑῴαν στρατιῶται συγκατασβέσαντες τῇ τυραννίδι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ἔπαυσε δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἐπανάστασιν ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ μελετηθεῖσαν διὰ Βικτωρίνου Μαυρουσίου τὸ γένος· ᾧπερ πεισθεὶς ἔτυχε τὸν ἐπαναστάντα τῆς Βρεττανίας ἄρχοντα προστησάμενος. Καλέσας δὲ τὸν Βικτωρῖνον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συμβουλῇ μεμψάμενος τὸ πταῖσμα ἐπανορθώσοντα πέμπει. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσας περινοίᾳ οὐκ ἄφρονι τὸν τύραννον ἀναιρεῖ.

187

EI 70 Ὅτι πολλὰ διαπραξαμένου τοῦ Πρόβου καλῶς τε καὶ δικαίως οἰκονομήσαντος τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπανάστασις ἐκ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἀγγέλλεται, τῶν ἐν Ῥαιτίᾳ καὶ Νωρικῷ δυνάμεων Κάρῳ περιθέντων τὴν ἁλουργίδα. Τοῦ δὲ δύναμιν ἐναντιωσομένην αὐτῷ στείλαντος, οἱ μὲν πεμφθέντες πρὸς Κάρον μετέστησαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπιστάντες ἐρήμῳ βοηθείας τῷ Πρόβῳ, κωλύοντος οὐδενός, διεχρήσαντο βασιλεύσαντα ἐνιαυτοὺς ἓξ μῆνας δʹ.

Fr. 186 = fr. 158.2 M = fr. 241 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 59f. | P (f. 131^{v}) S (f. 134^{v}-f. 135^{r})
Fr. 187 = fr. 160 M = fr. 243 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 60 | P (f. 131^{v}-f. 132^{r}) S (f. 135^{r})

Fr. 186: Zos. 1.66 Fr. 187: 15 διαπραξαμένου – 20 μῆνας δʹ Zos. 1.71.4-5

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4 ἐπιτετραμένος S : ἐπιτραμένος P **7** συγκατασβέσαντες P : συγκατασκεύσαντες S **9** ᾧπερ corr. Müller 1851 : ὥπερ PS Βρεττανίας PS de Boor 1905 : Βρεταννίας Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **11** συμβουλῇ corr. Müller 1851 : συμβολῇ PS ἐπανορθώσοντα P : ἐπανορθώσαντα S **19** αὐτοὶ PS : αὐτῷ coni. Müller 1851 ἐπιστάντες S ut coni. Müller 1851 : ἐπιπάντες P

186

When Probus ruled over the Romans, Saturninus, who was of Moorish origin, a very close associate of the emperor and for this reason entrusted with the government of Syria, betrayed the emperor's confidence and was planning a revolt. On hearing this, Probus determined to fight him but was forestalled by the eastern troops, who destroyed the man and his tyranny. With the help of Victorinus, who was a Moor, he put down another revolt which had occurred in Britain: it was on Victorinus' advice that Probus had appointed the governor of Britain now in revolt. Summoning Victorinus, Probus reproved him for his advice and sent him off to make good the error. The latter immediately left for Britain where he killed the usurper by a clever trick.

187

After Probus had achieved much while administering his office in an honourable and just way, a rebellion was reported to him from the West: the armies in Raetia and Noricum had invested Carus with the purple. Probus dispatched some troops to oppose him, but one part of the forces that had been sent against Carus went over to his side and the other even turned on Probus, who was left without defence, and – facing no opposition – they killed him after a reign of six years and four months.

188

EV 51 Ὅτι Καρῖνος ὁ τοῦ Κάρου υἱὸς βασιλεύσας πρᾶγμα μὲν εἰς κοινὸν ὄφελος φέρον οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ ἐκδεδιῃτημένῳ βίῳ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν παραδοὺς παρανάλωμα τῆς τρυφῆς ἐποιεῖτο φόνους οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων κατά τι προσκεκρουκέναι νομισθέντων αὐτῷ, βαρυνομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ πικρᾷ τυραννίδι συναναμιχθείσῃ νεότητι, καὶ πάντα ἐκμελῶς καὶ δίχα λογισμοῦ πράττοντος.

189

EI 71 Ὅτι Καρίνου βασιλεύσαντος τοῦ υἱοῦ Κάρου καὶ πάντα ἐκμελῶς καὶ λογισμοῦ δίχα πράττοντος, ἀγγελθείσης τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς Νουμεριανοῦ τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ τῇ Καρίνου περὶ πάντα ἐκμελείᾳ καὶ ὠμότητι δυσχεράναντες οἱ τῶν ἐκεῖσε στρατοπέδων ἡγούμενοι Σαβίνῳ Ἰουλιανῷ τὴν ὕπαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι βασιλικὴν στολὴν περιθέντες μάχεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ διενοοῦντο Καρίνῳ. Καρῖνος δὲ γνοὺς τὴν ἐπανάστασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλετο. Τότε δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμφρονῆσαι σφίσιν τοὺς ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἐπανελθόντας ἀναπεισάντων, Διοκλητιανὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν

Fr. 188 = fr. 162 M = fr. 246.1-6 R; Valois 1634, 834 | T (f. 98[r]) Fr. 189 = fr. 163 M = fr. 246.6-16 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 60 | P (f. 132[r]) S (f. 135[r])

Fr. 188: Zos. 1.72 Fr. 189: Zos. 1.73

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5 post αὐτῷ virgula distinxit Büttner-Wobst 1906b 7 πράττοντος T *Suda* κ 391 : πραττούσῃ Valois 1634 post πράττοντος excidisse ζήτει ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας coni. Müller 1851 12 σαβίνῳ S^3 : σαβινίῳ PS 14 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίαν in app. coni. Müller 1851

Fr. 188: *Suda* κ 391, 33.24-30 οὗτος ὁ Καρῖνος βασιλεύσας πρᾶγμα μὲν ἐς κοινὸν ὄφελος φέρον οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο· τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ ἐκδεδιῃτημένῳ βίῳ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν παραδοὺς παρανάλωμα τῆς τρυφῆς ἐποιεῖτο φόνους οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων, κατά τι προσκεκρουκέναι νομισθέντων αὐτῷ. βαρυνομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ πικρᾷ τυραννίδι συναναμιχθείσῃ νεότητι, καὶ πάντα ἐκμελῶς καὶ δίχα λογισμοῦ πράττοντος. | 3 τρυφῇ – 5 ἀνθρώπων *Suda* π 401 Παρανάλωμα· ὁ Μακρῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τρυφῇ καὶ ἐκδεδιῃτημένῳ βίῳ τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν παραδοὺς παρανάλωμα τῆς τρυφῆς ἐποιεῖτο φόνους οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων.

188

After becoming emperor, Carinus, the son of Carus, did not do anything useful for the common good and waisted his inheritance in an unrestrained life of luxury; for the sake of extravagant living he sacrificed the lives of innocent people, who were thought to have committed some petty offense against him. Everyone felt oppressed by bitter tyranny which was mixed with the youthful insolence, and since he acted in all matters carelessly and without deliberation…

189

In the reign of Carus' son Carinus, who acted negligently and without proper consideration, and after the death of Numerian had been made known in Italy, the commanders of the armies stationed there were annoyed at Carinus on account of his negligence and cruelty and invested the praetorian prefect Sabinus Julianus with the purple, having in mind to fight on his side against Carinus. As soon as Carinus heard about the rebellion, he prepared for military operations in Italy. But the soldiers convinced the troops who had just returned from the Persian war to join them in the rebellion, and led Diocletian, who had already assumed the

Νικομήδειαν τὴν ἁλουργίδα περιθέμενον ἄγουσι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. Ἔτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, συμβαλὼν ὁ Καρῖνος τοῖς Σαβίνου Ἰουλιανοῦ στρατιώταις καὶ στρέψας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τούτους, τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ τινῶν ἐπελθόντων, αἰφνίδιον ἀναιρεῖται, τῶν χιλιάρχων ἑνός, οὗ τὴν γυναῖκα διαφθείρας ἔτυχεν, ἀνελόντος αὐτόν.

190

EI 72 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ Καραύσιός τις, ἀνὴρ τεχθεὶς μὲν ἐν ἀφανεστάτῃ πόλει, περὶ δὲ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ σπουδῇ καὶ γενναιότητι διαφέρων, κατὰ μικρὸν δόξαν ἀρίστην κτησάμενος ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας νεωτερίζειν ἤρξατο. Βελγικὸν καλούμενον κλῖμα κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἁλμυρίδος θάλασσαν Φράγκοι τε καὶ Σάξονες ἔθνη Κελτικὰ διετάραττον, ληιζόμενοι τοὺς ἐμπόρους καὶ τῶν χωρίων πορθοῦντες τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια. Σταλεὶς τοίνυν οὗτος ἐκ Βονωνίας πόλεως Γαλατικῆς, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐχειρώσατο, τὴν δὲ λείαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου οὔτε τοῖς ἐποίκοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεδίδου, οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀπέπεμπεν, ἑκουσίως προπέμπειν τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπωπτεύθη. Ἀναιρεθῆναι τοίνυν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρκουλίου προσταχθεὶς τήν τε πορφύραν περιέθετο καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν καταλαμβάνει. Καὶ τούτου τοῦτο πεπραχότος, καὶ κεκινημένων ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνεωτέριζεν, καὶ ἡ Ἀφρικὴ πρὸς εʹ ἀνδρῶν Γεντιανῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπεπολέμητο.

Fr. 190 = fr. 164 M = fr. 247 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 60f., Droysen 1879, 163, 165 | P (f. 132^{rv}) S (f. 135^{rv})

Fr. 190: Eutr. 9.21.1-22.1

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3 τρέψας Müller 1851 **7** καραυσιόστης S **8** τὰ om. P **10** Βελγικὸν corr. Müller 1851 ex Eutr. 21.1 : Σελβικὸν PS **11** Σάξονες corr. Müller 1851 : σάζονες PS κελτικὰ S : καλετικὰ P **13** Βονωνίας corr. Cramer 1841 : βοωνίας PS **18** ὄντων PS : πάντων Müller 1851

purple in Nicomedia, to Italy. While Diocletian was on his way [to Italy], Carinus met Sabinus Julianus' soldiers in battle and put them to flight, but he was attacked by some men from his retinue and killed unexpectedly; his murderer was one of his military tribunes whose wife he had recently seduced.

190

In the reign of Diocletian, Carausius, a man born in a completely obscure town, who had distinguished himself by his zeal in military actions and his vigourous spirit and gradually achieved an outstanding reputation, started a revolt for the following reason. The Celtic tribes of the Franks and Saxons had been devastating the region by the briny sea called Belgica, robbing merchants and pillaging the towns on the coast. This man was dispatched from the Gallic town of Bononia [Boulogne] and gained a victory over many barbarians, but the fact that he neither returned the booty intact to the provincials nor sent it to the emperors aroused the suspicion that he had admitted the enemy on purpose. After receiving orders from Herculius to kill himself, he assumed the purple and took possession of Britain. While this man took this action and affairs were in disarray, Achilleus too started a rebellion in Egypt, and Africa was also troubled by the so called five men of Gentiani.[1]

[1] Apparently the translator took the Latin word *Quinquegentiani* to mean "five men of Gentianian origin".

191

EV 52 Ὅτι Διοκλητιανὸς μνήμῃ καὶ ὀργῇ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νεωτερισθέντων περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὐ μετρίως οὐδὲ ἡμέρως τῷ κρατεῖν ἀπεχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ προγραφαῖς τε καὶ φόνοις τῶν ἐπισήμων μιαίνων ἐπῆλθε τὴν Αἴγυπτον. Ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ χημίας ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ τοῖς παλαιοῖς αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ἔκαυσε πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι πλοῦτον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης περιγίνεσθαι τέχνης μηδὲ χρημάτων αὐτοὺς θαρροῦντας περιουσίᾳ τοῦ λοιποῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταίρειν. Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν ποικίλος τις καὶ πανοῦργος ἦν, τῷ δὲ λίαν συνετῷ καὶ ὀξεῖ τῆς γνώμης ἐπεκάλυπτε πολλάκις τὰ τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἐλαττώματα, πᾶσαν σκληρὰν πρᾶξιν ἑτέροις ἀνατιθείς. Ἐπιμελὴς δὲ ὅμως καὶ ταχὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πρακτέων ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα Ῥωμαίοις πάτρια μετεσκεύασεν.

Fr. 191 = fr. 165 M = fr. 248 R; Valois 1634, 834, 837, Droysen 1879, 165 | T (f. 98v)

Fr. 191: Eutr. 9.23,26

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3 τῷ *Suda* δ 1156 edd. : τὸ T **14** μετεσκεύασεν *Suda* δ 1156 : μετεσκέσασεν T

Fr. 191: *Suda* δ 1156, 104.18-30 οὗτος ὁ ἄνους καὶ μισόχριστος μνήμῃ καὶ ὀργῇ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νεωτερισθέντων περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐ μετρίως οὐδὲ ἡμέρως τῷ κρατεῖν ἀπεχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ προγραφαῖς τε καὶ φόνοις τῶν ἐπισήμων μιαίνων ἐπῆλθε τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ χημείας ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ τοῖς παλαιοῖς αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ἔκαυσε πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι πλοῦτον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης περιγίνεσθαι τέχνης μηδὲ χρημάτων αὐτοὺς θαρροῦντας περιουσίᾳ τοῦ λοιποῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταίρειν. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἦθος ποικίλος τις καὶ πανοῦργος, τῷ δὲ λίαν συνετῷ καὶ ὀξεῖ τῆς γνώμης ἐπεκάλυπτε πολλάκις τὰ τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἐλαττώματα, πᾶσαν σκληρὰν πρᾶξιν ἑτέροις ἀνατιθείς. ἐπιμελὴς δὲ ὅμως καὶ ταχὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πρακτέων ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα Ῥωμαίοις πάτρια μετεσκεύασεν. | 5 Ὅτε δὴ – 8 ἀνταίρειν *Suda* χ 280 Χημεία· ἡ τοῦ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευή, ἧς τὰ βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς ἔκαυσεν. [ὅτι διὰ τὰ νεωτερισθέντα Αἰγυπτίοις Διοκλητιανῷ τούτοις ἀνημέρως καὶ φονικῶς ἐχρήσατο.] ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ χημείας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου τοῖς παλαιοῖς αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ἔκαυσε πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι πλοῦτον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης προσγίνεσθαι τέχνης μηδὲ χρημάτων αὐτοὺς θαρροῦντας περιουσίᾳ τοῦ λοιποῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταίρειν.

191

Filled with wrath and bearing in mind the rebellion against his rule in Egypt, Diocletian did not use his power with moderation and kindness, but visited the whole of Egypt with severe proscriptions and massacres of eminent people. After examining the books written by the ancient [Egyptians] concerning the alchemy of gold and silver, he burned them so that the Egyptians would no longer have wealth from such a technique, nor would their surfeit of money in the future embolden them against the Romans. Diocletian was wily and cunning; he often concealed the inferiority of his own nature by means of his sharp and subtle mind, attributing all acts of severity to others. Nevertheless, he was attentive and quick in grasping the matters of practical significance and made many aspects of imperial ceremonial more overbearing compared with the ancestral customs of the Romans.

192

EV 53 Ὅτι Ἑρκούλιος καὶ δίχα παντὸς προκαλύμματος ἄγριός τε ἦν καὶ τυραννικός, τὸ τῆς οἰκείας γνώμης τραχὺ τῷ καταπληκτικῷ τοῦ προσώπου παραδηλῶν. Τῇ γοῦν ἑαυτοῦ φύσει παντάπασιν ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ τῷ Διοκλητιανῷ πρὸς ἅπαν ἄτοπόν τε καὶ σκληρὸν βούλευμα ἑκούσιος ὑπουργὸς καθίστατο.

193

Suda δ 1156 Ὅτι Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφέντες τὸν ἰδιώτην μετῆλθον βίον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Σάλωνας, πόλιν Ἰλλυρικήν, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Λευκανῶν ἀφίκετο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Μαξιμιανὸς πόθῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς μεταμέλειαν ἦλθε, Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατεγήρα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισίν, ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀρετὴν ἐνδειξάμενος, τῆς δὲ Ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας οὐδ᾽ ὅλως ἀποστάς.

Fr. 192 = fr. 166 M = fr. 249 R; Valois 1634, 837, Droysen 1879, 167 | T (f. 98v)
Fr. 193 = Adler 1928, ii, 104.31-105.2 = fr. 251.1 R; Droysen 1879, 167

Fr. 192: Eutr. 9.27.1 Fr. 193: Eutr. 9.27.2

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12 οὐδ᾽ ὅλως Adler 1928 : οὐκ VM*Suda* : οὐαὶ αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄσκησιν mg. add. AM*Suda* post gl. GIT*Suda*

Fr. 192: *Suda* ε 3018 Ἑρκούλιος· οὗτος καὶ δίχα παντὸς προκαλύμματος ἄγριός τε ἦν καὶ τυραννικός, τὸ τῆς οἰκείας γνώμης τραχὺ τῷ καταπληκτικῷ τοῦ προσώπου παραδηλῶν. τῇ γοῦν ἑαυτοῦ φύσει παντάπασιν ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ τῷ Διοκλητιανῷ πρὸς ἅπαν ἄτοπόν τε καὶ σκληρὸν βούλευμα ἑκούσιος ὑπουργὸς καθίστατο.

192

Herculius was brutal and tyrannical without any dissimulation; the terrible expression of his face revealed the fierceness of his disposition. Because he succumbed completely to [the impulses of] his own nature, he became a willing assistant of Diocletian in all his deviant and cruel measures.

193

Diocletian and Maximian stepped down from their imperial positions and returned to private life. Diocletian went to an Illyrian city named Salonae and Maximian went to the territory of the Lucanians. Whereas Maximian came to regret this decision out of hunger for power, Diocletian grew old peacefully for three years, demonstrating his abundant virtue, even though he did not abandon his pagan beliefs at all.

194

EV 54 Ὅτι Κωνστάντιος ὁ ἀπὸ Καίσαρος βασιλεύσας μετὰ τὴν διακλήρωσιν ἀποχρῆν ἡγούμενος τήν τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπίκλησιν τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Λιβύης ἑκουσίως ἀπέστη τῷ συνάρχοντι, τὸ εὔδαιμον οὐκ ἐν μεγέθει ἀρχῆς ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ ἡσύχῳ τε καὶ ἀπράγμονι θέμενος. Ἀνὴρ ἄριστος καὶ δημοτικὸς διαφερόντως τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἴκους περιέπων τὰς δὲ τῶν βασιλείων θησαυρῶν αὐξήσεις οὐ σφόδρα διὰ σπουδῆς ἄγων. Βέλτιον γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἐδόκει τὰς δημοσίας χορηγίας ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων περιουσίαις ἔχειν τὸ βέβαιον, ἢ ὑπὸ ἓν κλεῖθρον τῶν ἁπάντων κατακεκλεῖσθαι πλοῦτον. Οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μέτριός τις ἦν καὶ λιτὸς ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου δίαιταν, ὡς μηδὲ κοῖλον ἄργυρον ἐς πλῆθος κεκτῆσθαι μηδὲ ἕτερόν τι πρὸς τρυφὴν βλέπον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ δημοτελεῖς εὐφροσύνας τῷ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀργύρῳ καὶ στρωμναῖς κοσμεῖν τὰ βασίλεια, ὅθεν καὶ Παῦπερ ὠνομάζετο. Ἐποίει γὰρ δὴ πολλὴν τὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὔνοιαν ὅ τε οἰκεῖος τρόπος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἠσκημένος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἡγησαμένων φύσις, ἀσμένως τῶν Γαλατῶν (τήν τε ὕποπτον Διοκλητιανοῦ σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν Μαξιμιανοῦ ὠμότητα ἐννοούντων) τοὺς αὐχένας ὑποκλινάντων τῇ τούτου πραότητι.

Fr. 194 = fr. 168 M = fr. 252 R; Valois 1634, 837, Droysen 1879, 169 | T (f. 98v-f. 99r)

Fr. 194: Eutr. 10.1

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10 τῶν ἁπάντων T Büttner-Wobst 1906b : τὸν ἁπάντων Müller 1851 οὕτω *Suda* κ 2541 Büttner-Wobst 1906b : οὕτῳ T **12** μηδὲ *Suda* κ 2541 *Suda* π 815 Büttner-Wobst 1906b : μήτε T

Fr. 194: 10 Οὕτω – 11 λιτὸς et 11 ὡς μηδὲ – 12 κεκτῆσθαι *Suda* κ 2541 οὕτω δὲ ἦν ἄρα μέτριος καὶ λιτὸς ὡς μηδὲ κοῖλον ἄργυρον εἰς πλῆθος κεκτῆσθαι. | 11 ὡς μηδὲ – 14 ὠνομάζετο *Suda* π 815 Παῦπερ· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο Κωνστάντιος, ὁ πατὴρ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου, διὰ τὸ λιτῶς διαιτᾶσθαι, ὡς μηδὲ κοῖλον ἄργυρον κεκτῆσθαι εἰς πλῆθος, μηδ᾽ ἕτερόν τι πρὸς τρυφὴν βλέπον· ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ δημοτελεῖς εὐφροσύνας τῷ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀργύρῳ καὶ στρωμναῖς ἐκόσμει τὰ βασίλεια.

194

When Constantius passed from the rank of Caesar to that of Augustus, and after the apportionment [of the different parts of the empire], he considered himself to be content with the title of emperor and Augustus and willingly gave up all claims to Italy and Libya in favour of his colleague in office, believing that true happiness did not depend on the magnitude of his dominion but rather on the tranquility and ease [of his life]. He was an outstanding man, who favoured the common people above all and showed great concern for private households instead of striving to multiply the imperial treasures at all costs. It seemed better to him to secure the state's resources through the affluence of his subjects rather than to retain the wealth of all in a single vault. He was so moderate and frugal in some other respects and in his mode of life that he had not acquired even silver plate in quantity, nor anything else intended to be luxurious; instead, for religious and public festivities he used to deck out his palace with the silver and upholsteries of private individuals; for this reason he was called Pauper [i.e. the Poor]. The considerable goodwill of his subjects towards him was engendered by his personal inclination towards what was best and most useful; and in no small degree was due to the nature of the previous rulers: the Gauls, who had experienced the suspicious mind of Diocletian and the cruelty of Maximian, were happy to bow their necks to the moderateness of this emperor.

195

EI 73 Ὅτι ὁ Γαλέριος, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ᾔσθετο νεωτερισθέντων, ἐν μεγάλῳ τὸ πραχθὲν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς τε τῶν πραιτωριανῶν στάσεως, οἵτινες Μαξιμιανὸν Ἑρκούλιον ἀνεῖπον βασιλέα, καὶ τῆς Μαξεντίου ἀρχῆς Σεβῆρον σὺν ἀποχρώσῃ στρατιᾷ καταπέμπει τὸν Καίσαρα. Ὃς ἀφικόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην τὰ μὲν πρῶτα περιιὼν ἐπολιόρκει τὸν Μαξέντιον, καταληφθεὶς δὲ ἀδοκήτως ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐναντίας γενομένων μοίρας φεύγει καὶ ἁλοὺς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ διαφθείρεται. Συνέβη γοῦν ἐντεῦθεν τὰς τοῦ Μαξεντίου αὐξηθῆναι δυνάμεις καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαιωθῆναι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Ἑρκούλιος μανικῶς τῆς δυναστείας ἐρῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἀγερθέντων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἀφελέσθαι τὸν παῖδα τῆς ἁλουργίδος ἐπεχείρησε. Καταστασιασθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ κινδυνεύσας ἀναιρεθῆναι ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, ἐξεῶσθαι πρὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας πλαττόμενος, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου κηδεστοῦ ὄντος ἀνυπόπτως ὑποδεχθείη. Γνώμην δὲ ἐποιεῖτο καιροῦ πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀφικόμενος τοῦ κατακτεῖναι τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον. Πολλὴ δέ τις κατεῖχεν εὔνοια τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον διά τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐν πολέμοις εὐτυχίαν. Φράγκους γάρ τοι καὶ Ἀλαμανούς, οἳ Κελτῶν εἰσι δυνατώτεροι, πανστρατιᾷ διαφθείρας καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τούτων ἑλὼν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐπινικίων πανηγύρει διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς θηρία παρεσκεύασεν. Ἀνοιχθείσης οὖν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς διὰ Φαύστης τῆς τοῦ Μαξιμιανοῦ θυγατρός (αὐτὴ γὰρ συνοικοῦσα τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ κατεμήνυσε τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς δόλον), φεύγει μὲν ὁ Ἑρκούλιος, καταληφθεὶς δὲ περὶ Μασσαλίαν, ὡς πρὸς τὸν παῖδα πάλιν ἀπαίρειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν διεγνώκει, τιμωρίαν ἐξέτισεν ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐν δίκῃ. * * *

Fr. 195 = fr. 169 M = fr. 253 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 61f., Droysen 1879, 171, 173 | P (f. 132v-f. 133r) S (f. 135v-f. 136r)

Fr. 195: Eutr. 10.2.4.-3

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2 ᾔσθετο S : ἔθετο vel ἔσθετο P **11** ἀγερθέντων S : ἐγερθέντων P ἐς S : εἰς P **13** ἀπῆρεν S de Boor 1905 : ἀπῆλεν P : ἀπῆλθεν edd. **15** Γνώμην – Κωνσταντῖνον nonnulla excidisse susp. est Roberto 2005 **18** Φράγκους PS de Boor 1905 : Φραγκοὺς edd. **19** τοι S : τι P Cramer 1841 : τε Müller 1851 Ἀλαμανούς Müller 1851 : ἀλβανούς PS **24** Μασσαλίαν corr. Cramer 1841 : μεσσαλίαν PS **25** lacunam indicavit de Boor 1905, post haec in codd. sequuntur, tamquam ad eandem rem pertinentia ὀγδόῃ γάρ που καὶ εἰκοστῇ… quae leguntur in fragm. 200

195

When Galerius heard of the insurrection in Rome, he considered it to be a matter of the utmost importance and sent his Caesar Severus with a sufficient military force to put down the revolt of the praetorians, who had declared Maximianus Herculius emperor, and to put an end to the rule of Maxentius. Upon his arrival at Rome, Severus surrounded the city and at first besieged Maxentius, but then – taken by surprise by the defection of a part of his army to the enemy – he fled, was captured at Ravenna and killed. As a result the forces of Maxentius were augmented and his power was strengthened. Herculius, who madly craved power all the same, gathered the armies together at one place a short time later and tried to divest his son of the purple. However, he faced a mutiny of the soldiers and, in danger of being killed, he set out for Gaul, pretending that he had been expelled from Italy by his son so that he might be received without suspicion by his son-in-law Constantine, whom he was planning to kill when the opportunity presented itself. The soldiers were actually quite favourably disposed towards Constantine for various reasons and because of his successes in military campaigns. For he had utterly defeated the Franks and the Alamanni, who are the most powerful of the Celtic tribes, captured their leaders and threw them to the beasts during the public festival that was organised to celebrate the victory. When the plot had been uncovered by Maximianus' daughter Fausta (she was married to Constantine and reported her father's deception to her husband), Herculius fled but was captured at Massalia [Marseilles] when he was preparing to sail from there to his son in Italy and justly paid the penalty by being killed.

196

EV 55 Ὅτι ⟨Κωνσταντῖνος⟩, ὥς φησιν οὗτος ὁ Ἰωάννης, {ὡς} τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν Κομμόδης διαφθείρει δόλῳ καὶ τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς καὶ ἐπιτηδείων. Διὸ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα δόξας ἄριστος εἶναι βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐπαινετοῖς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἄξιος παραβάλλεσθαι, μετ᾽ ὀλίγον τοῖς εἰρημένοις μειονεκτήμασιν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον τῆς δόξης μεταβέβληκεν, καίτοι τῆς φύσεως αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου φοιτᾶν ἀνθρώποις εἴωθεν, ἄριστον ἀναμφιβόλως ἀποφαινόντων. Οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὁπόσαι τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ τοῦ σώματος διέλαμπον ἀρεταὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων δόξαν μεταδιώκοντα καὶ παρὰ τὰς μάχας τύχῃ τε ὁμοῦ δεξιωτάτῃ καὶ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιστήμῃ οὐ μείονι χρώμενον. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις μόνοις περιῆν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τούτους Σκύθαις πολλάκις προσπολεμήσας ὑποκύψαι τούτους ἠνάγκασεν ἔς τε σπονδῶν αἴτησιν καταφυγεῖν. Ὧν μεταδοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀποχρησάμενος τοῖς προτερήμασι μεγίστας παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἰσχύος μνήμας ἀπέλειπεν. Ἔχαιρε δὲ ἀνέκαθεν ἐλευθερίοις μαθήμασιν καὶ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ παιδείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ λόγους. Δίκαιόν γε μὴν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἔρωτα θηρώμενος ἐτύγχανε τῆς σπουδῆς τῷ δεξιῷ τε τῆς φύσεως καὶ περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς δαψιλεῖ. Ὡς γὰρ δὴ πρός τινας τῶν γνωρίμων ὑπούλως τε καὶ οὐχ ὑγιῶς ἔσχεν, οὕτως ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς βέβαιος ὤφθη καὶ πιστότατος, οὐδένα καιρὸν παρεὶς οὐδὲ ἀπολιπών τι φροντίδος, ὡς δυνατωτέρους τε χρήμασι καὶ λαμπροτέρους ταῖς τύχαις ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.

Fr. 196 = fr. 170 M = fr. 254 R; Valois 1634, 838, Droysen 1879, 175 | T (f. 99rv)

Fr. 196: Eutr. 10.6.3-7

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2 Κωνσταντῖνος add. Valois 1634 ὡς del. Valois 1634 **8** post γὰρ verbum ῥᾴδιον suppl. Valois 1634, videtur ἔστι esse silentio supplendum, ut Büttner-Wobst 1906b ψυχῆς Valois 1634 : τυχης T **10** ἔργων om. Valois 1634 **11** χρώμενον corr. Valois 1634 : χρωμένῳ T **16** ἀπέλειπεν T : ἀπέλιπεν Valois 1634 **17** λόγους corr. Valois 1634 : λόγοις T **22** ταῖς τύχαις corr. Valois 1634 : τῆς τύχης T ἀποφαίνοι Valois 1634

Fr. 196: 4 τὰ πρῶτα – 5 παραβάλλεσθαι *Suda* π 278 τὰ πρῶτα παραβαλλόμενος τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν βασιλέων. | 14 Ὧν – 16 ἀπέλειπεν *Suda* α 3654, 329.16-18 τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξαίτησιν σπονδῶν ποιησαμένων, ὧν μεταδούς, οὐκ ἀποχρησάμενος τοῖς προτερήμασι, μεγίστην παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις δικαιοσύνης ἀπέλειπε δόξαν.

196

Constantine, as John of Antioch says, treacherously killed the son of his sister Commoda and numerous associates and friends.[1] At the beginning of his reign he appeared to be an excellent emperor and worthy of comparison with laudable rulers; after a short time his reputation dwindled owing to the aforementioned failings, although his nature and all that the divine force visits upon mankind made it obvious that he was undisputably the best. It is impossible to say how many spiritual and bodily virtues were conspicuously evident in this man. Striving after military glory, he enjoyed great fortune in battles but was no less accomplished at the art of generalship. Not only did he emerge victorious over his enemies during the civil wars, but also afterwards crushed the Scythians in several encounters and forced them to yield and resort to asking for peace. He granted them peace and did not abuse his superiority, and thus came to be remembered among the barbarian nations for his justice and strength. From a very young age he took pleasure in liberal arts and thought highly of education and eloquence. He strove to earn genuine affection for himself and succeeded in attaining it through the gentleness of his character and the abundance of his presents. Just as he was treacherous and immoral towards some of his associates, in the same way he was constant and faithful to many of his friends, since he missed no opportunity to think of ways to make them more powerful in wealth and more illustrious in standing.

1 The chronicler must have mistunderstood the original of Eutropius: ***commodae indolis*** *iuvenem* must have given origin to the name Commoda which appears in the text. He might have mistaken the word *indolis* for *dolo* as well, which would account for the addition of δόλῳ ("treacherously") in the text. *See* Müller 1851, 603, n., DiMaio 1980, 167f.

197

EV 56 Ὅτι Κώνστας ὁ παῖς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου χρόνον τινὰ προὔστη τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὀρθῶς. Τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἀτόπους νοσῶν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ φίλων ὁμιλίαις οὐχ ὑγιαινούσαις χρώμενος πρὸς βαρύτατα κατηνέχθη μειονεκτήματα, δι᾽ ἃ δὴ φορτικὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐποίκοις καὶ οὐ πρὸς θυμοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἦν.

198

EV 57 Ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοι διαιτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπαινετὸς γέγονεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἄριστος ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ εὐτυχέστατος τοῖς τε στρατιωτικοῖς τέλεσιν ἐν παντὶ φοβερὸς τῷ βίῳ, καίπερ ἐς οὐδεμίαν πώποτε προαχθεὶς ἀπηνῆ τε καὶ σκληρὰν τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων κόλασιν. Κωνστάντιός γε μὴν ἐναντίαν ταῖς εἰρημέναις εἰλήχει τύχην, ἄριστος μὲν ὢν τὰ πολιτικά, οὐ δεξιῷ δὲ παρὰ τὰς μάχας δαίμονι χρώμενος.

199

EV 58 Ὅτι Βετρανίων ὁ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀναγορευθεὶς βασιλεὺς πρὸς μακρὸν ἤδη γῆρας ἐληλακὼς ἐμπειρίας τε καὶ τύχης ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς ἀνὴρ δεδοκιμασμένος καὶ ἀρχαῖος τὸ ἦθος τῷ τε κοινῷ καὶ δημοτικῷ τῶν τρόπων προσαγόμενος τὸ ὑπήκοον· πλὴν ὅσον παιδείας γε παντάπασιν ἀμαθῶς τε καὶ ἀμυήτως ἔχων, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ πρῶτα παρὰ τοῖς γραμμα-

Fr. 197 = fr. 172 M = fr. 257 R; Valois 1634, 838, Droysen 1879, 177 | T (f. 99v)
Fr. 198 = fr. 172 M = fr. 258 R; Valois 1634, 841, Droysen 1879, 177 | T (f. 99v)
Fr. 199 = fr. 173 M = fr. 259 R; Valois 1634, 841, Droysen 1879, 177, 179 | T (f. 99v)

Fr. 197: Eutr. 10.9.3 Fr. 198: Eutr. 10.9.3-10.1 Fr. 199: Eutr. 10.10.2

9 post τοῖς τε verbum γὰρ add. Müller 1851 **12** ταῖς εἰρημέναις T : τοῖς εἰρημένοις Kambylis **16** ἕνεκα τῆς corr. Valois 1634 : ἕνεκα τοῖς T

Fr. 199: 19 μηδὲ – 360.1 στοιχεῖα *Suda* γ 422, 538.22-23 οὐδὲ τὰ πρῶτα παρὰ τοῖς γραμματισταῖς ἐκμεμαθηκὼς στοιχεῖα.

197

Constans, the son of Constantine the Great, ruled justly for some time. But in the end he succumbed to morbid passions, associated with false friends and was drawn towards more serious vices, which made him onerous to the provincials and unpopular with the soldiers.

198

He [Constans] did not deserve praise for the administration of domestic affairs either; in the administration of military matters, however, he proved to be very efficient and fortunate and was feared by the soldiery throughout the whole course of his life, even though he never resorted to any harsh and cruel punishments of offenders. Constantius' fate was different from the one just described: he was an excellent politician, but was not very successful in battle.

199

Vetranio, who was made emperor in Illyricum, was already a very old man. He was considered appropriate on account of his experience and success in military service; he had an old-fashioned cast of mind and was able to win the affection of his subordinates because of his common and ordinary character; however, as far as his culture was concerned, he was completely devoid of all learning: he had not received even an elementary

τισταῖς ἐκμεμαθηκὼς στοιχεῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ μόλις παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς βασιλείας τὴν γνῶσιν παρειληφώς.

200

EI 74 * * * Ὀγδόῃ γάρ που καὶ εἰκοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τῶν Μαγνεντίου στρατηγῶν ἁλοὺς διεφθάρη, τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεθείς· ἣν ἐπὶ κοντοῦ τινος αἰωρήσαντες περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν οἱ ἁλόντες ἤγαγον. Ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ χρημάτων τε ἀπαγωγαὶ βαρεῖαι καὶ φόνοι τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Ῥωμαίων, ὑπονοίᾳ τῆς πρὸς Νεπωτιανὸν κοινωνίας ἐγένοντο. Οὐ πολλῷ γε μὴν ὕστερον Μαγνέντιος Μορσῆς πόλεως πλησίον ἐξεωθεὶς τῆς παρατάξεως πρὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Κωνστάντιον καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποσχὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῖς πολεμίοις πεσεῖν φεύγει, πολλῆς ἑκατέρωθεν Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι διεφθαρμένης, ἣ πρὸς ὀθνείους τε καὶ βαρβαρικοὺς ἀχθεῖσα πολέμους ἀξιόχρεος ἂν ἐγένετο καὶ πολλῶν ἐπινικίων πομπῶν ἀσφαλείας τε τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις κατέστη πρόξενος. Κωνστάντιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον τρέπεται πόλεμον. Μεθ' ὃ δὴ Μαγνέντιος συχναῖς ἐλαττωθεὶς μάχαις ἑαυτὸν αὐτοχειρὶ θανάτῳ περὶ Λουγδοῦνον πόλιν ἐξάγει τοῦ βίου, τὴν μητέρα προανελών, τετάρτῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ μηνὶ ἑβδόμῳ· ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ κοινωνεῖ τοῦ θανάτου Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν Γαλλιῶν ἀποδεδειγμένος. Περὶ τούτους γε μὴν τοὺς χρόνους ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως Γάλλος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς καὶ ἀτόποις ἀναιρεῖται πράξεσιν, ἀνὴρ ἄγριος τὴν φύσιν ὢν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστησόμενος ἄν, εἴπερ αὐτοκράτορι γνώμῃ προστῆναί οἱ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξεγένετο. Σιλβανός τέ τις κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν νεωτέρων ἁπτόμενος πρὸ τριακοστῆς ἡμέρας ἐκποδὼν κατέστη.

Fr. 200 = fr. 174 M = fr. 260 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 62, Droysen 1879, 179 | P (f. 133^{rv}) S (f. 136^{rv})

Fr. 200: Eutr. 10.11.2-13

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1 ἀλλὰ T : ἅμα Valois 1634 **4** ante Ὀγδόῃ lacunam indicavit de Boor 1905, v. not. ad fr. 195 **8** ὑπονοίᾳ S : ὑπονοίαν P **10** ἐξεωθεὶς PS : ἐξεωσθεὶς Müller 1851 **13** ἀξιόχρεος PS de Boor 1905 : ἀξιόχρεως edd. **17** Λουγδοῦνον de Boor 1905 : Λουγδούνον S sine acc. P : Λούγδουνον edd. **23** προστῆναί corr. Cramer 1841 : προυστῆναί PS

education and it was not until he was an old man and already emperor that he acquired some rudiments of it with great difficulty.

200

On the twenty-eighth day after the beginning of the insurrection, he [Nepotianus] was captured by the generals of Magnentius and killed, his head was cut off, stuck on a pole and carried through the whole city by those who had captured him. There followed some heavy financial exactions and assassinations of the most prominent Romans, who were suspected of allegiance to Nepotianus. Not long afterwards near the city of Mursa [modern Osijek, Croatia] Magnentius was driven from the battlefield by Constantius' soldiers and almost fell into the hands of the enemy but managed to escape; vast numbers of the Romans were annihilated on both sides in that battle. These forces, if led against external enemies or barbarian nations, would have been sufficient to give occasion for many triumphal processions and to provide much security for the Roman people. Constantius turned his attention to the civil war. Thereafter Magnentius, who had been defeated in various battles, put an end to his life at Lugdunum [Lyons], after first killing his mother, in the fourth year and the seventh month of his reign; his brother, who had been appointed Caesar to defend Gaul, joined him in death. At this time Gallus Caesar was executed by the emperor Constantius for committing many wicked deeds; this man was cruel in character and would have turned his rule into tyranny if he had had a chance to become emperor. A certain Silvanus too rebelled in Gaul but was eliminated within thirty days.

201

EV 59 Ὅτι Κωνστάντιος ὁ παῖς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου μόνος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης καταστὰς βαρὺς ἦν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις τὰ Ἀρείου φρονεῖν, ποικίλαις τε τιμωρίαις αἰκίζων ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας. Καὶ ξέναι παρὰ τὰς Ἑλλήνων κολάσεις ὑπὸ τῶν χριστιανίζειν λεγόντων ἐγίνοντο.

202

EV 60 Ὅτι Κωνστάντιος ἀνὴρ ἦν ἤπιός τε καὶ γαληνὸς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πιστός· ἀπό τε τῆς τοῦ ἤθους πραότητος καὶ ταῖς οἰκείαις τῶν γυναικῶν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου κεχαρισμένος.

203

EI 75 Ὅτι Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης μέχρι μέν τινος δεύτερα λόγων διετέλει τῷ αὐτοκράτορι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς φθόνον τῶν οἱ δρωμένων κινηθεὶς Κωνστάντιος τὰς Γερμανικὰς καλουμένας φάλαγγας ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοτάτου καθιδρυμένας ἀπιέναι τῆς συνήθους ἠνάγκαζε διατριβῆς, ὡς μονωθεὶς Ἰουλιανός ⟨δεδιὼς μή ποτε⟩ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις εὐεπιχείρητος εἴη, καταινέσει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰσθομένων τῆς τοῦ Κωνσταντίου γνώμης αὐτοκράτωρ ἀποδείκνυται, ἐνιαυτόν τε καταμείνας αὐτόθι τὴν Γαλατίαν κατεστήσατο. Ἄρας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἰταλίας τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο, οὔτε εὔδηλος ἦν πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον ὡρμημένος πόλεμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους αὖθις ἵετο. Γενόμενος δὲ πρὸς

Fr. 201 = fr. 175.1 M = fr. 261 R; Valois 1634, 841 | T (f. 100^{r}) Fr. 202 = fr. 175.2 M = fr. 262 R; Valois 1634, 841, Droysen 1879, 180 | T (f. 100^{r}) Fr. 203 = fr. 177 M = fr. 264 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 62f. | P (f. 133^{v}-f. 134^{r}) S (f. 136^{v})

Fr. 201: 3 βαρὺς – 4 γυναῖκας cf. Socr. 2.38.5sq. 4 ξέναι – 5 ἐγίνοντο Socr. 2.38.10 Fr. 202: Eutr. 10.15.2 Fr. 203: fontem non inveni

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7 τε om. Müller 1851 **8** πιστεύων coni. Valois 1634 πρᾳότητος Müller 1851 **11** παραβάτης P : παράτης S δεύτερα λόγων PS : δεύτερα λέγων vel δευτερολογῶν coni. Müller 1851 **14** ἀπιέναι S : ἐπιέναι P **15** δεδιὼς μή ποτε add. Kambylis, cf. p. 370.18

201

Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, after becoming the sole ruler of the entire Roman empire, was oppressive towards those who were unwilling to embrace Arianism, inflicting various tortures upon men and women. Those who professed to be Christians inflicted punishments that were unheard of among the Greeks.

202

Constantius was a kind person, serene in disposition, who confided in his friends and relatives in the highest degree; out of the gentleness of his character he also bestowed excessive favours on the relatives[1] of his wives.

203

Julian the Apostate was for some time second in rank to the emperor. However, after Constantius became envious of Julian's actions and transferred the so-called German detachments from their customary quarters – where they had been stationed for a long time for the defence of Gaul – in order to render Julian (who would be stripped of his military forces) easy prey for him and the barbarians, Julian was proclaimed emperor in agreement with the soldiers who had understood Constantius' plan. Julian remained there for a year and ordered the affairs of Gaul. He marshalled his troops but did not set out for Italy nor was it obvious that he was getting ready for a civil war; instead he led them against the barbarians. When he reached the river, he changed direction and marched to

[1] Eutropius, the main source of this passage, states that Constantius "was excessively influenced by his wives." The precise meaning of the words ταῖς οἰκείαις that are not present in Eutropius is not clear in the context of this fragment.

τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐπιστρέψας τὴν πορείαν ἐχώρει ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τῶν ᾿Ορκυωνίων καλουμένων δρυμῶν. ᾿Εκεῖ δὲ ναῦς ποταμίας κατασκευασάμενος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσον ἦν κράτιστον ἀναλαβὼν παρὰ τὴν ποταμίαν ὄχθην ἐκομίζετο, ὡς ἂν λάθοι. Καὶ πολλὰ εἰργάσατο. ῾Ο δὲ Κωνστάντιος ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο τοῦτο, πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον σὺν ὀργῇ τρέπεται· οὐ μὴν ἐξεγένετό οἱ διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν τῷ ᾿Ιουλιανῷ, βραβεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ κατὰ μέσην αὐτῷ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιγενομένης τῆς τελευτῆς περὶ Μοψουεστίαν πόλιν, ἐν ὅροις Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων κειμένην, με′ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐνιαυτῷ, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας λη′.

204

EV 61 ῞Οτι ᾿Ιουλιανὸς ὁ μισόθεος καὶ μισόχριστος διανυκτερεύων λόγους συνέγραφεν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπεδείκνυτο. ᾿Ετίμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ παιδείαν ἀσχολουμένους, μάλιστα τοὺς φιλοσοφίαν ἐπαγγελλομένους. Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἀσκοῦντος οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἄρχοντες λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βουλόμενοι πολλοὺς τιμωρίαις ὑπέβαλλον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾿Ιουλιανὸς κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἤπιος ὢν οὐχ ὁμοίως τότε διεγίνετο, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλληνίζειν δοκούντων παρεώρα. Καί ποτε Χριστιανοὺς ἐκώλυσεν ῾Ελληνικῆς παιδείας μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν δορυφορίαν στρατεύεσθαι. ᾿Εν οἷς ἦν ᾿Ιοβιανός τε καὶ Βαλεντινιανὸς καὶ Οὐάλης, οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν βασιλεύσαντες. ᾿Επεὶ δὲ εἶχε τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὁδοῦ, διά τε τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου διελθὼν πόλιν πλεῖστα παρὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπο-

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Fr. 204 = fr. 179 M = fr. 271 R; Valois 1634, 841f. | T (f. 100r)

Fr. 204: 11 διανυκτερεύων – 12 ἐπεδείκνυτο Socr. 3.1.54 12 ᾿Ετίμα – 13 ἐπαγγελλομένους Socr. 3.1.55 16 Καὶ ὁ – 17 διεγίνετο Socr. 3.11.1 18 Καί ποτε – 19 στρατεύεσθαι Socr. 3.13.1 (verba ῾Ελληνικῆς παιδείας μεταλαμβάνειν apud Socr. loc. cit. non inveniuntur). 20 ᾿Εν οἷς – 20 βασιλεύσαντες Socr. 3.13.4 21 ᾿Επεὶ δὲ – 366.1 χρήματα Socr. 3.17.1

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1 ἐπὶ add. Müller 1851 ορκυωνίων sine sp. PS : ῾Ερκυωνίων Cramer 1841 : ῾Ερκυνίων Müller 1851 **8** μοψουεστίαν PS : Μοψουκρήνην Müller 1851 ex Amm. Marc. 20.10 ὅροις Cramer 1841 : ὀλίγοις PS **14** ἐπαρχιῶν T : ἐπαρχῶν Müller 1851 **17** διεγίνετο T : διεγένετο Müller 1851

the so-called Hercynian forest. There he had a river fleet built, took the strongest part of the army and led them along the river bank in order to remain unnoticed. And he accomplished much. When Constantius heard the news, in his anger he turned to the civil war; but it was not granted to him to fight against Julian, for God was directing the course of the war, and he died in the middle of the journey, in the vicinity of the city of Mopsuestia, which lies on the boundary between Cilicia and Syria, in the forty-fifth year of his life and in the thirty-eighth of his reign.

204

Julian, who hated God and hated Christ, used to sit up at night composing orations which he [subsequently] delivered in the senate. He extended his patronage to those who were engaged in literary activities, especially to professional philosophers. While he was engaged in these matters, the provincial governors who wanted to seize the property of the Christians subjected many of them to punishments. Julian, who in the beginning was mild towards [all] those who approached him, did not then maintain this disposition, but started to overlook many of the actions committed by those who made an appearance of being pagan. On one occasion he forbade Christians to have a Greek education and do military service in the imperial bodyguard. Among these were Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, who became emperors after him.[1] While going on the Persian campaign, he marched through Asia to Syria and paid a visit to the city of Antioch where he collected immense sums from the

[1] The original passage in Socr. 3.13.4 makes it clear that Jovian, Valentinian and Valens were those who were ready to resign their duties "rather than to deny Christ."

ρίσατο χρήματα· καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν κατὰ τοῦ δήμου διεγερθεὶς ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποσκώψαντος ὑπὸ Σαλουστίου τοῦ τῶν πραιτωρίων ἐπάρχου παρεκλήθη.

205

EV 62 Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης οὑτοσὶ περὶ τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ, ὡς μόνος τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν καλῶς διῴκησεν ἀνώρθωσέ τε αὐτό, εἰ μὴ εἰς ἐναντίωσιν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου κατέστη· πάσης γὰρ παιδείας τά τε Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνίδα γλῶτταν ἐς ἄκρον συνειλήφει, ὀξὺς μὲν ὢν συνιδεῖν τὸ πρακτέον, ἑτοιμότερος δὲ τοῦτο ἐξαγγεῖλαί τε καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι, μνήμην τε ἁπάντων βεβαίαν ἔχων, σοφὸς μὲν τὰ οὐράνια, ἔμφρων δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ ἐλευθέριος πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐξητασμένος οὐδὲ ἀκριβὴς ἦν ἐν ταῖς τούτων κτήσεσιν τὸν ἁρμόζοντα τοιῷδε βασιλεῖ τρόπον. Ἐγένοντο γοῦν τινες οἳ μῶμον τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δόξῃ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀνέθεσαν μειονεκτήμασιν, πολλὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων λαμβάνοντες προφάσει τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δοκήσεως, οὐ μόνον ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλύοντος. Τοῖς γε μὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐποίκοις τὰ τῶν δασμῶν καθ' ὅσον ἠδύνατο καθῄρει μέτρα καὶ τὸ δημοτικὸν καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἤθους πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐξέφερεν, χρημάτων μὲν ἀθροίσεως ὀλίγα πεφροντικώς, δόξης τε ἐπιθυμητικῶς τε καὶ ἀκορέστως ἔχων, ὡς πολλάκις καὶ τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβαίνειν ταῖς ἐγχειρήσεσιν. Ἐβέβλαπτο δὲ μόνον περὶ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ δόξαν ἐναντίως ἔχων καὶ ἐνιστάμενος τοῖς τὰ Χριστιανῶν μετιοῦσι δόγματα, οὐ μὴν ὥστε ὠμὸν ἢ φονικὸν ἐργάσασθαι πώποτε. Συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ προσόμοιος ἦν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ζηλοῦν ὡς ἐπίπαν ἐσπούδαζεν.

Fr. 205 = fr. 180 M = fr. 272 R; Valois 1634, 842, 845, Droysen 1879, 180 | T (f. 100rv)

Fr. 205: Eutr. 10.16.2-3

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8 Ἑλληνίδα corr. Valois 1634 : ἑλληνίδι T **12** οὐκ ἐξητασμένος corr. Valois 1634 : οὐκοξησταμένος T **17** δασμῶν corr. Valois 1634 : δεσμῶν T **19** δόξης τε T Büttner-Wobst 1906b : δόξης δὲ Valois 1634 **23** post φονικὸν verbum τι add. Müller 1851 **24** Ἀντωνίνῳ T : Ἀντωνίῳ Müller 1851

Christians: he almost became roused by the people [of Antioch] who were hurling insults at him, but was mollified by Sallustius, the praetorian prefect.

205

John [of Antioch] speaks in this way about the apostate Julian, that alone he [would have] governed the Roman empire well and set it in order, had the demonic [power] not effected the opposite; he was highly accomplished in all the learning of the Romans, and especially in the Greek language; he was very intelligent in apprehending what had to be done, and quite ready to proclaim and explain it; he had a tenacious memory of everything, was wise in the matters of the gods, and mindful of the affairs of men. He was generous and magnanimous towards his friends, but [more] indiscriminate and liberal in choosing them than befits such [a great] emperor. For there were some who damaged his reputation by their bad acts, seizing the possessions of others on the pretext of pagan beliefs, not only without the knowledge of the emperor, but also in spite of his trying to prevent it. He reduced the taxes of the provincials as much as he could and was restrained and "democratic" in character towards all his subordinates; while the collection of money was of little concern to him, he was insatiably eager for glory so that he was often excessive in his undertakings. He deserved reproach only on account of his opinion regarding belief in the Saviour Christ: being opposed to it, he used to persecute those who professed Christian faith, but in such a manner that he never committed any cruel or murderous acts. Generally speaking, he was quite similar to Marcus Aurelius, whom he took pains to emulate as much as he could.

206

EV 63 Ὅτι Ἰοβιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ὁ μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἄρξας τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς μᾶλλον ἤπερ τῇ οἰκείᾳ δόξῃ τοῖς περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔγνωστο. Ὃς ἡνίκα Ἰουλιανὸς αἵρεσιν τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐτίθει, θύειν ἢ ἀπο-

Fr. 206 = fr. 181 M = fr. 273.1 R; Valois 1634, 845f., partim Droysen 1879, 181 | T (f. 100v-f. 101r)

Fr. 206: 2 τῇ τοῦ – 3 ἔγνωστο Eutr. 10.17.1 4 Ὃς – 370.1 ἐβούλετο Socr. 3.22.2 370.1 Ἐλθὼν – 370.27 ἀνακηρύττων Eun. attr. de Boor (1885, 330); cf. Blockley (1983, i, 99), Sotiroudis (1989, 130); cf. Eun. 29.1 370.27 Ὅτι – 370.28 εἶναι Eutr. 10.18.2

Fr. 206: 2 Ὅτι Ἰοβιανὸς – 370.11 ἠφάνιζεν *Suda* ι 401, 638.16-25 οὗτος μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἦρξεν· ὃς ἡνίκα Ἰουλιανὸς αἵρεσιν τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐτίθει, θύειν ἢ ἀποστρατεύεσθαι, μᾶλλον τὴν ζώνην ἀποθέσθαι ἐβούλετο. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Νίσιβιν πόλιν πολυάνθρωπον δύο μόνον ἡμερῶν ἐνδιατρίψας αὐτῇ, ὅσα περ εἶχε χρήματα κατανάλωσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι μηδενὸς μεταδοὺς ἢ λόγου φιλανθρώπου ἢ πράξεως ἀγαθῆς· ἄνθρωπος οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν οἰκείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς προελθών. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ἀσθενὴς τὸ σῶμα οὔτε πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἀγύμναστος· ἀμελέτητος δὲ ὢν καὶ ἄγευστος παιδεύσεως, καὶ ἣν εἶχε φύσιν διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἠμαύρου καὶ ἠφάνιζεν. | 370.11 Διόπερ – 370.27 ἀνακηρύττων cf. *Suda* ι 401, 638.25-639.17 οὗτος μετὰ Ἰουλιανόν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, πάντων καταφρονήσας ἐσπούδαζε τοῦ συμβάντος αὐτῷ ἀξιώματος ἀπολαῦσαι, καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Περσίδος ἔσπευδε γενέσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐθῶν ἐντὸς εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς τύχης, καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν πόλιν τοῖς Πέρσαις, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν κατήκοον, ἐκδίδωσιν. ἀπέσκωπτον οὖν αὐτὸν ᾠδαῖς καὶ παρῳδίαις καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις φαμώσσοις, διὰ τὴν τῆς Νισίβιδος προδοσίαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰοβιανός, ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ κινηθεὶς τὸν ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως κτισθέντα ναὸν χαριέστατον ἐς ἀποθέωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς Τραϊανοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ κατασταθέντα βιβλιοθήκην εὐνούχῳ τινὶ Θεοφίλῳ, κατέφλεξε σὺν πᾶσιν οἷς εἶχε βιβλίοις, αὐτῶν τῶν παλλακίδων ὑφαπτουσῶν μετὰ γέλωτος τὴν πυράν. οἱ δὲ Ἀντιοχεῖς ἠγανάκτησαν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπέρριπτον τῶν βιβλίων ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὥστε ἀναίρεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις προσεκόλλιζον. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα· ἤλυθες ἐκ πολέμου, ὡς ὤφελες αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι· καί, Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε· καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. καί, εἰ μὴ ἐγώ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἵματα δύσω, χλαῖνάν τ' ἠδὲ χιτῶνα, τά τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει, αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θοῶς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἀφήσω. γραῦς δέ τις μέγαν καὶ καλὸν αὐτὸν θεασαμένη μαθοῦσά τε ἀνόητον εἶναι ἐφθέγξατο· ὅσον μῆκος καὶ βάθος ἡ μωρία. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ ἰδιώτης ἀποτολμήσας, μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ βοήσας ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρομίῳ γέλωτα παρέσχε πᾶσιν εἰπὼν κενὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπράχθη ἂν ἄτοπα, εἰ μὴ Σαλούστιός τις ἔπαυσε τὴν στάσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἰοβιανὸς χειμῶνος ὄντος ὡδοιπόρει ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ ἐν Δαδαστάνοις ἀπέθανε μύκητα πεφαρμαγμένον φαγών. | 370.27 Ὅτι – 370.28 εἶναι *Suda* ι 401, 639.17-18 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κοινὸς καὶ ἐλευθέριος ἔδοξεν εἶναι. Cf. de Boor (1885, 329f.), Patzig (1893b, 593), Patzig (1897, 327)

206

Jovian, the emperor who ruled after Julian, was better known to the army through his father's good repute than through his own. When Julian gave his soldiers the choice to sacrifice or be discharged, Jovian preferred to

στρατεύεσθαι, μᾶλλον τὴν ζώνην ἀποθέσθαι ἐβούλετο. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Νίσιβιν πόλιν πολυάνθρωπον καὶ εὐδαίμονα δύο μόνων ἡμερῶν ἐνδιατρίψας αὐτῇ ὅσαπερ εἶχε χρήματα κατηνάλωσεν, τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦσιν μηδενὸς μεταδοὺς ἢ λόγου φιλανθρώπου ἢ πράξεως ἀγαθῆς· νυκτός τε ὑπεχώρησε χαίρειν αὐτῇ πολλὰ φράσας, ὥσπερ ἐχθρῷ καὶ νεκρῷ σώματι μηδὲ δάκρυον ἐπισταλάξας, δι' ἣν αὐτός τε ἐσώθη καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνων διέσωσεν. Ἄνθρωπος οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν οἰκείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης προελθών. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ἀσθενὴς τὸ σῶμα οὔτε πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἀγύμναστος· ἀμελέτητος δὲ ὢν καὶ ἄγευστος παιδεύσεως καὶ ἣν εἶχε φύσιν διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἠμαύρου καὶ ἠφάνιζεν. Διόπερ καὶ τὴν Νισιβηνῶν πόλιν φεύγων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ᾤχετο, ἀπολαῦσαι σπουδάζων τῷ συμβάντι αὐτῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀξιώματι καὶ γίνεσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐθνῶν ἐντὸς εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς τύχης· καὶ ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Συρίαν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός. Οἱ δὲ Ἀντιοχεῖς οὐχ ἡδέως διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀπέσκωπτον αὐτὸν ᾠδαῖς καὶ παρῳδίαις καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις φαμώσσοις, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὴν τῆς Νισίβιδος προδοσίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δεδιότες, μή ποτε καὶ αὐτοὺς πρόοιτο, ἀγαπήσας καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς οἰκουμένης κρατεῖν· καθαπτόμενοι καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταστροφήν. Ἀδριανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ἀποθέωσιν καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Τραϊανοῦ ἔκτισε μικρόν τινα καὶ χαριέστατον ναόν, ὃν Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκεύασεν· ὃν σὺν τοῖς βιβλίοις Ἰοβιανὸς κατέκαυσεν. Καὶ πολλὰ εἰς αὐτὸν εἰπόντων Ἀντιοχέων, ⟨ἐπράχθη ἂν ἄτοπα,⟩ εἰ μὴ Σαλούστιος παραγενόμενος ἔπαυσε τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὸν Ἰοβιανὸν μὴ βουλόμενον παρώρμησεν ὁδοιπορῆσαι, καὶ ταῦτα χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν. Καὶ Ἰοβιανὸς μὲν
EV 64 ἐν Δαδαστάνοις ἀφίκετο τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δόξαν ἀνακηρύττων. Ὅτι Ἰοβιανὸς κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κοινός τε καὶ ἐλευθέριος ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

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2 Νίσιβιν *Suda* ι 401 : σιβην T   δύω T : δύο *Suda* ι 401 Büttner-Wobst 1906b **3** κατοικοῦσιν T : ἐνοικοῦσι *Suda* ι 401, 20 **8** τύχης T : ἀρχῆς *Suda* ι 401, 638.22 **11** ῥᾳθυμίαν e *Suda* ι 401 corr. Valois 1634 : ῥᾳθυμίας T   ἠμαύρου e *Suda* ι 401 corr. Valois 1634 : ἠμαύροι T   Νισιβηνῶν corr. Valois 1634 : νοσιβηνῶν T **12** τοῦ συμβάντος αὐτῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἀξιώματος e *Suda* ι 401 corr. Roberto 2005 **17** Νισίβιδος e *Suda* ι 401 corr. Roberto 2005 : Νισίβιος T   post δὲ verbum καὶ add. Valois 1634 **20** Ἀδριανὸς corr. Valois 1634 : ἀδρινος T **23** post εἰπόντων verbum τῶν add. Müller 1851 **24** ἐπράχθη ἂν ἄτοπα e *Suda* ι 401, 639.14 add. Valois 1634

remove his military belt. When he came to the well-populated and prosperous city of Nisibis and stayed there only for two days, he spent as much money as he had—sharing nothing with the inhabitants, not a generous word nor a kind deed; he departed at night and dismissed the city from his mind completely, like the dead body of an enemy, without shedding a single tear over the city which had provided salvation for him and for those who had survived the dangers of the war. This man had advanced to such a point of success not through his own virtue but through his father's reputation. Actually he was neither altogether physically weak nor was he untrained in the tasks of warfare, but, being untutored and without the benefits of education, he tarnished and disfigured what natural ability he had on account of his laziness. Therefore he "fled and was gone",[1] so to speak, from the city of Nisibis, because he was eager to reap the benefit of the honour that had come to him unexpectedly and to enter Roman soil in order to demostrate how fortunate he was. And so he marched on to Syria with his entire army. The inhabitants of Antioch were not well-disposed towards him, but mocked him in song and in burlesques and the so-called "lampoons",[2] mostly because he had betrayed the city of Nisibis, but also because they were concerned about themselves, that he should give them up as well, given that he was content to rule over a small portion of the Roman territory; they directed their mockery at his wife as well, because of the destruction of a temple. For the emperor Hadrian had established a small graceful temple for the deification and honour of his father Trajan, which Julian the Apostate made into a library. It was this temple that Jovian burned down along with all its books. Because the inhabitants of Antioch were hurling many insults at him, an ugly incident might have occurred, if Sallustius had not been there and ended the rebellion by urging the reluctant Jovian to travel to Cilicia and Galatia (for it was winter). Jovian arrived in Dadastana and proclaimed the Christian religion. And in his rule Jovian seemed to be popular and liberal.

1 *See Od.* 8.356.
2 For information on *libellus famosus see* Brandes 2008, 158f.

207

EV 65 Ὅτι Οὐαλεντινιανὸς χριστιανὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φρονῶν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἠδίκει. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ νομοθετεῖν ἑτοιμότατος, φροντίζων καὶ τῆς τῶν θησαυρῶν δικαίας ὑποδοχῆς, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεσιν ἀκριβὴς καὶ τιμωρίαις τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἀπαραίτητος, ἐπί τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἄριστος. Ὁ δὲ Οὐάλης τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης μεταποιούμενος μέγιστον ἐκίνει κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν διωγμόν, ὡς πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀναιρεῖσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξορίαις ὑποβάλλεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἐμφωλεύοντας τῶν ἰδίων σηκῶν ἀπελαύνεσθαι. Καθ' ὃν χρόνον τῆς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας Λιβέριος προειστήκει, τῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀθανάσιος καὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐδόξιος τῆς Ἀρείου θρησκείας διδάσκαλος.

208

EI 76 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος τοῦ ἀρειανόφρονος καὶ Γρατιανοῦ Προκόπιος τῆς σχολῆς ἐπιλαβόμενος ἐπανίσταται τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐθορύβει τε τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ βασίλεια ἱκανῶς, πολλῶν τε γίνεται φόνων καὶ συμφορῶν αἴτιος. Καὶ μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος, τῆς τύχης διαφόρως αὐτῷ τε καὶ Οὐάλεντι βραβευούσης, ἔμενεν ὁ τύραννος ἀκλινής· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγυ-

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Fr. 207 = fr. 182 M = fr. 274 R; Valois 1634, 846 | T (f. 101r) Fr. 208 = fr. 184.1 M = fr. 276 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 63 | P (f. 134r) S (f. 136v-f. 137r)

Fr. 207: cf. Socr. 4.1.12-16 Fr. 208: cf. Socr. 4.5.2-4

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5 τιμωρίαις T *Suda* ο 762 : τιμωρὸς Valois 1634 GSM*Suda* **6** πολέμοις e *Suda* ο 762 corr. Valois 1634 : πολεμίοις T **11** Κωνσταντινουπόλεως T : Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως Valois 1634 : ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει Müller 1851 e *Suda* ο 762

Fr. 207: *Suda* ο 762 Οὐαλεντινιανός, Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς, Χριστιανὸς καὶ τὰ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φρονῶν οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἠδίκει. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ νομοθετεῖν ἑτοιμότατος, φροντίζων καὶ τῆς τῶν θησαυρῶν δικαίας ὑποδοχῆς, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεσιν ἀκριβὴς καὶ τιμωρίαις τῶν ἀπειθούντων ἀπαραίτητος ἐπί τε τοῖς πολέμοις ἄριστος. ὁ δὲ Οὐάλης τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης μεταποιούμενος πολλοὺς ἐξορίαις ὑπέβαλλε· καθ' ὃν χρόνον τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας Λιβέριος προειστήκει, τῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἀθανάσιος καὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Εὐδόξιος, τῆς Ἀρείου θρησκείας διδάσκαλος.

207

Valentinian, who was a Christian and shared the Homoousian creed, did no wrong to those who held the opposite beliefs. He was a zealous lawgiver, mindful of the just ways to fill the treasury, strict in his choice of officials, inexorable when inflicting punishment upon the disobedient and very brave in war. But Valens, who had embraced Arianism, initiated a major persecution of the Christians, with the result that many were sentenced to death in courts and many were exiled, and even those who were hiding in the desert were expelled from their dwellings. At this time, Liberius presided over the church in Rome; Athanasius over the church in Alexandria, and Eudoxius, the teacher of the Arian doctrine, over the church in Constantinople.

208

Under the Arian-inclined Valens and Gratian, Procopius seized the opportunity and started an insurrection in Constantinople, throwing into considerable confusion the imperial palace located there and perpetrating many murders and misdeeds. And for some time, while Fortune was directing his and Valens' affairs in different ways, the usurper's position remained stable; but after he had been deprived of his supporters, he

μνώθη, δέσμιος ἐν Νακωλείᾳ πόλει Οὐάλεντι προσήχθη ἐκεῖ τε δύω δένδρων ἐκδεθεὶς διεσπαράχθη. Καὶ ὁ Οὐάλης τῇ κατὰ Βιθυνίαν ὀργισθεὶς Χαλκηδόνι, οἷα τῷ τυράννῳ συνελθούσῃ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξυβρισάσῃ, τοὺς μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν οἰκοῦντας διέφθειρεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τείχους αὐτῆς κατάλυσιν ἐποιεῖτο, τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λίθους εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Κωνσταντίνου λουτρὸν μεταφέρων· ἔνθα καὶ χρησμὸν εὑρεθῆναι ἐγκεκολαμμένον ἐντὸς τῶν ἀφελκομένων λίθων.

209

EI 77 Ὅτι Οὐάλης ὁ ἀρειανόφρων τὸ τῶν Γότθων γένος χριστιανίζειν παρασκευάσας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὕστερον ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀφικέσθαι. Ἀπέσφαξε δὲ καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς εἰς βασιλείαν ὑποψίας. Καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐκινδύνευον ἅπαντες, ὅσοι τὸ θ ἀρχὴν τῆς προσηγορίας ἐλάμβανον, μάλιστα Θεοδόσιοι καὶ Θεόδοτοι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ τῆς νεκυίας αὐτῷ μαντεία ἀπέφηνεν. Αὐτίκα δὲ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐχώρει, καὶ τελευτᾷ ἡττηθείς.

Fr. 209 = fr. 184.2 M = fr. 277 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 63f. | P (f. 134rv) S (f. 137r)

Fr. 209: 11 Ἀπέσφαξε – 14 ἀπέφηνεν cf. Socr. 4.19.1-4 Marcelli mentio apud *Socr.* loc. cit. non est.

1 νακωλείᾳ PS : Νακολείᾳ Müller 1851 **7** post λίθων verba ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ γνωμῶν habent PS

was brought in chains to Valens in the city of Nacolia, fastened there to two trees and torn apart. Valens, who was angry at the Bithynian city of Chalcedon because it had supported the usurper and committed an offence against him, had its inhabitants killed and its walls pulled down; the stones were transferred from there to the so-called Bath of Constantine. [They say that] an oracle was discovered there which had been engraved on the inner part of the stones that were pulled down.

209

The Arian-inclined Valens, who converted the Goths to Christianity, was later attacked by them in such a way that they even advanced as far as the walls of the city. He also murdered Marcellus and many others, on the suspicion that they were aiming at imperial power. To put it simply, everybody was in danger, whose name started with a 'Th', but especially anyone called Theodosius and Theodotus: this had been revealed to him through necromancy. He immediately set off to fight the barbarians and died after suffering a defeat.

210

EV 66 Ὅτι Γρατιανὸς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὴν τοῦ Οὐάλεντος τοῦ θείου τελευτήν, αὐτίκα πρὸς τὴν ἑῴαν Ῥώμην διέθει καὶ καταγνοὺς {ὡς ἐπύθετο} τῆς τοῦ θείου Οὐάλεντος περὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὠμότητος τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐξορισθέντας διὰ ταχέων ἀνεκαλεῖτο, οὐσίας τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδοὺς καὶ θεραπεύων τὰς βλάβας· πᾶσί τε νόμον παρεῖχεν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀδηρίτως ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐκκλησίαις συνάγεσθαι, μόνους δὲ τῶν εὐκτηρίων εἴργεσθαι Εὐνομιανούς, Φωτεινιανούς, Μανιχαίους.

211

EI 78 **1** Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως Μάξιμος ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς Βρεττανίας μερῶν ἐπαναστὰς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ κάμνοντι τῷ Γρατιανῷ εἰς τὸν κατὰ Ἀλαμαννῶν πόλεμον ἐπιτίθεται, καὶ δι' Ἀνδραγαθίου τοῦ τῆς τυραννίδος κοινωνοῦ πρὸ Λουγδουνοῦ τῆς ἐν Γαλλίᾳ πόλεως ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντι ἐπιβουλεύεται δολίως. Ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν Γρατιανὸς βιώσας ἔτη κδ', βασιλεύσας ἔτη ιθ'. **2** Αἰτία δὲ τῆς κατὰ Γρατιανοῦ κινήσεως τῷ Μα-

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Fr. 210 = fr. 185 M = fr. 278 R; Valois 1634, 846 | T (f. 101^{rv}) Fr. 211 = fr. 186 M = fr. 279 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 64f. | P (f. 134^{v}-f. 135^{r}) S (f. 137^{rv})

Fr. 210: 3 καταγνοὺς – 5 ἀνεκαλεῖτο et 6 πᾶσί – 8 Μανιχαίους Socr. 5.2.1 Fr. 211.1: 10 Μάξιμος – 12 ἐπιτίθεται Socr. 5.11.2 12 καὶ – 15 ιθ' cf. Socr. 5.11.7; 5.11.9 Fr. 211.2: 378.1 Οὗτος – 378.5 βασιλεύς Zos. 4.35.3sq.

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3 διέθει T : διέθη Valois 1634 ὡς ἐπύθετο del. Valois 1634 **10** Βρεττανίας corr. Cramer 1841 : βρετανίας PS **12** ἀλαμαννῶν PS : Ἀλαμανῶν Müller 1851 e Socr. 5.11.2 **13** λουγδουνοῦ PS : Λουγδούνου Müller 1851 **15** ιθ' PS : ιε' Müller 1851 e Socr. 5.11.9

Fr. 210: *Suda* γ 427, 539.9-15 Γρατιανός· οὗτος ὡς ἐπύθετο τὴν τοῦ Οὐάλεντος τοῦ θείου τελευτήν, αὐτίκα πρὸς τὴν ἑῴαν Ῥώμην διέθει καὶ καταγνοὺς τῆς τοῦ θείου Οὐάλεντος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὠμότητος τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐξορισθέντας διὰ ταχέων ἀνεκαλεῖτο, οὐσίας τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδοὺς καὶ θεραπεύων τὰς βλάβας· πᾶσί τε νόμον παρεῖχεν ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀδηρίτως ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐκκλησίαις συνάγεσθαι, μόνους δὲ τῶν εὐκτηρίων εἴργεσθαι Εὐνομιανούς, Φωτεινιανούς, Μανιχαίους.

210

Gratian, when he heard of his uncle Valens' death, immediately set out for the Eastern Rome [i.e. Constantinople], and condemning the savagery of his uncle Valens against the Christians, he quickly recalled some of those who had been exiled by that man, restoring their property to them and compensating them for the injuries they had suffered. He introduced a law allowing all to gather in their own churches free from fear and harrassment, forbidding from the places of worship only Eunomians, Photinians and Manichaeans.

211

1 In the reign of the emperor Theodosius, Maximus started a rebellion against the Roman empire from the British provinces and attacked Gratian, who was then hard-pressed in the war against the Alemanni. While Gratian was crossing a river in the vicinity of the Gallic city of Lugdunum [Lyons], he fell victim to a treacherous plot by Andragathius, an associate of the usurper. Gratian perished in the twenty-fourth year of his life and in the nineteenth of his reign. **2** Maximus rebelled against

ξίμῳ γέγονεν ἤδε. Οὗτος Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν Βρεττανίαν συστρατευσάμενος ἐν τοῖς Οὐάλεντος χρόνοις, δυσανασχετῶν ὅτι Θεοδόσιος ὑπὸ Γρατιανοῦ βασιλείας ἠξιώθη, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἔντιμον ἔτυχε προελθών, ἤγειρε τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ στρατιώτας εἰς τὸ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχθος, καὶ ἀνηγορεύθη παρ᾽ αὐτῶν βασιλεύς. **3** Τοῦ τοίνυν Γρατιανοῦ κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἀναιρεθέντος, περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ εἰς Οὐαλεντινιανὸν τὸν νέον καὶ Θεοδόσιον. Ὁπηνίκα δὲ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως φόνον εἰργάσατο Μάξιμος, εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο. Τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος ἐν φροντίδι μεγίστῃ καθίστατο δύναμίν τε κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου ηὐτρέπιζεν, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ καὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Οὐαλεντινιανῷ ἐπιβουλεύσειεν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν κατὰ Μαξίμου πόλεμον ἤλαυνε καταλιπὼν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει Ἀρκάδιον βασιλεύοντα. Καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην εὑρίσκει τοὺς περὶ Οὐαλεντινιανὸν ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμίᾳ διάγοντας, ὅτι δι᾽ ἀνάγκην τὸν τύραννον ὡς βασιλέα ἐδέξαντο. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ταγμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Μεδιόλανον ἐχώρει· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Μάξιμος τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διήρτυεν. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὡς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἄφιξιν ἐπύθοντο, οὐ πρὸς μικρὸν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐνεγκεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ καταπτήξαντες δέσμιον αὐτῷ τὸν Μάξιμον ἄγουσιν· ὃς ἀνῃρέθη ἐν τῇ κ′ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός. Ἀνδραγάθιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως φονεύς, τῆς ἥττης γενομένης, εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον ποταμὸν ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν ἀπεπνίγη. Τότε οὖν οἱ βασιλεῖς νικηφόροι ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐχώρουν, συμπαρομαρτοῦντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου παιδὸς Ὀνωρίου. Ἦσαν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπινικίους ἑορτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες· ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα Θεοδόσιος περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον ἐπεδείξατο. Οὗτος γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ ὑπατίας

Fr. 211.3: 9 ὁ βασιλεὺς – 11 ἐπιβουλεύσειεν Socr. 5.12.1 11 Καὶ ὁ – 15 ἐδέξαντο Socr. 5.12.9 15 Ἀναλαβὼν – 17 διήρτυεν Socr. 5.12.11 17 Οἱ δὲ – 380.2 προσκατέφυγεν Socr. 5.14.1-6

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3 ὑπὸ PS de Boor 1905 : ἀπὸ edd. **6** ἀναιρεθέντος P : ἀναιρεσθέντος S **7** οὐαλεντινιανὸν S : οὐαλεντιανὸν P similiterque ubique in seqq. **14** τὸν τύραννον Müller 1851 ex Socr. 5.12.9 : τοῦ τυράννου PS **20** ἥττης corr. Müller 1851 : ἥττας PS **21** ποταμὸν bis scr. PS

Fr. 211.3: 25 Οὗτος – 380.3 ἠξίωσε *Suda* κ 122, 11.10-13 ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων Σύμμαχος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων εἰς τὸν τύραννον Μάξιμον βασιλικὸν λόγον διεξῆλθε καὶ δεδιὼς τὸ τῆς καθοσιώσεως ἔγκλημα τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν σηκοῖς προσκαταφεύγει· ὃν ὁ Θεοδόσιος πάσης φιλανθρωπίας ἠξίωσε.

Gratian for the following reason: Maximus had served in Britain together with the emperor Theodosius in the time of Valens and was greatly vexed at the fact that Gratian deemed Theodosius worthy of the empire, while he had not been advanced to a position of high standing; and so, having stirred the British troops to anger against the emperor, he was proclaimed emperor by them. **3** After Gratian had been killed in the aforementioned way, power was transferred to the young Valentinian and Theodosius. Immediately after the emperor's murder had been accomplished, Maximus came to Rome. At this time also the emperor Theodosius was filled with great concern and prepared a military force against the usurper, while also taking measures to prevent him from making any attempt on the younger Valentinian. And the emperor [Theodosius] proceeded to war against Maximus, leaving Arcadius as emperor in Constantinople. Upon his arrival in Thessalonica he found the retinue of Valentinian in great despair because they had been forced by necessity to acknowledge the usurper as emperor. He mustered his forces and advanced on Mediolanum [Milan], for it was there that Maximus was making preparations for the war. Once the usurper's followers heard of the emperor's arrival, and because they were unable to withstand his attack even for a short time,[1] they became afraid and brought Maximus to the emperor in chains, and he was put to death on the twentieth of August. Andragathius, the murderer of the emperor [Gratian], hurled himself into the adjacent river after the defeat and was drowned. Then the victorious emperors made their entry into Rome, accompanied by Honorius, the son of Theodosius. At Rome they instigated victory celebrations; it was on this occasion that Theodosius showed clemency in the case of Symmachus. For this man, who was of consular rank, had delivered an

[1] *See* the original passage in Socr. 5.14.1.

τελῶν βασιλικὸν λόγον εἰς τὸν Μάξιμον διεξῆλθεν, καὶ δεδιὼς τὸ τῆς καθοσιώσεως ἔγκλημα τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν σηκοῖς προσκατέφυγεν· ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάσης φιλανθρωπίας ἠξίωσε καὶ τῷ τῆς βουλῆς τάγματι συγκατέγραψεν.

212

EI 79 **1** Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς ἀγγέλλεται ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοιᾶσδε τεθνηκέναι. Ὁ τούτου πατὴρ Οὐαλεντινιανὸς γυναιξὶ πλείοσιν ἐχρήσατο παρὰ τοὺς διατεταγμένους Ῥωμαίων νόμους. Ἡ τοίνυν τούτου δευτέρα γυνὴ θυγάτηρ μὲν ἐλέγετο γεγενῆσθαι Ἰούστου, Μαγνεντίου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ τυραννήσαντος κατὰ τοὺς Κωνσταντίου χρόνους, διὰ νεότητά τε οὐ τυχοῦσα τέκνων ἐξ ἐκείνου χηρεύουσα καὶ ἐγκρατευομένη διετέλει. Ἧς διὰ κάλλους ὑπερβολὴν ἐρασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγεται ταύτην κατὰ δεύτερον γάμον· ἐξ ἧς Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ νέος ὁ Θεοδοσίῳ συμβασιλεύσας ἐτέχθη, καὶ Γάλλα ἡ Θεοδοσίῳ συναφθεῖσα μετὰ τὴν Φλακίλλης τελευτήν, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν τόν τε Μάξιμον ἐνίκα καὶ τὸν Οὐαλεντινιανὸν ἔσωζεν· ὥστε ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἡ τῆς κηδείας συνάφεια. Τότε δὴ οὖν τῆς τοῦ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ ἀναιρέσεως διαγγελθείσης, μέγιστον κατεῖχε πένθος αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἕω καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλίδα Γάλλαν, μεγάλη τε ἐμελετᾶτο τοῦ πολέμου σπουδὴ κατὰ τοῦ τὸν φόνον ἐργασαμένου. Ἀρβωγάστης δὲ ἦν, ἐκ τοῦ Φράγκων γένους, Βάνδωνος τοῦ πρὸς Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τὴν στρατοπεδαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιτραπέντος υἱός, φλογοειδής τε καὶ βάρβαρος τὴν ψυχήν, ὃς τὸν Οὐαλεντινιανὸν βιασάμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς παρῆλθε στρατηλασίαν·

Fr. 212 = fr. 187 M = fr. 280 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 65-67, Blockley 1983, 82, 84, 88, 90 | P (f. 135r-f. 136v) S (f. 137v-f. 139r)

Fr. 212: 6 Ὅτι – 384.2 βασιλεύοντα = Eun. 58.2 384.2 οὓς δὴ – 384.29 τυράννου = Eun. 60.1

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6 ἐπὶ P : in textu om. S : add. in mg. S[2] οὐαλεντιανὸς PS **11** ante διὰ verbum ἣ add. Müller 1851 τε om. Müller 1851 **13** οὐαλεντιανὸς ut solet P : οὐαλενιανὸς S **14** συμβασιλεύσας corr. Cramer 1841 : συμβαλεύσας PS **19** τετελευτηκότος P : τελευτηκότος S **20** τοῦ τὸν Cramer 1841 : τοῦτον PS **21** ἀρβωγάστης S : ἀρβογάστης P βάνδωνος P : βανδονος S : Βαύδωνος Müller 1851

imperial panegyric on Maximus and, fearing impeachment for high treason, sought asylum in a church; the emperor deemed him worthy of his full compassion and enrolled him in the senatorial order.

212

1 During the reign of the emperor Theodosius it was announced that the young emperor Valentinian had been killed as the result of a plot, the manner of which was as follows. His father Valentinian had a number of wives contrary to Roman law. His second wife was said to have been the daughter of Justus and formerly the wife of Magnentius, a usurper during the reign of Constantius. On account of her youth she had had no children by Magnentius and was at the time living as a celibate widow. The emperor fell in love with her because of her great beauty and made her his second wife. Her children were the younger Valentinian, co-emperor with Theodosius, and Galla, who was married to Theodosius after the death of Flacilla, at the time when he defeated Maximus and saved Valentinian. Thus, in addition to being Theodosius' partner in the empire, he was also related to him by marriage. When the murder of Valentinian was reported, great grief fell upon the emperor of the East and the dead man's sister, the empress Galla, and they became very eager for war against the murderer. This was Arbogast, a Frank and a man of fiery and barbarous spirit, the son of Baudo, who had been appointed *magister militum* by the emperor Gratian. Arbogast compelled Valentinian to allow him to succeed his father as general, for it was im-

οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ῥώμην. Οὗτος γοῦν πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βουλὴν διεχειρίζετο, καὶ τούτους οὐ μόνον ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλύοντος· ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν Ἁρμόνιον, ὃς Ταύρου μὲν ἦν παῖς τοῦ τὴν ὕπατον διέποντος, ἐπειδή τι τὸν Ἀρβωγάστην ἐλύττησεν, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ξίφος τὴν χεῖρα ἔτρεψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἁρμόνιος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ σῶμα παραδοὺς σὺν τῇ ἁλουργίδι κατετέμνετο· ἐκ τούτου τε πολλὴ πρὸς τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην καὶ τὸν βασιλέα γέγονεν ἡ ὑπόνοια. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς τὴν Θεοδοσίου λάθρα μετεπέμπετο συμμαχίαν, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὴν τοῦ τυράννου θρασύτητα· πλὴν ὥς τι σοφὸν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου πράττειν ἡγούμενος γραμματεῖον αὐτῷ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου δίδωσιν. Ὅπερ δεξάμενος ὁ βάρβαρος καὶ ἀναγνοὺς παραχρῆμα τοῖς ὄνυξι διεσπάραξεν, λεοντώδει δὲ τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργισθείς, ἀπήει πρόκωπον ἔχων τὸ ξίφος. Πολέμιος τοίνυν ἀπεδείχθη φανερὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐβούλετο παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἐξιππεύσασθαι, ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος τὴν κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ κίνησιν ἐπιτείνας, πρός τι πολισμάτιον Ἰταλικὸν Βέρναν λεγόμενον διατρίβοντι καὶ ῥᾳθυμότερον περὶ τὴν τοῦ πολιχνίου φρουρὰν διαγενομένῳ προσπεσὼν καὶ ἀφύλακτον τοῦτον εὑρὼν ξίφει διεχρήσατο. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ νέος βιώσας ἔτη κʹ, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη ηʹ, καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.

2 Ὁ δὲ Ἀρβωγάστης, † Εὐγένιον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ σοφιστικὸν ἐγκαθήμενον θρόνον, καὶ ὑπὸ γλώττης εὐδοκιμοῦντα, ὁ θεῖος ἐπέστη Σεριχομήριος, ἡνίκα παρὰ τὸν Θεοδόσιον μετὰ τὴν Μαξίμου νίκην ἐν τοῖς ἑῴοις βασιλείοις ἀπήγετο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Σεριχομήριος τὸ σῶμα καμὼν ἐτελεύτα κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου· τὸν δὲ Εὐγένιον ὁ βάρβαρος βασιλέα τῶν ἑσπερίων ἀποδείξας ἄκοντί γε περιτίθησι τὸ σχῆμα. Ὅστις εὐθέως πρεσβείαν

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1 Οὗτος Müller 1851 : οὕτω PS   ante Οὗτος lacunam susp. est Müller 1851   γοῦν PS : γὰρ Cramer 1841   **2** ἀξιώμασι S : ἀξιώματι P   **5** τι PS : τε Cramer 1841 : δὲ Müller 1851   ἐλύττησεν PS : ἐλύπησεν Müller 1851   **8** οὐαλεντιανὸς PS   **13** ἀπήει corr. Müller 1851 : ἀπίει PS   **17** ἰταλικὸν βέρναν PS : Κελτικὸν Βιένναν in app. corr. Müller 1851   **21** ἀρβωγάστης S : ἀρβωγάστος P[1] corr. ex ἀρβογάστος P   post Ἀρβωγάστης lacunam susp. est Roberto 2005   **22** ἐπέστη σεριχομήριος PS de Boor 1905 : ἐπέστησε Ῥιχομήριος Müller 1851 : ἐπέστη Ῥιχομήριος Blockley 1983   **24** Σεριχομήριος PS de Boor 1905 : Ῥιχομήριος Müller 1851 Blockley 1983

possible to oppose him owing to his prowess in war. He slew many persons of high standing in the emperor's council, not merely without the emperor's knowledge but despite his attempts to prevent it. Amongst these was Armonius, the son of Taurus the consul. When he annoyed Arbogast and the latter reached for his sword, Armonius fled to the emperor for protection, but he was run through together with the imperial robe. As a result there was much mutual suspicion between the general and the emperor. Valentinian secretly sought an alliance with Theodosius, saying that he could not endure the savageness of the tyrant. However, thinking to outwit the tyrant, in a council-meeting Valentinian handed him a rescript announcing his removal from office. The barbarian took it, read it and tore it to shreds with his claws, and, having roared out his rage at the emperor, walked out with sword drawn. Thus he was declared a public enemy of the Roman state, and Valentinian wished immediately to ride off to Theodosius. The barbarian set out against Valentinian and fell in with him while he was staying at a small town in Italy called Verna and had neglected to pay proper attention to the defence of the tiny place. Catching him unawares, he cut him down with his sword. Thus died the younger Valentinian, having lived for twenty years and reigned for eight. **2** Arbogast [...] his uncle Serichomer[1] set Eugenius, who held a professorial chair and had a high reputation for eloquence, [...][2] at the time when he was leaving to join Theodosius at the eastern court after the victory over Maximus. Serichomer fell sick and died at Constantinople, whereas the barbarian made Eugenius emperor of the West, clothing him in the imperial regalia against his will. Eugenius immedi-

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1 i.e. Richomer.

2 The text of the sentence is corrupt. Blockley (1983) translates: "Arbogast was introduced to Eugenius, who held a sophistic chair and had a high reputation for eloquence, by his uncle Serichomer at the time when the latter was leaving to join Theodosius at the eastern court after the victory over Maximus." Roberto (2005) translates: "Arbogaste [***], a lui lo zio Ricomere aveva preposto Eugenio, che occupava una cattedra di sofista e si distingueva per eloquenza, al momento in cui, dopo la vittoria su Massimo, si recò presso Teodosio alla corte d'Oriente." Even though the two extant manuscripts clearly separate the two words ἐπέστη σεριχομέριος by a space, an additional σε at the end of ἐπέστη can be suspected: ἐπέστησεσεριχομέριος. The reading ἐπέστησε ριχομέριος is unlikely, as the name σεριχομέριος appears several lines later, where it is not preceded by a word ending in σε.

πρὸς τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἔστειλε πειρώμενος, εἰ ὁμολογοίη φίλος εἶναι καὶ δέχοιτο αὐτὸν βασιλεύοντα. Οὓς δὴ ὁ Θεοδόσιος ποικίλοις διακρουσάμενος λόγοις καὶ φιλανθρώποις ἀποκρίσεσι δελεάσας ἀπεπέμψατο. Αὐτὸς δὲ Ῥωμαϊκὸν μὲν τὸν Τιμάσιον, Σκυθικὸν δὲ τὸν Γαινάν, ἐξ Ἀλανῶν δὲ τὸν Σαοὺλ ἄρχοντας τῶν στρατοπέδων παραλαβών, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Στελίχωνα τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐπιστήσας (ὃς ἦν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέκαθεν τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους, τῆς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς Βερήνης αὐτῷ προσμανείσης, βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἀπελείπετο), πολλούς τε τῶν Θρᾳκίων Οὔννων σὺν τοῖς παρεπομένοις φυλάρχοις διαναστήσας εἴχετο τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορείας, ὡς ἂν τὸν Εὐγένιον μηδέν τι προσδοκῶντα ἀπαράσκευον καταλάβοι. Ἐξιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς αὐλῆς ἡ βασίλισσα τελευτᾷ. **3** Ὁπηνίκα δὲ τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας προσῆλθεν ὅροις, τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὀξύτητος καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς ἀφράστου διαδρομῆς ὁ Εὐγένιος ἔπτηξεν, ἀνὴρ ἄπειρος πολέμου καὶ σάλπιγγος. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρβωγάστης ἀντεμάνη ἐπιθυμῶν πολέμου καὶ μάχης καὶ φόνων καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος· καθ' ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ μέσην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας φανῆναι, καὶ νυκτομαχοῦντες ἅπαντες ἀνηλίσκοντο συνδαπανώμενοι ξίφεσιν. Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν περὶ τρίτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν τούτοις τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων ὑπῆρχεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θεοδόσιος, τότε μὲν ὑπαναχωρήσας, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἱκετεύσας, καθεύδουσι τῇ ἑξῆς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιπίπτει, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, τὸ δὲ ἀνιστάμενον τῶν ὅπλων γεγυμνωμένον διεχειρίζετο, αὐτόν τε τὸν Εὐγένιον ζωγρήσας τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνει, καὶ μακρῷ δόρατι περιπήξας ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅροις διεπόμπευσεν, ὡς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος πρὸς τὸν νενικηκότα χωρεῖν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πείθεσθαι διατάγμασιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρβωγάστης, ἐν τούτῳ τε τὸ μανικὸν τῆς βαρβάρου φύσεως ἀποδείξας, αὐτοχειρίᾳ διεφθάρη τῷ σφετέρῳ περιπεσὼν ξίφει. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τε θρίαμβοι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγένοντο, καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν τὴν ἁπανταχοῦ τῶν ὑπηκόων γῆν ἐδόκει καὶ πανηγυρίζειν ἐπὶ τῇ καθαιρέσει τοῦ τυράννου.

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4 τὸν Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 γαινάν corr. S^2 : γαιαναν PS **5** Στελίχωνα PS de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : Στιλίχωνα Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **7** ἀδελφῆς PS : ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρὸς in app. corr. Müller 1851 Βερήνης PS de Boor 1905 : Σερήνης Müller 1851 Blockley 1983 προσμανείσης PS : προσγαμηθείσης in app. corr. Müller 1851 **8** Θρᾳκίων PS de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : Θρᾳκῶν Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **21** τὸ δὲ Müller 1851 : τὸν δὲ PS **22** γεγυμνωμένον Cramer 1841 : γεγυμνωμένου PS **23** περιπήξας P : περιπτήξας S

ately sent an embassy to Theodosius to find out whether the latter was willing to be his friend and accept him as emperor. After ensnaring Eugenius' envoys with elusive replies and beguiling them with generous words, Theodosius sent them home. In command of the forces he placed the Roman Timasius, the Scythian Gainas and the Alan Saul, and he also made Stilicho general, a man who was himself of Scythian descent but enjoyed power equal to the emperor since he was married to Verena,[1] the sister of the emperor; he also summoned many of the Huns of Thrace, who served under their tribal chieftains. Then he set out for Italy in order to catch Eugenius unawares, as he was not expecting any move. As he [Theodosius] was leaving the palace, the empress died. **3** When Theodosius reached the borders of Italy, Eugenius, who lacked military experience, was alarmed by the emperor's unexpected swiftness and the speed of his advance, which had gone unobserved. But Arbogast raged against him, being eager for war and fighting and slaughter, and he fought on for the most part of the day. In the middle of the day the sun was eclipsed and the stars appeared, so that the soldiers, fighting a night-battle, were all cut down, killing each other indiscriminately with their swords. This was the situation until about the third watch of the night. Then Theodosius withdrew from the battle and prayed to God. On the next day he fell upon the enemy while they were asleep, slaughtering the majority in their beds and cutting down unarmed those who leapt up to face him. Eugenius he captured alive and, having cut off his head, stuck it on a long spear and paraded it throughout the territory of Italy, so that all the enemy soldiers came to the victor and obeyed his commands. Meanwhile Arbogast showed his native barbarian madness by falling on his sword and killing himself. A triumph was held for this victory at Rome, and all the provinces were wreathed in celebration of the destruction of the usurper.[2]

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1 i.e. Serena.

2 For the historical background *see* Croke 1976.

213

EV 67 Ὅτι οἱ ἐπίτροποι Ἀρκαδίου καὶ ᾿Ονωρίου ῾Ρουφῖνος καὶ Στελίχων ἄμφω τὰ πάντων συνήρπαζον, ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ τὸ κράτος τιθέμενοι. Καὶ οὐδεὶς εἶχεν ἴδιον οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ῾Ρουφίνῳ καὶ Στελίχωνι ἔδοξεν· δίκαι τε ἅπασαι πρὸς τοῦτο ἐκρίνοντο· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὄχλος τῶν περιθεόντων εἴ πού τινι χωρίον κάλλιστον ἦν· καὶ ὁ δεσπότης εὐθὺς συνηρπάζετο. ῾Εκάτερός τε αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν περιεσκόπει.

214

EV 68 Ὅτι Εὐτρόπιος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρκαδίου πρόκοιτος οὐδὲν τῶν δεινῶν ἀπελίμπανεν, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς δημοσίᾳ πιπράσκων καὶ τοὺς τῆς δυνάμεως συκοφαντῶν ἐξορίαις τε τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας ὑποβάλλων καὶ πᾶσαν ὕβριν τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπάγων. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπείχετο

Fr. 213 = fr. 188 M = fr. 281 R; Valois 1634, 849 | T (f. 101v) Fr. 214 = fr. 189 M = fr. 283 R; Valois 1634, 849 | T (f. 101v)

Fr. 213: cf. Eun. 62.2 Fr. 214: 388.2 Καί ποτε – 388.10 γεγραμμένου cf. Socr. 6.5.3-7

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2 ᾿Ονωρίου T Büttner-Wobst 1906b : ῾Ονωρίου Müller 1851 **5** τοῦτο T : τούτων Müller 1851 πού Müller 1851 : τω sine acc. et sp. T

Fr. 213: 2 ἄμφω – 6 συνηρπάζετο cf. etiam *Suda* ρ 240, 301.1-5, qui locus ad Eunapium, Joannis fontem, redit, neque e Joanno derivatus est. Fr. 214: *Suda* ε 3777, 476.7-20 Εὐτρόπιος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως πρόκοιτος· ὃς οὐδὲν τῶν δεινῶν ἀπελίμπανεν, τάς τε ἀρχὰς δημοσίᾳ πιπράσκων καὶ τοὺς τῆς δυνάμεως συκοφαντῶν ἐξορίαις τε τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας ὑποβάλλων καὶ πᾶσαν ὕβριν τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐπάγων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπείχετο συμμαχίας, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλπίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μεταβαίνειν ἀξίαν. καί ποτε καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πεφευγότας συλλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος προὔθηκεν ἐπιτρέπων τούτους ἐκ τῶν θυσιαστηρίων ἀφέλκεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐγέγραπτο, δίκη δὲ εὐθέως τῆς ὠμότητος ἠκολούθει. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ γὰρ προσκρούσας τῷ βασιλεῖ Εὐτρόπιος ἐν τοῖς πρόσφυξιν ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔκειτο, ᾿Ιωάννου ἐπισκοποῦντος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀφαιρεθεὶς νυκτὸς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνεται. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Εὐτρόπιος δίκας τῆς ἁμαρτάδος ὑποστὰς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ὑπάτων ἠμείφθη, μόνου τοῦ συνυπατεύσαντος Θεοδώρου γεγραμμένου. | Cf. etiam *Suda* υ 169, 646.24-647.2, quem locum ex alio titulo Constantiniano esse petitum patet, ut Büttner-Wobst 1906b, 203 n.

213

The two guardians of Arcadius and Honorius, Rufinus and Stilicho, plundered the possessions of everybody, since they held wealth to be power. And no one kept any of his possessions unless Rufinus and Stilicho permitted it; all lawsuits were decided to this effect; and large was the number of men who raced around the empire to search out where the best estates lay, and the owners were immediately arrested. Each of them cast his eye about the empire.[1]

214

Eutropius, the *cubicularius* of Arcadius, committed every conceivable evil deed: he openly offered official positions for sale, slandered the powerful, exiled men of elevated rank, and treated the senate in the most ignominious way. He even did not shrink from making an alliance with the bar-

[1] As Blockley (1983, ii, 145 n. 128) notes, this sentence "presumably refers to the activities of their [i.e. Rufinus and Stilicho's] agents rather than to any vigilance on behalf of the state." "Each of them" could also point to Rufinus and Honorius.

συμμαχίας, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλπίζων εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μεταβαίνειν ἀξίαν. Καί ποτε καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πεφευγότας συλλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος προὔθηκεν, ἐπιτρέπων τούτους ἐκ τῶν θυσιαστηρίων ἀφέλκεσθαι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐγέγραπτο, δίκη τε εὐθέως τῆς ὠμότητος ἠκολούθει. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ γὰρ προσκρούσας τῷ βασιλεῖ Εὐτρόπιος ἐν τοῖς πρόσφυξιν ἐγένετο καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἔκειτο Ἰωάννου ἐπισκοποῦντος τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· ἐκεῖθέν τε ἀφαιρεθεὶς νυκτὸς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνεται. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Εὐτρόπιος δίκας τῆς ἁμαρτάδος ὑποστὰς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ὑπάτων ἠμείφθη, μόνου τοῦ συνυπατεύσαντος Θεοδώρου γεγραμμένου.

215

EI 80 **1** Ὅτι Ῥουφῖνος ὁ ἐπίτροπος Ἀρκαδίου ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Εὐτροπίου τοῦ προκοίτου τῆς Ἀρκαδίου διήμαρτε κηδείας· ἀλλ' ὅμως τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τῇ χαλεπότητι τῶν τρόπων πᾶσιν ὑπέροπτος ἦν, τόν τε βασιλέα οἰκειότητι τῶν βαρβάρων καταπλήττων καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐπιτιθεὶς ἀνάγκην πρὸς τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἁλουργίδος αὐτῷ· ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος βαρβάρων εἰσαγαγών, ὧν Ἀλάριχος ἡγεῖτο, πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα διεπόρθει, ὡς καὶ δῆλος ἅπασι γενέσθαι τῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπιβουλῇ. **2** Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέχαιρε καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ὄλεθρον ἰδίαν κρηπῖδα τῆς βασιλείας ὑπελάμβανεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ διετέλει. Οὐ μὴν καὶ ὁ Στελίχων ἐνταῦθα ὅμοιος ἦν, ἀλλὰ διέπλευσε μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καίτοι μηδὲν προσήκουσαν τοῖς τῆς ἑσπερίας τέρμασι, τὰς τῶν ἐνοικούντων οἰκτείρας συμφοράς· καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων διαφθείρας ἔπαυσε τῆς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὁρμῆς. Συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ Γαινάν, ὃς τότε τῶν ἑσπερίων στρατοπέδων ἔξαρχος ἦν, ἀρτύει τὴν κατὰ Ῥουφίνου σκευήν· ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρκαδίου στρατὸς ἔκ τε

Fr. 215 = fr. 190 M, pars prior = fr. 282 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 67f., Blockley 1983, 92, 94 | P (f. 136v-f. 137r) S (f. 139r)

Fr. 215 = Eun. 64.1

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3 προὔθηκεν T *Suda* ε 3777 de Boor 1905 : νόμον προὔθηκεν Müller 1851 e *Suda* υ 169 **4** τε T : δὲ Müller 1851 e *Suda* ε 3777 **6** ἐπισκώπτοντος Müller 1851 **9** ἠμείφθη T : ἠλείφθη Müller 1851 **13** κηδείας de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : κηδίας PS edd. **24** post τῆς verbum κατὰ add. Müller 1851

barians, because he was hoping to attain the imperial dignity for himself. Once, since he wanted to seize some people who had taken refuge in the churches, he made a proposal allowing these men to be dragged away from the sacred altars. The proposal was passed into law and the just punishment for this cruelty followed. For not long afterwards, Eutropius incurred the displeasure of the emperor and found himself among those who fled for protection to the church, lying beneath the altar at the time when John Chrysostom was a bishop;[1] at night he was dragged from there and decapitated. In this manner Eutropius was punished for his transgression and his name was effaced from the list of the consuls, and only that of Theodore, his colleague in office, remained.[2]

215

1 Rufinus, the guardian of Arcadius, was foiled in the marriage alliance through the plotting of Eutropius, Arcadius' *cubicularius*. But on account of his greedy and cruel ways he despised everyone and terrified the emperor by his close relations with the barbarians, putting pressure on Arcadius to make him co-emperor. On one occasion Rufinus actually introduced a force of barbarians led by Alaric and ravaged the whole of Greece and the regions around Illyria. As a result it was clear to all that he was plotting usurpation. **2** He secretly rejoiced and regarded the universal destruction as the basis of his power. The emperor remained incapable of action; Stilicho, however, adopted a different course of action. Out of pity for the misfortunes of the inhabitants of Greece he sailed there, even though it was not part of the western empire, and having destroyed the barbarians by starvation, he put an end to their onslaught upon the native population. Summoning Gainas, who was at the time a general of the western army, he made ready his plot against Rufinus. When Arcadius' army was on its way back from the destruction of Euge-

[1] *See* Chrysostom, *Orat. in Eutropium,* 1.3.

[2] *See* Buck 1992.

τῆς Εὐγενίου καθαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα διώξεως ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν ἐχώρει. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους εἰς ὑπάντησιν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προῆλθεν, καὶ ὁ Γαινὰς αὐτὸν ἐφρούρει, πᾶσα δὲ ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχον συνεξιέναι· Ῥουφῖνός τε ἦν καὶ ἅμα τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατοπέδων Αὔγουστος ὀνομάζεται, καὶ Ῥουφῖνος κατετέμνετο, ταύτης τε ἔτυχε τῆς τελευτῆς. Παῖδες δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμετὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέφυγον, διηρπάζοντο δὲ ἀκωλύτως ἅπαντα ὅσα κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν ἐκτήσατο.

216

EI 81 **1** Ὅτι Γαινὰς ὁ τῶν ἑῴων στρατοπέδων ἔξαρχος βάρβαρος ὢν τὸ γένος καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατ᾽ ὀλίγου ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα προελθὼν ἄρχειν διενοεῖτο, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας κρατήσοι. Καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας μετεπέμψατο, τοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπιτηδείους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἔχειν κατέστησεν. Τριβιγίλδου δὲ ἑνὸς τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ χιλιαρχοῦντος τῶν ἐνιδρυμένων τῇ Φρυγίᾳ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ γνώμῃ αὐτοῦ Γαινᾶ νεωτερίσαντος καὶ τὰ Φρυγῶν ἔθνη παντάπασιν ἀνατρέποντος, ἐπειδὴ Ἀρκάδιος μηδὲν προειδόμενος τὸν Γαινὰν ἔπεμψεν, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ κατὰ Τριβιγίλδου, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τυραννῆσαι βουλόμενος. Ἦγε δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ Γότθων τε καὶ ἑτέρων βαρβάρων οὐκ ὀλίγας μυριάδας, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Φρυγίαν

Fr. 216 = fr. 190 M, pars secunda = fr. 284 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 68-70 | P (f. 137^{r}-f. 138^{v}) S (f. 139^{r}-f. 140^{v})

Fr. 216: 11 Ὅτι – 13 κρατήσοι cf. Socr. 6.6.2sq. 13 Καὶ πᾶν – 394.26 βαρβάροις Socr. 6.6.4-34

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5 τε ἦν PS de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : τις ἦν Cramer 1841 : δὲ ἦν Müller 1851 **11** Ὅτι S^2 : τι PS : τότε coni. Müller 1851 **12** ὀλίγου PS : ὀλίγον Kambylis **15** τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἀριθμῶν (στρατηγοὺς vel τὰς ἀρχὰς) ἔχειν κατέστησεν collato Socrate coniecit vel potius Socratis verba e hoc loco corrigere voluit Müller 1851 Τριβιγίλδου Cramer 1841 : τριβιγγίλδου PS **16** αὐτοῦ PS de Boor 1905 : αὐτῷ edd. **19** τριγιβίλδου S

nius and the pursuit of the barbarians in Illyria and was approaching Constantinople, the emperor, in accordance with ancient custom, went out from the city to greet the army, with Gainas guarding him; and there was a strict requirement that the praetorian prefect (this was Rufinus) accompany the emperor. At one and the same time the emperor was hailed Augustus by the army and Rufinus was cut down, and thus he met his end. His wife and children fled to the church, and they[1] seized for themselves without hindrance all that he had accumulated during his period of power.

216

1 Gainas, *comes rei militaris per Orientem,* was of barbarian origin; he gradually advanced to the position of *magister utriusque militiae* among the Romans and started to think even of gaining control over the empire. He sent for all the Goths from his own country and put his close friends in charge of army units. After Tribigild, one of his subordinates who was in charge of the forces in Phrygia, had started a revolt in accordance with Gainas' wish and devastated the Phrygian provinces, Arcadius, not suspecting anything, had dispatched Gainas, who immediately set out, apparently on an expedition against Tribigild, but with the real intention of usurping the throne. He was at the head of an immense number of Goths and other barbarians, and on reaching Phrygia he caused universal

[1] *See* Blockley 1983, ii, 145 n. 133: "Zosimus 5,8,2 suggests that "they" are Eutropius and his cronies."

πάντα ἀνέτρεπεν. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἐν ταραχῇ τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ *** πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἑῴας ἐπίκαιρα μέρη κινδυνεύειν ἔμελλεν. **2** Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον λόγοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἔργοις θεραπεύειν ἕτοιμος ἐγίνετο. Τοῦ δὲ ἐξαιτοῦντος δύω τῶν προεστώτων τῆς συγκλήτου λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἄνδρας, Σατορνῖνόν τε καὶ Αὐρηλιανόν, ἀκοντὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ καιροῦ παρεῖχε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ κοινοῦ προαποθνήσκειν αἱρούμενοι γενναίως τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσει ὑπήκουον, καὶ πόρρω τῆς Χαλκηδόνος ἐν χωρίῳ ἱπποδρόμῳ ὑπήντων, ἕτοιμοι πάσχειν πᾶν ὅ τι ὁ βάρβαρος ἤθελεν. Ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν οὐδὲν φαῦλον ὑπέμειναν, ὁ δὲ παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν Χαλκηδόνα. Ἀπήντα δὲ ἐκεῖσε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδιος. Γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τῷ οἴκῳ τῆς μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας ὅρκοις ἐπιστοῦντο ἀλλήλους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐφύλαττεν· Γαινὰς δὲ παρεσπόνδει καὶ τοῦ οἰκείου σκοποῦ οὐκ ἐξέβαινεν, ἀλλ' ἐμπρησμόν τε καὶ λαφυραγωγίας ἐμελέτα ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως καὶ κατὰ πάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. Βεβαρβάρωτο γοῦν ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πλήθους, καὶ πάντες οἱ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐν αἰχμαλώτων μοίρᾳ ἐγένοντο. Τοσοῦτος ἦν ὁ ἐπικρεμασθεὶς τῇ πόλει κίνδυνος, ὡς καὶ κομήτην μέγιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φανῆναι. **3** Ὁ μέντοι Γαινὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειράθη ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ποιήσασθαι· τῆς δὲ φήμης προμηνυσάσης τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐφυλάξαντο προθεῖναι ἐν ταῖς τραπέζαις τὸν ἄργυρον, αὖθις ἐπὶ ἑτέραν ἐχώρει γνώμην. Νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιμεσούσης, ἐκπέμπει πλῆθος βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμπρῆσαι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ περιφανῶς ἐδείχθη πρόνοια περί τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀπροόπτως γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελθοῦσιν ἐφάνησαν ἄγγελοι ἐν σχήματι ὁπλιτῶν, μεγάλα ἔχοντες σώματα· οὓς ὑποτοπήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἀληθῆ στρατὸν εἶναι πολὺν καὶ γενναῖον καταπλαγέντες ὑπεχώρησαν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπαγγελθέντος τούτου Γαινᾷ ἄπιστον κατεφαίνετο (ἠπίστατο γὰρ μὴ παρεῖναι τὸ πολὺ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁπλιτικόν, κατὰ γὰρ τὰς πόλεις ἐνίδρυτο), πέμπει τε αὖθις ἑτέρους τῇ ἐχομένῃ νυκτί, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολ-

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1 διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον, ἀλλ' PS : lacunam statuit de Boor 1905 : διὰ τὸ προσὸν τῷ Γαινᾷ πλῆθος βαρβάρων, ἀλλ' Müller 1851 e Socr. 6.6.7 : διὰ τὸ δέος πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον, ἀλλ' Kambylis **5** ἀπὸ S : ὑπὸ P **7** post ὑπὲρ verbum τοῦ add. Müller 1851 e Socr. 6.6.10 **9** ὑπήντων corr. Müller 1851 : ὑπήντουν PS **17** post Τοσοῦτος verbum δὲ add. Müller 1851 **18** ὑπὸ om. Müller 1851 : ἀπὸ coni. Kambylis probabiliter **20** τῆς δὲ PS : ὡς δὲ, [*sic*] τῆς Müller 1851 **30** πέμπει καὶ Müller 1851 e Socr. 6.6.17

destruction. The affairs of the Romans were immediately thrown into confusion, not only on account of . . . ,[1] but also because the strategically important regions of the East were threatened with desolation. **2** The emperor sent an embassy to the barbarian, being ready to appease him with words and deeds. Gainas demanded that two distinguished men of the senate should be delivered up to him, the consulars Saturninus and Aurelian, and the emperor yielded unwillingly to the exigency of the moment. And these two men, who were chosen to die for the public good, nobly submitted themselves to the emperor's order and met him at a place used for horse-racing some distance from Chalcedon, being resolved to endure whatever the barbarian might be disposed to inflict. However, they suffered no harm, and he came to Chalcedon. The emperor Arcadius also arrived there. At the sepulchre of the martyr Euphemia they entered into a mutual pledge. The emperor kept it, but Gainas violated it and did not depart from his course; on the contrary, he was intent on burning and plundering Constantinople and the whole Roman empire. The city was inundated by barbarian masses and its inhabitants were in a condition of captives. So great was the danger threatening the city that a comet of prodigious magnitude appeared in the heavens. **3** At first Gainas attempted to rob the banks, but since the rumour of his plan had spread, the silversmiths abstained from setting forth silver on their counters; so he immediately made a different plan. In the middle of the night he sent a large number of barbarians for the purpose of burning down the palace and the city; it was on this occasion that the providential care of God over the city and the Roman empire was clearly revealed. All of a sudden, angels appeared to the attackers, in the form of armed men of gigantic stature; the barbarians imagined them to be a real army of many brave troops, were seized with terror and retreated. When this was reported to Gainas, it seemed quite incredible to him (for he knew that the greater part of the Roman army was absent, dispersed over different towns) and he sent others on the following night

[1] The text is corrupt, one can supply from Socr. 6.6.7: "not only on the account of the vast barbarian forces which Gainas had at his command."

λάκις. Ὡς δὲ καὶ διαφόρως ἀποστείλαντι τὰ αὐτὰ ἀπηγγέλλετο (ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τὴν αὐτὴν παρεῖχον φαντασίαν), τέλος αὐτὸς σὺν πλήθει πολλῷ παρελθὼν πεῖραν τῶν ἀκουσθέντων λαμβάνει, ὑπονοήσας τε ἀληθῶς στρατιωτῶν εἶναι πλῆθος ὑποκρίνεται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν μάρτυρα Ἰωάννην ὁδεύειν, ὃς ζ′ σημείοις τῆς πόλεως ἀφειστήκει· συνεξῄεσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ ὅπλα λαθραίως κομίζοντες. Ὡς δὲ οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν πυλῶν διεκώλυον, οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ ξίφη γυμνώσαντες τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις διεχειρίσαντο. 4 Ἐντεῦθεν πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη Γαινάς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τείχους φυλακὴν διέθεον, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῇ πόλει βαρβάρους ἀναιρεῖσθαι. Συμβαλόντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Γότθων (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ περιλειφθέντες ἠθροίσθησαν), διαφθείρουσιν ἅπαντας, ἐμπιπρῶσι δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Γαινὰς δὲ μαθὼν ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς μὴ φθάσαντας ἐξελθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, γνοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ μηκέτι προχωρεῖν τὰς ἀπαντήσεις, ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰ Θρᾴκια μέρη· καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Χερόνησον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαπεραιοῦσθαι καὶ καταλαμβάνειν τὴν Λάμψακον ἔσπευδεν, ὅπως ἂν τῶν ἑῴων κρατῆσαι δυνήσηται. Ὡς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφθη δύναμιν ἀποστείλας διά τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἐδείκνυτο θαύματα. Ὡς γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι σχεδίας συμπήξαντες ἐπεραιοῦντο, αἵ τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων νῆες παρῆσαν, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ῥᾳδίως ταῖς ὁλκάσι διέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐν ταῖς σχεδίαις διώλλυντο ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκριπτούμενοι. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐφθείροντο, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλετο. Γαινὰς δὲ ἀναζεύξας διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ φυγῇ χρησάμενος περιπίπτει Ῥωμαϊκῇ δυνάμει καὶ ἀναιρεῖται ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ βαρβάροις. Φραυιανὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ὕπατον προῆλθεν ἀρχήν, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐτέχθη Ἀρκαδίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ μικρὸς Θεοδόσιος.

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4 ὑπονοήσας τε de Boor 1905 : ὑπονοήσας δὲ Müller 1851 : ὑπονοήσαντες PS **5** ὁδεύειν PS : ὁδεύει coni. Kambylis **9** τοῦ S : om. P **14** ἐξελθεῖν S : om. P **15** ἀπαντήσεις PS : ἀπάτας coni. Roberto 2005 e Socr. **16** χερόνησον PS : Χερρόνησον Müller 1851, cf. etiam 424.3 **23** ἐκριπτούμενοι S : ἐκριπτούμενος P **26** φραυιανὸς PS : Φλαυιανὸς Müller 1851

and repeatedly afterwards. Now, as they constantly returned with the same report (for the angels of God always provided the same vision for the insurgents), at length he came with a large multitude and experienced himself what had previously been reported to him. Supposing that it was really a body of soldiers, he pretended to be going to the Church of St. John the Apostle, which is seven miles distant from the city. Together with him went the barbarians, who secretly brought along their arms. Because the soldiers who guarded the city gates did not allow them to pass, the barbarians drew their swords and killed them. 4 Therefore, Gainas was declared a public enemy. All the inhabitants of the city rushed to defend the city walls, and the emperor ordered that all the barbarians who remained in the city should be slain. The soldiers attacked the enemy near the church of the Goths (for it was there that the remaining ones had gathered), killed all of them and set the church on fire. When Gainas learned of the slaughter of those who had not managed to escape through the gates, and knowing that an encounter with the enemy[1] would hardly be to his advantage, he left St. John's Church and rapidly moved to Thrace and occupied Chersonese, hastening to cross over from there and take Lampsacus in order to be able to gain control over the Eastern parts. As the emperor had immediately dispatched forces both by land and by sea, the wonders of Divine Providence were revealed again. For the barbarians put together rafts and were crossing on them, whereas the Romans had ships at their disposal, and so the soldiers easily sailed about in their vessels, while the barbarians on the rafts perished as they were thrown off by the waves. Many were killed by the Romans and so the majority of the enemy was destroyed. Gainas departed and fled through Thrace, but fell in with a Roman force and was killed together with the barbarians accompanying him. Fravianus, the general in this war, was advanced to the office of consul, at the time when Theodosius the younger was born to Arcadius.

[1] It is highly probable that John of Antioch mistook the original ἀπάτας (Socr. 6.6.86) for ἀπαντήσεις. The meaning of the original sentence was: "…and perceiving the failure of all his artifices."

217

EV 69 Ὅτι Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος διὰ τὴν ἄγαν τῆς ἡλικίας νεότητα οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἱκανὸς ἦν· ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑπογραφὰς τοῖς βουλομένοις παρεῖχε, μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐνούχοις. Ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὰς οὐσίας ἡρπάζοντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔτι ζῶντες ἐκληρονομοῦντο, οἱ δὲ τὰς γαμετὰς ἑτέροις παρέπεμπον καὶ τέκνων ἐστεροῦντο βιαίως, ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως διατάγμασιν οὐ δυνάμενοι. Ἐν τούτοις μὲν οὖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπῆρχε.

218

EV 70 Ὅτι Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς χαίρειν εἰπὼν τοῖς παιγνίοις ἐπὶ λόγους ἐλευθερίους μετέβαλε τὴν γνώμην, Παυλίνου τε καὶ Πλακίτου συναναγινωσκόντων αὐτῷ· οἷς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐχαρίσατο μεγάλας.

219

EV 71 Ὅτι Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος ἐν βασιλείᾳ τεχθεὶς οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπέρογκον, ἀλλ᾽ οὕτως γέγονε φρόνιμος, ὡς τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι νομίζεσθαι πεῖραν πολλῶν εἰληφέναι πραγμάτων· καρτερικός τε οὕτως, ὡς κρύος καὶ καῦμα γενναίως ὑπομένειν. Τὸ δὲ ἀνεξίκακον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὑπερέβαλλεν. Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς καί-

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Fr. 217 = fr. 191 M = fr. 285 R; Valois 1634, 849 | T (f. 101v-f. 102r) Fr. 218 = fr. 192 M = fr. 286 R; Valois 1634, 850 | T (f. 102r) Fr. 219 = fr. 193 M = fr. 287 R; Valois 1634, 850 | T (f. 102r)

Fr. 217: fontem non inveni Fr. 218: fontem non inveni Fr. 219: 14 Ὅτι – 17 ὑπομένειν Socr. 7.22.2sq. 17 Τὸ δὲ – 398.7 ζωὴν Socr. 7.22.6-9 398.7 Εἰ γάρ – 398.9 προελάμβανεν Socr. 7.22.11

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6 ἐστηροῦντο Müller 1851 **11** ἐλευθέρους Müller 1851 συναναγιγνωσκόντων Müller 1851 **18** ὑπερέβαλλεν T Büttner-Wobst 1906b : ὑπερέβαλεν Müller 1851

217

Because of his extreme youth Theodosius the Younger was not fit to make decisions or to wage war: rather he only provided blank documents to those who requested them, but especially to the imperial eunuchs. Because of this everybody, one might say, was stripped of property: some were succeeded by their heirs while still living, others passed their wives on to other people and were forcibly deprived of their children, because they were unable to contradict the imperial orders. Such were the conditions in the Roman empire.

218

The emperor Theodosius put away his toys and turned his mind to liberal arts; Paulinus and Placitus were his fellow-students, on whom he bestowed high ranks and positions.

219

Theodosius the Younger, who was born to empire, was not at all arrogant, but was so prudent that to those who conversed with him he appeared as a person with experience of many matters; such was his fortitude that he would courageously endure both heat and cold. He surpassed by far all other men, one might say, in clemency and humanity. In fact, the emperor Julian, even though he professed to be a philosopher,

τοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενος οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν ὀργὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων αἰνιξαμένων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ βασάνους προσήγαγε. Θεοδόσιος δὲ χαίρειν τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους φράσας συλλογισμοῖς τὴν δι᾽ ἔργων ᾔσκει φιλοσοφίαν, ὀργῆς τε κρατῶν καὶ λύπης καὶ ἡδονῆς φόνων τε παντελῶς ἀπεχόμενος. Καί ποτέ τινος τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐρομένου αὐτὸν διὰ τί τοὺς ἀδίκους μὴ θανατοῖ, ἔφη «Εἴθε δυνατὸν ἦν καὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ἐπαναγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωήν.» Εἰ γάρ τις καὶ ἄξια κεφαλικῆς τιμωρίας πεπραχὼς ἀπήγετο, ἡ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀνάκλησις τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον προελάμβανεν.

220

EV 72 Ὅτι Θεοδόσιος τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ πατρὸς ⟨δια⟩δεξάμενος ἀπόλεμος ἦν καὶ δειλίᾳ συνέζη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χρήμασι καὶ οὐχ ὅπλοις ἐκτήσατο. Καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς εὐνούχοις πάντα ἔπραττεν. Καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα ἀτοπίας φέρεσθαι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι παρεσκεύασαν, ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἀποβουκολοῦντες τὸν Θεοδόσιον, ὥσπερ τοὺς παῖδας ἀθύρμασιν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης διαπράξασθαι συνεχώρησαν, καίτοι ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρχοντα φύσεως· ἀλλ᾽ ἐς ν′ ἐνιαυτοὺς συνελάσαντα βαναύσοις τέ τισι τέχναις καὶ θήραις προσκαρτερεῖν παρέπεισαν, ὥστε αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν Χρυσάφιον ἔχειν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κράτος, ὅνπερ ἡ Πουλχερία μετῆλθε, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτήσαντος.

Fr. 220 = fr. 194 M = app. ad fr. 288 R; Valois 1634, 850, Blockley 1983, 226, 228 | T (f. 102[rv])

Fr. 220 = Prisc. 3.1

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1 ἐπαγγειλάμενος in app. Müller 1851 e Socr. coni. **2** αἰνιξαμένων Valois 1634, n. 120 e Socr. 7.22.7 : ἀνιξαμένων T post βασάνους verba τῷ Θεοδώρῳ add. Müller 1851 e Socr. 7.22.8 **9** παρελάμβανεν Müller 1851 **11** δια add. Valois 1634 **13** τοσοῦτον T : τοσοῦτο Müller 1851 **14** ὡς T : οἱ ὡς add. Valois 1634, ann. 120

Fr. 220: ut de Boor (1885, 328f.) demostravit, verba, quae apud *Suda* θ 145 inveniuntur, ex Ioanno Antiocheno descripta non sunt.

was unable to restrain his rage against the Antiochenes who had mocked him, but inflicted tortures upon them. Theodosius, on the contrary, bidding farewell to Aristotle's syllogisms, exercised philosophy in deeds, by obtaining mastery over anger, grief, and pleasure and completely abstaining from putting people to death. And when one of his intimates once asked him why he never inflicted capital punishment upon offenders, he answered, "Would that it were even possible to restore to life those who have died." If anyone was deservingly sentenced to death and led away, his death was anticipated by a pardon issued out of clemency.

220

Theodosius, who succeeded his father Arcadius as emperor, was unwarlike and lived a life of cowardice, obtaining peace by money, not by arms. Everything he did was under the influence of eunuchs. The eunuchs brought affairs to such a level of absurdity that, to put it briefly, they distracted Theodosius, as children are distracted with toys, allowing him to do nothing at all worthy of record, although he had a good character. Even when he had reached fifty years of age they persuaded him to persist in certain low-class pursuits and wild-beast hunting, so that they, and Chrysaphius in particular, might wield imperial power. Chrysaphius became the object of Pulcheria's vengeance, after her brother's death.

221

EI 82 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου Ἰωάννης, πρωτοστάτης ὢν τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπογραφέων, μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν εὐτυχίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀξίας τὴν βασιλείαν ἁρπάζει καὶ πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸν Θεοδόσιον δεχθῆναι εἰς βασιλέα δεομένην· οὓς δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν φρουρᾷ ποιησάμενος πέμπει τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην Ἀρδαβούριον, ὃς τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον ἠγωνίσατο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς Σαλῶνας παραγενόμενος ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκυληίαν, καὶ χρῆται τύχης ἐναντιότητι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπιτηδειότητι, ὡς ὕστερον ἀπεδείχθη. Ἄνεμος γὰρ οὐκ αἴσιος πνεύσας ἐς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτὸν τοῦ τυράννου ἐνέβαλεν· ὃς συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἤλπιζεν εἰς ἀνάγκην τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταστῆσαι τοῦ ψηφίσασθαι αὐτὸν συμβασιλεύοντα. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Θεοδόσιος ἐν ἀγῶνι ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρδαβουρίου παῖς Ἄσπαρ, καὶ ἀφασία κατεῖχε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄγγελον ἐν σχήματι ποιμένος ἀπέστειλεν ὁδηγεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρδαβούριον, ἄγει τε ἅπαντας διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ λίμνης (ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ πόλει ὁ τύραννος διέτριβεν), ὅθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε διαβεβηκέναι ἱστόρηται. Οὕτως οὖν διαβάντες τὴν ἄβατον καὶ βατὴν διὰ ξηρᾶς τὴν πορείαν εὑρόντες, ἀνεῳγμένας τε τὰς πύλας κατιδόντες, τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο· καὶ τοῦτον ἀνελόντες γνώριμα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐποιήσαντο. Ὃς εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ ἐσκόπει τίνα τῶν ἑσπερίων ἀναδείξει βασιλέα.

Fr. 221 = fr. 195 M = fr. 289 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 70f. | P (f. 138v-f. 139r) S (f. 140v)

Fr. 221: 2 Ἰωάννης – 20 ἐποιήσαντο Socr. 7.23.3-10 20 Ὃς – 21 βασιλέα cf. Socr. 7.24.1

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2 Ἰωάννης S : deest in P **5** δὴ PS de Boor 1905 : δὲ edd. **6** ἀρδαβούριον S : δαβούριον P **8** μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπιτηδειότητι S : μᾶλλον τηδειότητι P **9** πνεύσας P : πλεύσας S **11** καταστῆσαι Müller 1851 : καταστῆναι PS **14** ποιμένος Müller 1851 : ποιούμενος PS **15** ἀρδαβούριον PS : Ἄσπαρα Müller 1851 **19** ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο PS : ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο Müller 1851

221

In the reign of the younger Theodosius, the *primicerius notariorum* John, not content with the dignity he had already attained, seized upon the sovereign authority and sent an embassy to the emperor Theodosius, requesting that he be recognised as emperor. The emperor had the ambassadors arrested and then sent off the *magister* Ardabur, who had participated in the Persian war. Upon arriving at Salonae, he set sail from there for Aquileia, but he suffered a misfortune, which, as it turned out later, brought him good fortune. For a contrary wind arose and he was driven into the usurper's hands. The latter seized him and hoped to force the emperor to select himself as his co-emperor. Theodosius, however, was greatly distressed, as was Aspar the son of Ardabur; the Roman government was thrown off-balance. But God sent an angel in the guise of a shepherd, who undertook to guide the Roman army and its general Ardabur,[1] and led them all across the lake near Ravenna (for the usurper was residing in that city), where, it is told, no one had ever passed before. In this manner they crossed the impassable lake, found a passage over dry ground[2] and, seeing the gates open, took control of the city; and after slaying the usurper they reported these events to the emperor. He thanked God and started to consider whom he should proclaim emperor of the West.

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1 Aspar, and not Ardabur, defeated and captured John at Ravenna. However, this historical truth does not justify the emendation of the Greek text.

2 *See* the Greek text which repeats the element -βατ- in several words: διαβάντες, ἄβατον, βατὴν.

222

EI 83 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου Χρυσάφιος διῴκει τὰ πάντα, τὰ πάντων ἁρπάζων καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων μισούμενος. Τότε μὲν οὖν Ἀττήλας πρόφασιν τὴν Κωνσταντίου προβαλλόμενος αἴτησιν, ἣν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς Σατορνίλου θυγατρὸς ᾔτει, ἐπανίσταται τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον Χρυσάφιον ἐκδοθῆναί οἱ παρεκελεύετο, ὡς φωραθέντα τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλῆς. Ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν Ἀνατόλιος καὶ Νόμος πρὸς τὸν Ἀττήλαν παραγίνονται, καὶ πείθουσιν αὐτὸν δώροις ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς κατὰ τοῦ εὐνούχου ὀργῆς.

223

EI 84 **1** Ὅτι Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα ἐχαλέπαινεν. Ἐδεδίει γὰρ μήποτε καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπίθηται, ἀκινδύνου αὐτῷ γενομένης τῆς ἁρπαγῆς. Ὅπερ ἔτι μάλιστα ἐξετάραττεν αὐτόν. Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι ῥᾳδίως νέμων συγγνώμην, χαλεπός τε καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος ἦν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τυραννίδα μελετησάντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλείας ἀξίων νομισθέντων, καί σφας ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖν διὰ παντὸς ἐχώρει τρόπου. Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις προσώποις καὶ Βάνδωνα καὶ Δανίηλον ὡς τυραννίδι ἐπιθεμένους ἐξέβαλεν. Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τοίνυν προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἀμύνασθαι ἐσπουδακὼς τῆς προτέρας εἴχετο βουλῆς, ὥστε διαβῆναι μὲν τὸν Μαξιμῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰσαυρόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία προκαταλαβεῖν, στεῖλαι δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω δύναμιν τὴν τὸν Ζήνωνα παραστη-

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Fr. 222 = fr. 198 M = fr. 291 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 71, Blockley 1983, 300 | P (f. 139r) S (f. 140v-f. 141r) Fr. 223 = fr. 199 M = fr. 292 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 71f., Blockley 1983, 300, 302 | P (f. 139r-f. 140r) S (f. 141rv)

Fr. 222 = Prisc. 15.5 Fr. 223: 11 Ὅτι – 404.2 ἀνεβάλετο = Prisc. 16 404.2 Ἧκε – 404.21 ἀπελύετο = Prisc. 17

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8 ἀποσχέσθαι P : ἀποχέσθαι S **12** γενομένης Blockley 1983 : γενέσθαι PS : γενέσθαι μελλούσης Müller 1851 **17** Βάνδωνα PS : Βαύδωνα Müller 1851 Blockley 1983

Fr. 223: 404.4 Ἡ γὰρ Ὀνωρία – 404.7 ἐλαθεῖσα *Suda* ο 404 Ὀνωρία, ἀδελφὴ Βαλεντινιανοῦ· ἥτις καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν βασιλικῶν εἴχετο σκήπτρων. Εὐγενίῳ δέ τινι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν αὐτῆς ἔχοντι πραγμάτων ἥλω ἐς λάθριον ἐρχομένη λέχος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἀνῃρέθη μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ἡ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξηλάθη.

222

In the reign of the younger Theodosius, Chrysaphius controlled everything, seizing everyone's possessions and being hated by everyone. Then Attila, using as a pretext the demand which Constantius had made of him concerning the marriage of Saturninus' daughter, rose up against the Roman state, requesting that the eunuch Chrysaphius be handed over to him on the grounds that it had been discovered that the latter was plotting against him. Thereupon Anatolius and Nomus came to Attila again and by gifts persuaded him to lay aside his anger against the eunuch.

223

1 The younger Theodosius was angry with Zeno. For he feared that he might attempt usurpation on some occasion, when the attack would involve no danger to himself. This greatly disturbed Theodosius. Although he readily granted forgiveness for all other misdemeanours, he was harsh and unappeasable not only towards those who attempted usurpation but even to those who were deemed worthy to be emperor, and he moved by every means to eliminate them. In addition to the persons mentioned he banished Baudo and Daniel on the grounds that they were aiming at usurpation. Following the same course of action and in order to defend himself against Zeno he kept firmly to his earlier plan, and so Maximinus crossed to Isauropolis and seized the districts there beforehand, and he [Theodosius] also sent a force across the sea to the East to subdue Zeno. He did not abandon his resolution, but he postponed his preparations

σομένην· καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ δεδογμένων οὐκ ἀφίστατο· μείζονος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκταράξαντος φόβου, τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀνεβάλετο. **2** Ἧκε γάρ τις ἀγγέλλων, τὸν Ἀττήλαν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιθέσθαι βασιλείοις, Ὀνωρίας τῆς Βαλεντινιανοῦ ἀδελφῆς ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπικαλεσαμένης αὐτόν. Ἡ γὰρ Ὀνωρία τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐχομένη σκήπτρων Εὐγενίῳ τινὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν αὑτῆς ἔχοντι πραγμάτων ἥλω ἐς λαθραῖον ἐρχομένη λέχος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἀνῃρέθη μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ἡ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐλαθεῖσα Ἑρκουλάνῳ κατεγγυᾶται, ἀνδρὶ ὑπατικῷ καὶ τρόπων εὖ ἔχοντι, ὡς μήτε πρὸς βασιλείαν μήτε πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ὑποτοπεῖσθαι. Ἐν συμφορᾷ δὲ καὶ ἀνίᾳ δεινῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιουμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν Ὑάκινθον εὐνοῦχον ἐκπέμπει τινά, ὥστε ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτῇ τιμωρήσει τῷ γάμῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ δακτύλιον ἔπεμψε πιστουμένη τὸν βάρβαρον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκεύαζεν ἑαυτὸν χωρεῖν κατὰ τῆς τῶν ἑσπερίων βασιλείας, ἐβουλεύετο δὲ ὅπως τὸν Ἀέτιον προκαταλάβοι· μὴ γὰρ ἄλλως τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἰ μή γε ἐκεῖνον ποιήσοιτο ἐκποδών. **3** Ταῦτα τοίνυν Θεοδόσιος μεμαθηκὼς ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Βαλεντινιανῷ τὴν Ὀνωρίαν ἐκπέμπειν τῷ Ἀττήλᾳ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν συλλαβὼν τὸν Ὑάκινθον ἅπαντα διηρεύνησε καὶ μετὰ πολλοὺς τοῦ σώματος αἰκισμοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτμηθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν, Ὀνωρίαν δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Βαλεντινιανὸς τῇ μητρὶ δῶρον ἔδωκε πολλὰ αἰτησαμένῃ αὐτήν. Οὕτως μὲν οὖν Ὀνωρία τότε τῆς * * * ἀπελύετο.

224

EI 85 **1** Ὅτι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταραχῇ ἦν. Μάξιμός τις, ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ δυνατὸς καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύσας Ἀετίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ταγμάτων δυσμενὴς ὤν, ὡς ἔγνω καὶ τὸν Ἡράκλειον (εὐνοῦχος

Fr. 224 = fr. 201 M = fr. 293.1 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 72-75, Blockley 1983, 326ff. | P (f. 140r-f. 142r) S (f. 141v-f. 143r)

Fr. 224 = Prisc. 30.1

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2 ἀγγέλλων corr. Cramer 1841 : ἀγγέλων PS **3** Ὀνωρίας Müller 1851 : ὀνωριάδος PS **6** αὑτῆς Müller 1851 : αὐτῇ S : αὕτη P **14** ἐβουλεύετο Müller 1851 Blockley 1983 : ἐβούλετο PS **18** διηρεύνησε Müller 1851 : διηνεύνησε PS **20** ἔδωκε P : ἔδω S αἰτησαμένῃ Müller 1851 : αἰτησαμένην PS **21** post τῆς lacunam indicavit Cramer 1841 : κολάσεως suppl. Bury 1919, 12

because a greater threat threw him into confusion. **2** For a messenger arrived with the news that Attila was preparing to attack the imperial family at Rome, since Honoria, Valentinian's sister, had summoned him to her assistance. For Honoria, who herself possessed the symbols of imperial authority, was caught in a clandestine affair with a certain Eugenius, who was in charge of her estate. He was executed for the crime, and she was deprived of her royal authority and betrothed to Herculanus, a man of consular rank and of such good character that he was suspected of designs neither on kingship nor on revolution. Considering the situation to be a misfortune and a terrible disaster, she sent the eunuch Hyacinthus to Attila offering him money to avenge her marriage. In addition to this she also sent her ring as her pledge to the barbarian. He made preparations to go against the Western Empire and planned how he might first capture Aetius, since he thought that he would not achieve his object unless he eliminated him. **3** When Theodosius learned this, he sent to Valentinian requesting that he hand Honoria over to Attila. But Valentinian arrested Hyacinthus and carried out a thorough investigation of the matter. After inflicting many tortures upon him, he ordered him to be decapitated. He gave his sister Honoria as a gift to her mother, after the latter had made many requests for her. Accordingly, on this occasion Honoria escaped. . . [1]

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1 The affairs of the western Romans were in turmoil. Maximus, a powerful noble who had been twice consul, was on bad terms with Aetius, the general of the forces in Italy. Since he knew that Heraclius, a eunuch

[1] As Bury 1919, 12 suggested, 'punishment' is probably the word to fill the lacuna.

δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὴν μεγίστην παρὰ τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἔχων ῥοπήν), τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀετίῳ ἔχθιστον ὄντα προαιρέσεως (ἄμφω γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου τὴν σφετέραν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντεισάγειν δύναμιν), ἐς συνωμοσίαν ἔρχεται· καὶ πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα ὡς, εἰ μὴ φθάσοι τὸν Ἀέτιον ἀνελεῖν ταχέως, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φθαρήσεται. **2** Ὁ δὲ Βαλεντινιανός, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆν γενέσθαι κακῶς τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καταλύοντι, προσίετό τε τοὺς λόγους Μαξίμου τε καὶ Ἡρακλείου καὶ διαρτύει τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὅτε δὴ ὁ Ἀέτιος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγίνετο κοινωνεῖν τῷ κρατοῦντι μέλλων ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασιν καὶ προνοίας χρυσίον εἰσάγειν πειρώμενος. Ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν πόρων Ἀέτιος προύθηκε καὶ ἀναλογισμὸν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς ἀθροισθέντων χρημάτων, ἀθρόον ὁ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἀνακραγὼν ἀνέθορέ τε τοῦ θάκου καὶ οὐκέτι ἔφη οἴσειν τοσαύταις ἐμπαροινούμενος μοχθηρίαις· ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ φέροντα τὴν κακῶν αἰτίαν παρελέσθαι αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τῆς ἑῴας βασιλείας, καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἑσπέρας βούλεσθαι κράτους, παραδηλῶν ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ᾔει τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς. Τὸ δὲ παράδοξον τῆς ὀργῆς ὡς ἀπεθαύμαζεν ὁ Ἀέτιος καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο τῆς ἀλόγου κινήσεως ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτόν, σπασάμενος ὁ Βαλεντινιανὸς τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος σὺν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ὥρμησεν, ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κοπίδα εὐτρεπῆ ὑπὸ τὴν χλαμύδα φέροντος· πριμικήριος γὰρ τῶν κοιτώνων ἦν. Καὶ ἄμφω κατὰ τῆς Ἀετίου κεφαλῆς συνεχεῖς ἐπενεγκόντες πληγὰς ἀνεῖλον αὐτόν, πολλὰ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα διαπραξάμενον πρός τε ἐμφυλίους καὶ ὀθνείους πολέμους. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πλακιδίαν, ἥτις τοῦ Βαλεντινιανοῦ μήτηρ ἦν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα νέον ὄντα ἐπετρόπευε διὰ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων συμμαχίας, τὸν δὲ Βονιφάτιον σὺν πολλῇ διαβάντα χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης κατεστρατήγησεν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ φροντίδων νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς καὶ τῆς περιουσίας κύριον γενέσθαι. Ἀνεῖλε δὲ καὶ Φήλικα δόλῳ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σὺν αὐτῷ λαχόντα ἀρχήν, ὡς ἔγνω ὑποθήκῃ τῆς Πλακιδίας ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναίρεσιν παρασκευαζόμενον. Κατηγωνίσατο δὲ καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τῶν

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5 βαλεντιανός PS **6** προσίετό τε Müller 1851 : προσίετό δὲ PS **9** χρυσίον Müller 1851 : χρυσίου PS **11** βαλεντινιανὸς S : βαλεντιανὸς P **15** ὡς – 15 ἐκβαλὼν S : deest in P οὐκ ᾔει de Boor 1905 : οἰκείει aut οἰκίει S **17** κινήσεως – 17 Βαλεντινιανὸς S : deest in P **19** φέροντος P : φέροντες S **20** τῆς in app. coni. de Boor 1905 : τοῦ PS **21** διαπραξάμενον Müller 1851 : διαπραξάμενος PS **23** ἐπετρόπευε S : ἐπετρόπευσε P^1 (corr. ex ἔπευσε) **24** βονιφάτιον P : βονιφάντιον S Λιβύης Cramer 1841 : λιβύας P : λικύης S **27** Φήλικα Müller 1851 : φίληκα P : φοιληκα S^2 ex φίληκα

who carried very great weight with the emperor, was extremely hostile to Aetius for the same reason (since they both wished to replace his influence with their own), he made a pact with him, and they persuaded the emperor that if he did not act first and quickly kill Aetius, Aetius would kill him. **2** Since Valentinian was doomed to come to ruin by destroying the bulwark of his own sovereignty, he approved the suggestions of Maximus and Heraclius and prepared to kill Aetius in the palace when he was on the point of holding a council meeting with the emperor and was evaluating proposals to raise money. As Aetius was explaining the finances and calculating the tax revenues, with a shout Valentinian suddenly leaped up from his throne and cried out that he would no longer suffer such crass incompetence. He alleged that, by blaming him for the troubles, Aetius wished to deprive him of power in the West, as he had done in the Eastern Empire, insinuating that it was only because of Aetius did he not go and remove Marcian from his throne. While Aetius was stunned by this unexpected rage and was attempting to calm his irrational outburst, Valentinian drew his sword from its scabbard and, together with Heraclius, who was holding a cleaver ready under his cloak (for he was a *primicerius sacri cubiculi*), fell upon him. They both rained blows on his head and killed him, a man who had performed many brave actions against enemies both internal and foreign. Through his alliance with the barbarians he had protected Placidia, Valentinian's mother, and her son while he was a child. When Boniface crossed from Libya with a large army, he out-generalled him so that he died of disease as a result of his anxieties and Aetius gained possession of his wife and property. Felix, who was his fellow general, he killed by cunning when he learned that he was preparing to destroy him at Placidia's suggestion. He crushed the Goths of western Gaul who were encroaching on Roman territory, and

῾Ρωμαίων ἐμβατεύσαντας χωρίοις. Παρεστήσατο καὶ Αἰμοριχιανοὺς ἀφηνιάσαντας ῾Ρωμαίων. ῾Ως δὲ συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, μεγίστην κατεστήσατο δύναμιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον βασιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παροικοῦντα ἔθνη τοῖς ἐκείνου εἴκειν ἐπιτάγμασιν. **3** Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀετίου φόνον καὶ Βοήθιον ὁ Βαλεντινιανός, ὕπαρχον ὄντα, ἀνεῖλεν, ἐκείνῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένον. ῾Ως δὲ ἀτάφους αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν προύθηκεν, εὐθέως τὴν γερουσίαν μετακαλεσάμενος πολλὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐποιεῖτο κατηγορίας, εὐλαβούμενος μή πως διὰ τὸν Ἀέτιον ἐπανάστασιν ὑπομείνοι. ῾Ο δὲ Μάξιμος μετὰ τὴν Ἀετίου ἀναίρεσιν παρὰ τὸν Βαλεντινιανὸν ἐφοίτα, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν προαχθείη· ταύτης δὲ διαμαρτὼν τῆς πατρικιότητος τυχεῖν ἐβούλετο. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ταύτης αὐτὸν ὁ ῾Ηράκλειος τῆς ἐξουσίας ⟨τυχεῖν⟩ συνεχώρει· ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γὰρ ὁρμώμενος προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλόμενος μὴ ἔχειν ἀντίρροπον δύναμιν τὰς τοῦ Μαξίμου ἀνέκοπτεν ὁρμάς, παραπείθων τὸν Βαλεντινιανόν, ἀπηλλαγμένον τῆς Ἀετίου βαρύτητος μὴ χρῆναι τὴν ἐκείνου πάλιν εἰς ἑτέρους μεταφέρειν δύναμιν. ᾿Εντεῦθέν τε ὁ Μάξιμος ἀμφοτέρων διαμαρτὼν ἐχαλέπαινεν, καὶ τὸν ᾿Οπτήλαν καὶ Θραυστήλαν μεταπεμψάμενος, ἄνδρας Σκύθας καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρίστους, σὺν Ἀετίῳ δὲ στρατευσαμένους καὶ Βαλεντινιανῷ προσοικειωθέντας, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, καὶ πίστεις δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἐτίθετο τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀετίου ἕνεκα, καὶ μετιέναι αὐτὸν ἄμεινον ἐδίδασκεν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ ἐν δίκῃ τῷ πεσόντι τιμωροῦσιν. **4** ῾Ημερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐδόκει τῷ Βαλεντινιανῷ ἱππασθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ῎Αρεος πεδίον ὀλίγοις ἅμα δορυφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν ᾿Οπτήλαν καὶ Θραυστήλαν. ῾Ως δὲ ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου ἐπὶ τὴν τοξείαν ἐχώρει, ἔνθα δὴ ἐπέθεντο ᾿Οπτήλας καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ παραιωρημένα αὐτοῖς ἑλκύσαντες ξίφη ὥρμησαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾿Οπτήλας κατὰ τοῦ κροτάφου παίει τὸν Βαλεντινιανόν, ἐπιστραφέντα

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4 εἴκειν corr. de Boor 1905 : ἥκειν PS **9** βαλεντινιανὸν S : βαλεντιανὸν P **11** αὐτὸν S : om. P **12** τυχεῖν συνεχώρει Blockley 1983 : συνεχώρει κρατεῖν in app. coni. de Boor 1905 προαιρέσεως – δύναμιν S : deest in P **14** βαλεντινιανὸν S : βαλεντιανὸν P **15** ἑτέρους S de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : ἐκείνους P edd. **16** τε PS de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : om. edd. **17** ᾿Οπτήλαν de Boor 1905 : ὀπτήλαν S : οπτηλαν P Θραυστήλαν Müller 1851 : θραυτήλαν S et sine acc. P **19** ἐς λόγους S : εὐλόγους P **23** βαλεντινιανὸν S (corr. e βαλενιανὸν) : βαλεντιανὸν P **24** ᾿Οπτήλαν de Boor 1905 : ὀπτήλαν S : οπτηλαν P Θραυστήλαν Müller 1851 : θραυτήλαν S et sine acc. P **25** ἔνθα δὴ PS : ἐνθαδί in app. coni. de Boor 1905 ᾿Οπτήλας de Boor 1905 : ὀπτήλας PS **26** καὶ τὰ – 26 ὥρμησαν S : om. P **27** ᾿Οπτήλας de Boor 1905 : ὀπτῆλας S : οπτηλας P

he brought to heel the Armoricans who were in revolt from the Romans. In short, he wielded enormous power, so that not only kings but neighbouring peoples followed his orders. **3** After destroying Aetius, Valentinian also killed Boethius the prefect, who had stood high in Aetius' favour. After exposing their bodies unburied in the Forum, he immediately summoned the senate and brought many charges, taking measures to prevent it from tolerating any revolt on account of Aetius. After the murder of Aetius, Maximus paid court to Valentinian hoping that he would be made consul, and when he failed to achieve this, he wished to become a patrician. But Heraclius did not agree that he should have this rank. Driven by the same ambition and wishing to have no counterbalance to his own power, he frustrated Maximus' efforts by persuading Valentinian that since he had freed himself from the oppression of Aetius, he should not transfer the power of that man to others. Thereupon Maximus, thwarted in both his attempts, was enraged. He summoned Optila and Thraustila, Scythians and outstanding warriors who had campaigned with Aetius and were attached to Valentinian's household, and engaged them in conversation. When they had exchanged oaths, Maximus blamed the emperor for Aetius' murder and told them that it would be better to take vengeance upon him; for those who avenged the dead man would justly receive the greatest rewards. **4** A few days later Valentinian decided to go riding on the Campus Martius with a few guardsmen and the followers of Optila and Thraustila. When he dismounted from his horse and was walking off to practise archery, Optila and his followers headed towards him and, drawing the swords hanging at their sides, attacked him. Optila struck Valentinian across the side of the head and, when he turned to see who had struck him,

δὲ ἰδεῖν τὸν πατάξαντα δευτέραν κατὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἐπαγαγὼν καταβάλλει· ὁ δὲ Θραυστήλας τὸν Ἡράκλειον καθεῖλε, καὶ ἄμφω τε τὸ διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν ἵππον λαβόντες ἐς τὸν Μάξιμον ἀπέτρεχον. Εἴτε δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον τόλμαν, εἴτε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν δόξαν τῶν παρόντων ἐπτοημένων, ἀκίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἦν. Δαιμόνιον δέ τι ἐπὶ τῷ Βαλεντινιανοῦ θανάτῳ συνέβη. Μελισσῶν γὰρ ἐσμὸς ἐπιγενόμενος τὸ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ῥυὲν αἷμα ἀνιμήσατο καὶ ἅπαν ἐμύζησεν. Τελευτᾷ μὲν οὖν ὁ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἔτη βιώσας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Τὸ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ Ῥώμη ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ ταραχαῖς ἦν, τά τε στρατιωτικὰ διῃρεῖτο πλήθη, τῶν μὲν τὸν Μάξιμον βουλομένων παράγειν ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν δὲ Μαξιμιανὸν ἐσπουδακότων χειροτονεῖν· ὃς ἦν μὲν πατρὸς Δομνίνου Αἰγυπτίου πραγματευτοῦ, εὐημερήσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τῷ Ἀετίῳ τὴν τοῦ δομεστίκου διακονούμενος χρείαν. Τῷ δὲ Μαιωρίνῳ ἐσπουδάκει καὶ Εὐδοξία ἡ τοῦ Βαλεντινιανοῦ γαμετὴ γενομένη. Ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων χορηγίᾳ ὁ Μάξιμος περιὼν τῶν βασιλείων ἐκράτει· οἰηθεὶς δὲ βεβαίαν αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν βιάζεται τὴν Εὐδοξίαν θάνατον ἀπειλῶν. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Μάξιμος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἦλθε. Καὶ Γιζέριχος ὁ τῶν Βανδήλων ἄρχων τὴν Ἀετίου καὶ Βαλεντινιανοῦ ἀναίρεσιν ἐγνωκὼς ἐπιτίθεσθαι ταῖς Ἰταλίαις καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος, ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης θανάτῳ τῶν σπεισαμένων λυθείσης, τοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθόντος μὴ ἀξιόχρεων κεκτημένου δύναμιν, οἱ δέ φασι καὶ ὡς Εὐδοξίας τῆς Βαλεντινιανοῦ γαμετῆς ὑπὸ ἀνίας διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν γάμων ἀνάγκην λάθρα ἐπικαλεσαμένης αὐτόν, σὺν πολλῷ στόλῳ καὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔθνει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄφρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην διέβαινεν. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀζέστῳ (τόπος δὲ οὗτος τῆς Ῥώμης ἐγγύς) τὸν Γιζέριχον ὁ Μάξιμος ἔγνω στρατοπεδευόμενον, περιδεὴς γενόμενος ἔφευγεν ἵππῳ ἀναβὰς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐλευθέρων, οἷς μάλιστα ἐκεῖνος ἐπίστευε, ἀπολιπόντων, οἳ ὁρῶντες ἐξελαύνοντα ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ δειλίαν ὠνείδιζον· τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἐξιέναι μέλλοντα βαλών τις λίθον κατὰ τοῦ κροτάφου ἀνεῖλε· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπελθὸν τόν τε νεκρὸν διέσπασε καὶ τὰ μέλη ἐπὶ κοντῷ φέρον

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1 τὸν Müller 1851 : καὶ PS **4** πρὸς – εἴτε δὲ S : deest in P **11** μαξιμιανὸν PS : Μαιωρῖνον in app. coni. Blockley 1983 **14** Μαιωρίνῳ de Boor 1905 : μαιουρινω P : μαινορίνῳ S equidem Μαιωρίνῳ de Boor 1905 scripsit sicuti codd. interdum in narratione sequenti **20** τοῦ δὲ de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : τοῦδε PS edd.

felled him with a second blow to the face. Thraustila cut down Heraclius, and both of them took the emperor's diadem and horse and rode off to Maximus. Whether those present were stunned by the unexpectedness of the exploit or frightened by the warlike reputation of these men, their attack brought them no retaliation.[1] A divine sign appeared at Valentinian's death. For a swarm of bees settled on the blood which had run onto the ground, drank it and sucked it all up. Thus Valentinian died, having lived for thirty-seven years. Rome was then in disorder and confusion. The armed forces were divided. Some wanted to make Maximus emperor, others wished to proclaim Maximian. The latter, whose father was Domninus, an Egyptian businessman who had also prospered in Italy, held the post of *domesticus* to Aetius. Majorian was also supported by Eudoxia, Valentinian's wife. But Maximus prevailed through his distribution of money and gained control of the palace. By threatening Eudoxia with death he forced her to marry him, thinking that then his position would be secure. In this way Maximus became emperor of the Romans. Gaiseric, the ruler of the Vandals, heard of the deaths of Aetius and Valentinian and concluded that the time was right for an attack on Italy, since the peace treaty had been dissolved by the deaths of those who had made it and the new incumbent of the imperial office did not have at his disposal an estimable force. Some also say that Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, out of distress at the murder of her husband and her forced marriage, secretly summoned Gaiseric, who crossed from Africa to Rome with a large fleet and the nation under his rule. When Maximus learned that Gaiseric was encamped at Azestus[2] (which is a place near Rome), he panicked, mounted a horse and fled. The imperial bodyguard and those free persons in his retinue whom he particularly trusted deserted him, and those who saw him leaving abused him and reviled him for his cowardice. As he was about to leave the city, someone threw a rock, hitting him on the temple and killing him. The crowd fell upon

1 A short discussion of the passage is available in Krawczuk 1976, 402f.
2 *Ad Sextum.*

ἐπαιωνίζετο. Ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἔτυχε τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς, ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι μηνῶν αὐτῷ διαγενομένων τριῶν. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Γιζέριχος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσέβαλε.

225

EI 86 **1** Ὅτι Ἀβίτου βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ λιμοῦ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν γενομένου, ἐν αἰτίᾳ τὸν Ἄβιτον ὁ δῆμος ποιησάμενος ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτῷ συνεισφρήσαντας συμμάχους ἀπάγειν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως. Ἀπέπεμπε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γότθους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐπήγετο φυλακῇ, χρημάτων αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενος διανομὴν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, τοῖς ἐμπόροις χαλκὸν ἀποδόμενος· οὐ γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ταμείοις ἔτυχεν ὄν. Ὅπερ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρὸς στάσιν διανέστησεν ἀφῃρημένους τοῦ τῆς πόλεως κόσμου. **2** Περιφανῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μαιωρῖνος καὶ ὁ Ῥεκίμερ ἐπανίσταντο τοῦ ἐκ τῶν Γότθων ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέους, ὥστε αὐτὸν πῇ μὲν τὰς ἐμφυλίους ταραχὰς πῇ δὲ τοὺς τῶν Βανδήλων πολέμους ὑφοραθέντα ὑπεξελθεῖν τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Γαλατίαν ὁδοῦ. Ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Μαιωρῖνός τε καὶ Ῥεκίμερ εἰς τέμενος φυγεῖν κατηνάγκασαν, ἀπαγορεύοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τὴν βασίλειον ἀποδυσάμενον στολήν. Ἔνθα οἱ περὶ τὸν Μαιωρῖνον οὐ πρότερον τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέστησαν, πρὶν ἢ λιμῷ πιεσθεὶς τὸν βίον ἀπέλιπε, ὀκτὼ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαγενομένων μηνῶν· οἱ δέ φασι ὅτι ἀπεπνίγη. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀβίτῳ τοῦ βίου τέλος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγένετο.

Fr. 225 = fr. 202 M = fr. 294 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 76, Blockley 1983, 334, 336 | P (f. 142^{rv}) S (f. 143^{r})

Fr. 225 = Prisc. 32

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3 ἐσέβαλε P : ἐσέβαλε S^2 ex ἐπέβαλε **13** μαιωρίνος ex μαιουρίνος corr. S^2 : μαιουρινος P ῥεκίμερ P : ῥεβίμερ S ἀπηλλαγμένοι corr. Müller 1851 : ἀπηλλαγμένου PS **16** μαιουρινός S : μαιουρινος sine acc. P **18** μαιωρίνον ex μαιουρίνον corr. S^2 : μαιουρίνον P **20** ἀπέλιπε corr. Müller 1851 : ἀπέλειπε PS

his body, tore it to pieces and with shouts of triumph paraded the limbs about on a pole. Thus he met the end of his life, having usurped power for three months. Meanwhile Gaiseric entered Rome.

225

1 When Avitus was the emperor of Rome and a famine occurred at the same time, the people blamed Avitus and forced him to send away from the city of Rome his allies whom he had brought with him from Gaul. He also dismissed the Goths whom he had brought as his own guard and gave them a portion of money raised from public works through the sale of the bronze to merchants, for there was no gold in the imperial treasuries. This roused the Romans to revolt, since they were robbed of the adornments of their city. **2** Majorian and Ricimer also rose in rebellion now that they were freed from fear of the Goths. As a result Avitus, afraid both of these internal disturbances and of the attacks of the Vandals, withdrew from Rome and took the road to Gaul. Majorian and Ricimer attacked him on the way and forced him to renounce his throne, put off his imperial robe and flee to a shrine. It was not until he died of starvation after an eight-month rule that the followers of Majorian desisted from besieging him there. Some say that he was strangled. Thus ended the life and the reign of Avitus.

226

EI 87 Ὅτι Μαιωρῖνος ὁ τῶν ἑσπερίων βασιλεύς, ὡς αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν Γαλατίᾳ Γότθοι σύμμαχοι κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰ παροικοῦντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικρατείᾳ ἔθνη τὰ μὲν λόγοις τὰ δὲ ὅπλοις παρεστήσατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην σὺν πολλῇ διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο δυνάμει, νηῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς τ᾽ αὐτῷ ἠθροισμένων· καὶ ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αἰσχραῖς καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον ἐπανεζεύγνυεν. Ἤδη δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαβεβηκότι ὁ Ῥεκίμερ θάνατον ἐπεβούλευσεν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς συμμάχους μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀποπέμψας σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανήρχετο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ῥεκίμερα συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν τῆς ἁλουργίδος καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος ἐγύμνωσαν, πληγάς τε ἐντείναντες τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπετέμνοντο. Τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Μαιωρίνῳ τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς γίνεται τὸ τέλος.

227

EI 88 Ὅτι ὁ Γιζέριχος ἐπόρθει τὰς Ἰταλίας βουλόμενος βασιλεῦσαι τῶν ἑσπερίων Ὀλύβριον διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας συγγένειαν. Οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο δὲ προφανῆ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίαν τὸ μὴ τὸν Ὀλύβριον ἐς τὰ τῆς ἑσπερίας διαβῆναι βασίλεια, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ τὴν Βαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Ἀετίου δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ περιουσίαν, τὴν μὲν ὀνόματι Εὐδοκίας, ἣν ὁ τούτου παῖς εἶχε, τὴν δὲ ὡς Γαυδεντίου παιδὸς διάγοντος παρ᾽ αὐτῷ.

Fr. 226 = fr. 203 M = fr. 295 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 76, Blockley 1983, 338 | P (f. 142v) S (f. 143v) Fr. 227 = fr. 204 M = fr. 296 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 77, Blockley 1983, 340, 342 | P (f. 142v) S (f. 143v)

Fr. 226 = Prisc. 36.2 Fr. 227 = Prisc. 38.2

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3 σύμμαχοι Müller 1851 e Prisc. 36.1 : συμμάχῳ PS **4** παρεστήσατο P : παρεστήσαντο S **5** νηῶν Müller 1851 e Prisc. 36.1 : νικὼν PS **9** ῥεκίμερα P : ῥεκίμερα S^2 ex ῥεβίμερα **10** πληγάς Cramer 1841 : πληγαῖς PS **11** μαιωρίνῳ S : μαιορίνω P^1 ex μεορίνω **14** γιζέριχος P : ζέριχος S **15** Ὀλύβριον edd. : ὀλύβριον S : ὀλίβριον P **16** Ὀλύβριον edd. : ὀλύβριον PS

Fr. 226: 10 πληγάς – 11 ἀπετέμνοντο = *Suda* ε 1471, 295.18-19 Πληγάς τε ἐντείναντες τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπετέμοντο.

226

When the Goths in Gaul had become allies of Majorian, the emperor of the West, he subdued the peoples neighbouring upon his dominions, some by diplomacy and some by war, and even attempted to cross to Libya with a large army, having collected a fleet of about three hundred ships. He broke off the war on shameful terms and retreated. Once he had already crossed to Italy, Ricimer plotted his death. Majorian had dismissed his allies after his return and was on his way to Rome with his own followers when Ricimer's men seized him, stripped him of the purple and his diadem, beat him and cut off his head. Such was the end of Majorian's life.

227

Gaiseric ravaged Italy, wishing Olybrius to be emperor of the West because of his kinship by marriage. However, he did not state publicly that his reason for war was the fact that Olybrius had not become the emperor of the western provinces, but rather that he himself had not been given the property of Valentinian and Aetius, the former in the name of Eudocia, who was married to his son, the latter because Gaudentius, Aetius' son, was living with him.

228

EI 89 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀνθεμίου καὶ Λέοντος τῶν βασιλέων Οὔλλιβος ὑπὸ Ἀναγάστου ἀνῃρέθη κατὰ τὴν Θρᾴκην, ἀμφότεροι τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν ἐπιτήδειοι.

229

EI 90 **1** Ὅτι τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἐν τῇ Ῥοδίων νήσῳ πρὸς ἁρπαγὴν τραπέντων καὶ φόνους ἐργασαμένων, οἱ στρατιῶται τούτους διεχειρίσαντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς φυγόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἅμα Ζήνωνι τῷ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρῷ παραγενόμενοι καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀγορὰν προτιθέντας διαθορυβοῦντες τὸν δῆμον εἰς λιθοβολίας διανέστησαν. Ἐμφυλίου δὲ ἐντεῦθεν κινηθέντος πολέμου, νὺξ ἐπιλαβοῦσα τὴν στάσιν διέλυσεν. **2** Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀναγάστης, ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκίων τελῶν ἔξαρχος, πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν ἀρθεὶς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέτρεχε φρούρια. Αἰτία δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαφορᾶς ἐλέγετο, ὡς Ἰορδάνου τοῦ Ἰωάννου παιδός, ὅνπερ Ἀνέγισκλος ὁ Ἀναγάστου πατὴρ ἀνῃρήκει, ἐς τὴν ὕπατον ἀνιέντος τιμήν· τὴν γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γενομένην ὁ Ἀναγάστης οὐκ ἐδέξατο ψῆφον, ὡς ἐπιληψίαν νοσῶν τε καὶ δεδιώς, φησί, μήποτε ἐν τῷ τῆς γερουσίας αἶσχος ἀπενέγκοιτο τῷ πάθει, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι. Ἄλλοι δέ φασι αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἐφιέμενον ἐς τὴν ἐπανάστασιν χωρεῖν. Πολλῆς δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένης ὑποψίας, τέλος ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς σταλέντες τινὲς ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν παύσασθαι τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρδαβού-

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Fr. 228 = fr. 205 M = fr. 297 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 77, Blockley 1983, 368 P (f. 142v) S (f. 143v) Fr. 229 = fr. 206 M = fr. 298 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 77f., Blockley 1983, 368 | P (f. 142v-f. 143r) S (f. 143v-f. 144r)

Fr. 228 = Prisc. 54.1 Fr. 229: 6 Ὅτι – 12 διέλυσεν = Prisc. 55 12 Καὶ κατὰ – 418.2 ἔπεμπεν = Prisc. 56 418.2 Ὁ δὲ τοῦ – 418.6 ἀναιροῦντες = Prisc. 57 418.6 Ἐστέλλετο – 418.7 χωρία = Prisc. 51.2 418.7 Διανέστη – 418.11 ἀδελφῷ = Prisc. 59

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8 τῷ – γαμβρῷ Müller 1851 : τοῦ – γαμβροῦ PS **10** διανέστησαν P : ἀνέστησαν S **11** Ἐμφυλίου edd. : ἐνφυλίου PS **15** Ἀρνεγίσκλος in app. coni. Müller 1851 **17** νοσῶν τε Müller 1851 : νοσῦντα PS **21** Ἀρδαβούριον Cramer 1841 : ἀρδαβούριος PS

228

During the reigns of Anthemius and Leo, Ullibos was killed by Anagast in Thrace. Both were of the Scythian origin and ready for rebellion.

229

1 When the Isaurians on Rhodes turned to robbery and murder, the soldiers slew them. However, some fled to their ships and came to Constantinople where they joined Zeno, the son-in-law of the emperor through his daughter. When they harassed the merchants at the market, they aroused the populace to attack them with stones. This was the start of a civil insurrection, but night fell and ended the disorder. **2** At this time Anagast, *magister militum per Thraciam,* rose in revolt and overran the Roman fortresses. The reason for his disaffection was said to be the fact that Jordanes, the son of John, whom Anegisclus, the father of Anagast, had killed, had been raised to the office of consul. For when this office had been assigned to himself Anagast had not accepted the vote because he suffered from epilepsy and was, they say, afraid that at some time he would be disgraced in the senate by his illness, if it were to afflict him there. Others say that he revolted because he wanted money. When he had caused great apprehension, envoys were sent from the palace who persuaded him to abandon his attempt. He revealed that Ardabur, the

ριον τὸν Ἄσπαρος αἴτιον τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπέφηνε καὶ τὰ τούτου γράμματα παρὰ τὸν βασιλεύοντα ἔπεμπεν. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρὸς Ζήνων τὴν ὕπατον ἔχων ἀρχὴν ἔστελλε τοὺς τὸν Ἰνδακὸν ἀποστήσοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου Παπιρίου λόφου. Τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτος Νέων ἐφώλευε· μεθ' ὃν Παπίριος καὶ ὁ τοῦδε παῖς Ἰνδακός, τοὺς προσοίκους ἅπαντας βιαζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς διοδεύοντας ἀναιροῦντες. Ἐστέλλετο δὲ καὶ κατὰ Τζάνων βοήθεια ληιζομένων τὰ περὶ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα χωρία. Διανέστη δὲ τότε πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος Γαλατίαν τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέραν νεμόμενον, οἵπερ πάλαι μὲν Ἀλλαρίχου ὠνομάζοντο· ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐν Παιονίᾳ βαρβαρικὸν πλῆθος, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Βαλίμερι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀναίρεσιν ὑπὸ Θευδίμερι ταττόμενον τῷ Βελίμερος ἀδελφῷ.

230

EI 91 Ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἑσπερίων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθέμιος νόσῳ περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ μαγγανείας χαλεπῇ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἁλόντας ἐκόλασε, μάλιστα Ῥωμανὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχῇ τελέσαντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρικίοις ἐγγεγραμμένον, ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ Ῥεκίμερι· δι' ὃν ἀνιαθεὶς τῆς τε Ῥώμης ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν κατὰ Βανδήλων πόλεμον ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένους ἀνεκαλέσατο.

Fr. 230 = fr. 207 M = fr. 299 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 78, Blockley 1983, 370 | P (f. 143^{v}) S (f. 144^{r})

Fr. 230 = Prisc. 62

1 Ἄσπαρος corr. Cramer 1841 : ἄσπερος PS **2** Ὁ δὲ edd. : ὅδε P : τοδε S **4** Παπιρίου corr. de Boor 1905 : παπηρίου PS νεῶν S : sine acc. P **7** κατά τε τζάνων S **9** ἑσπέραν PS de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : ἑσπέρας edd. **11** βελίμερος PS : Βαλίμερος edd. **17** δι' ὃν PS : δι' ὃ Müller 1851

Fr. 230: 14 νόσῳ – 15 ἐκόλασε = *Suda* μ 4, 304.10-11 Μαγγανεία· ἡ γοητεία. ὁ δὲ νόσῳ περιέπεσεν ἐκ μαγγανείας χαλεπῇ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἁλόντας ἐκόλασε.

son of Aspar, was to blame for his rebellion and sent Ardabur's letters to the emperor. The emperor's son-in-law Zeno, who was then consul, sent men to eject Indacus from the hill called Papirius. First Neon made this his lair, and after him Papirius and his son Indacus, who attacked all those who lived in the neighbourhood and murdered passers-by. Assistance was also sent against the Tzani, who were ravaging the districts around Trapezus. At that time the Gothic people who were living in western Gaul and who were of old named after Alaric, began hostilities, as also did the horde of barbarians in Pannonia who had earlier been ruled by Valamir and, after his death, by Theodemir, Valamir's brother.

230

Anthemius, the emperor of the West, became seriously ill as the result of sorcery and punished many who were caught in this practice, and in particular Romanus, who had held the office of *magister officiorum,* and was counted among the patricians and a very close friend of Ricimer. The latter, out of anger over Romanus, left Rome and summoned six thousand men who were under his command for the war against the Vandals.

231

EI 92 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰορδάνης ὁ τῆς ἑῴας στρατηγὸς καὶ ὕπατος εἰς ἔσχατον ἦλθε κινδύνου, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῷ Μισαὴλ καὶ Κοσμᾶς τῶν βασιλείων ὄντες θαλαμηπόλοι, ὅτι τὰ βασίλεια φυλάττειν καταλελησμένοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξω διαιτωμένου, Ἰορδάνῃ τὰ ἔνδον ἱστορῆσαι βουληθέντι ἐφῆκαν.

232

EI 93 **1** Ὅτι ὁ Ῥεκίμερ εἰς διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸν Ἀνθέμιον καταστὰς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἑσπερίων, καὶ ταῦτα θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ κατεγγυηθεὶς Ἀλυπίαν, ἐμφύλιον ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως συνεκρότησε πόλεμον ἐπὶ μῆνας θʹ. Καὶ Ἀνθεμίῳ μὲν συνεμάχουν οἵ τε ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ δῆμος, τῷ δὲ Ῥεκίμερι τὸ τῶν οἰκείων βαρβάρων πλῆθος. Συνῆν δὲ καὶ Ὀδόακρος, γένος ὢν τῶν προσαγορευομένων Σκίρων, πατρὸς δὲ Ἰδικῶνος καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνοούλφου, καὶ Ἁρματίου σωματοφύλακός τε καὶ σφαγέως γενομένου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀνθέμιος κατῴκει ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὁ δὲ Ῥεκίμερ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τίβεριν διαφράξας λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐβιάζετο. Ἐντεῦθέν τε αὐτοῖς συμβολῆς γενομένης, πολὺ τῆς Ἀνθεμίου κατέπεσε μοίρας· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὁ Ῥεκίμερ παραστησάμενος δόλῳ βασιλέα τὸν Ὀλύβριον ἀποδείκνυσιν. Πέντε γοῦν διόλου μῆνας ἐμφύλιος τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπεκράτει πόλεμος, ἄχρις οὗ, τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνθέμιον ἐνδόντων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τὸν βασιλεύοντα γυμνὸν

Fr. 231 = fr. 208 M = fr. 300 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 78, Blockley 1983, 372 | P (f. 143^{v}) S (f. 144^{r}) Fr. 232 = fr. 209 M = fr. 301 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 78f., Blockley 1983, 372, 374 | P (f. 143^{v}-f. 144^{r}) S (f. 144^{rv})

Fr. 231 = Prisc. 63 Fr. 232: 8 Ὅτι – 422.4 ὀκτωκαίδεκα = Prisc. 64.1 422.4 Ὁ δὲ – 422.17 Ῥώμης = Prisc. 65

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3 ἔσχατον P et m 2. corr. ex τεσχατον S Μιχαὴλ coni. Müller 1851 **4** θαλαμηπόλοι S : θαμηπόλοι P **9** θυγατέρα – Ἀλυπίαν Müller 1851 : θυγατέρα – Ἀλυπία PS **10** μῆνας θʹ PS : μῆνας εʹ Müller 1851 collato v. 18 **11** τῷ δὲ – πλῆθος in textu om. S, in mg. add. S^{2} **13** Ἰδικῶνος edd. : ἰδικώνος PS ὀνοούλφου P : ὀνοούλφου S post Ὀνοούλφου virgula distinxi, quo loco lacunam susp. est vel τοῦ ante/pro καὶ coni. Speck 1997 καὶ ante Ἁρματίου del. Blockley 1983, 372 **14** post Ἁρματίου virgula distinxerunt Cramer 1841 et Müller 1851 αρματίου sine sp. PS **15** Τίβεριν edd. : τίβερι PS, S^{3} ut vid. corr. **16** τε del. Müller 1851

231

During the reign of the emperor Leo, Jordanes, *magister militum per Orientem* and consul, came into extreme danger, together with Misael and Cosmas, who were *cubicularii* of the palace. For while the emperor was away, they failed to guard the palace and allowed in Jordanes, who wished to see the interior.

232

1 Ricimer fell into disagreement with Anthemius, the emperor of the West, and, even though he was married to his daughter Alypia, fought a civil war within the city for nine months.[1] The magistrates and the people of Rome fought on Anthemius' side, while Ricimer was supported by a force of his own barbarians. Also on Ricimer's side was Odoacer, a man of the tribe called the Sciri, whose father was Edeco and whose brother was Onulf, who was both the bodyguard and then the murderer of Harmatius.[2] Anthemius resided in the palace, while Ricimer blockaded the area by the Tiber and afflicted those inside with hunger. As a result a pitched battle was fought and many of Anthemius' party were slain. Ricimer subdued the rest by treachery and proclaimed Olybrius emperor. Rome was gripped by a civil war of altogether five months until Anthemius, his supporters having surrendered to the barbarians and left their emperor defenceless, mingled with the beggars and joined the

1 This figure, which is transmitted in both the extant manuscripts, is in conflict with the five months mentioned below.

2 This is probably the most controversial sentence in the corpus. *See* Krautschick (1986), Brandes (1993), Krautschick (1995) and Speck (1997).

καταλιπόντων, αὐτοῖς τοῖς πτωχεύουσιν ἀναμιχθεὶς ἐν τοῖς πρόσφυξι τοῦ μάρτυρος Χρυσογόνου γίνεται· ἐκεῖ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνεται ὑπὸ Γονδουβάνδου τοῦ ῾Ρεκίμερος ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε μῆνας γʹ ἡμέρας ὀκτωκαίδεκα. **2** ῾Ο δὲ ῾Ρεκίμερ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλικῆς ἠξίωσε ταφῆς, τὸν δὲ ᾿Ολύβριον ἐπὶ τὴν βασίλειον ἀνήγαγεν αὐλήν. ᾿Ολυβρίου δὲ κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον τὴν ῾Ρωμαίων παρειληφότος ἀρχήν, ῾Ρεκίμερ ἡμερῶν εἴσω λʹ καταλύει τὸν βίον, αἵματος αὐτῷ πλείστου ἐξεμεθέντος. ᾿Ολύβριος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ιϛʺ μόνας ἐπιβιοὺς ἡμέρας ὑδέρῳ συσχεθεὶς μεταλλάττει, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀριθμηθεὶς εἰς μῆνας ἓξ ἥμισυ. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ῾Ρεκίμερος τάξιν ὑπεισελθὼν Γουνδουβάλης, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, Γλυκέριον τὴν τοῦ κόμητος τῶν δομεστίκων ἀξίαν ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἄγει. Γνοὺς δὲ Λέων ὁ τῶν ἑῴων βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Γλυκερίου ἀναγόρευσιν ἐπιστρατεύει κατ᾿ αὐτοῦ, Νέπωτα στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξας· ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν ῾Ρώμην κατέλαβεν, ἀμαχεὶ τὸν Γλυκέριον ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξώσας ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον Σάλωνος προχειρίζεται ηʹ μῆνας ἐντρυφήσαντα τῇ ἀρχῇ. Εὐθὺς γοῦν ὁ Νέπως βασιλεὺς ἀναδειχθεὶς ἦρχε τῆς ῾Ρώμης.

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8 ιϛʺ PS de Boor 1905 Blockley 1983 : ιγʹ Cramer 1841 Müller 1851 **9** ἀριθμηθεὶς PS : ἐναριθμηθεὶς Müller 1851 ἥμισυ PS compendio scriptum : deest in Cramer 1841 et Müller 1851 **10** τάξιν S : om. P **11** ἀξίαν Müller 1851 : ἀξίως PS **13** νέπωτα S^3 corr. : νέσπωτα PS **15** τοῦτον S : om. P Cramer 1841 Müller 1851

supplicants [at the church] of the martyr Chrysogonus. There his head was cut off by Gundoband, Ricimer's brother. He had reigned for five years, three months and eighteen days. **2** Ricimer considered Anthemius worthy of a burial befitting an emperor and installed Olybrius in the imperial palace. When Olybrius had received sovereignty over the Romans in the manner described, Ricimer died within thirty days after vomiting up a great deal of blood. Olybrius survived him by only sixteen days, when he was attacked by oedema and passed away, having been numbered among the emperors for about six-and-a-half months. Ricimer was succeeded in his position by his nephew, Gundobaules, and it was Glycerius, who held the rank of *comes domesticorum,* whom he raised to imperial rank. When Leo, the emperor of the East, learned of the elevation of Glycerius, he sent a force against him, appointing Nepos as general. When he took Rome, he overcame Glycerius without a fight, ejected him from the palace and made him bishop of Salonae. He had enjoyed sovereignty for eight months. Nepos was straightaway appointed emperor and ruled Rome.

233

EI 94 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδώριχος ὁ Τριαρίου τὴν στρατηγίδα τῶν Θρᾳκίων διέπων Ἡράκλειον τὸν Φλώρου πρὸς τὸ Χερρονήσου τεῖχος ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑπακοῆς καταφρονήσας ἐμφανῶς εἰς πόλεμον ὥρμησεν. Βοηθήσων τοίνυν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ὁ Ἰλλοῦς σταλεὶς ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐπεδείξατο. Ἀναμιχθεὶς δὲ Βασιλίσκῳ καὶ συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ κοινωνὸν τῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ποιεῖται βουλῆς. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἁρμάτιον προστεθῆναι αὐτοῖς ὑποσχομένου Βασιλίσκου, γράμματα λαβὼν ὁ Ἰλλοῦς πρὸς τὸν Ἁρμάτιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν ἐπανῆκεν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα εἰσηγεῖτο Βηρίνῃ ἄνδρα ποιησαμένῃ Πατρίκιον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μαγίστρου τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἐξουσίας, μηδὲ ἑτέρῳ ταύτην προεῖσθαι. Ἣ δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τούτου ἐφιεμένη ῥᾷστά τε ἐπέκλινε πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα καί, τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἱπποδρομίας θέαν τοῦ Ζήνωνος συντελοῦντος, στέλλει τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥκειν θᾶττον αὐτὸν παρακελευσαμένη. Ὡς δὲ καταλιπὼν ἅπαντα Ζήνων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐγένετο, ἔφη ταχεῖαν αὐτοῖς δεῖν φυγὴν ἢ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν· ἁπάντων γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο συνεληλυθέναι τὴν γνώμην. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζήνων εἰς οὐδὲν ἀναβαλόμενος, ⟨ὡς⟩ ἤκουσεν ὡς δέον αὐτοὺς ἀποδρᾶναι, νύκτωρ ἅμα τῇ γαμετῇ Ἀριάδνῃ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ Λαλλίδι ἀναλαβὼν πάντα ὁπόσα τοῖς βασιλείοις κειμήλια ἦν ἔν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ κόσμῳ, ἐνάτῃ τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρᾳ περαιωθεὶς κατὰ Χαλκηδόνα σὺν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ᾤχετο, ἡμιόνοις καὶ ἵπποις χρώμενος.

Fr. 233 = fr. 210 M = fr. 302 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 79f. | P (f. 144rv) S (f. 144v-f. 145r)

Fr. 233: Candidus? 8 Καὶ δὴ – 22 χρώμενος ≈ Dindorf 1870, 443.11-16

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2 Θευδέριχος Müller 1851, cf. de Boor 1905, 132 n.: "Θευδέριχος M. [i.e. Müller] et sic ubique in sqq., quamquam haec forma ter tantum in codd. occurrit. Equidem diversas formas in textu retinui, quas Iohannes [*sic*] ex diversis fortasse fontibus descripsit." de Boor 1905 secutus sum. **3** διέπων PS : διέποντα Martindale 1980, 1074, "By the emendation … the sense of the passage would be made consistent with the other evidence about these two men and their offices." **8** ἁρμάτιον PS **9** ἁρμάτιον PS κωνσταντίνου πόλιν P : κωνσταντινουπόλιν S **10** βηρίνῃ P : κηρίνῃ S **12** Ἣ δὲ de Boor 1905 : ἤδε PS : ἥδε Cramer 1841 **18** ἀναβαλόμενος PS de Boor 1905 : ἀναβαλλόμενος Cramer 1841 ὡς add. Müller 1851 **20** ἔν τε PS : σύν τε Cramer 1841

233

In the reign of the emperor Zeno, Theoderic, son of Triarius, who was *magister per Thracias,*[1] killed Heraclius the son of Florus before the wall of Chersonese, and by openly showing contempt for his allegiance to the Romans he started a war. Illus was sent by Zeno to aid those in the region and was able to provide great relief. However, he joined Basiliscus and after some time became a member of the conspiracy against the emperor. Because Basiliscus had promised that Armatus would join them, Illus took a letter to Harmatus and returned to Constantinople. There he immediately proposed to Verina, who had a lover Patricius (a former *magister officiorum*), that she attain the imperial dignity for herself and not suffer anyone else to hold this position. And so she, who had been making such plans on her own, lent a ready ear to what she was told and, when Zeno was celebrating the first race in the hippodrome, she sent one of her men to Zeno summoning him to come quickly. Once Zeno had left everything and come to her, she told him that they must flee immediately or fall victims to assassins, and that this was a view on which everyone concurred. After Zeno heard that they must flee he did not tarry, but that night, together with his wife Ariadne and his mother Lallis, he took everything valuable from the palace (such as clothes and jewellery) and, crossing over to Chalcedon on the ninth day of the consulship, he departed on horses and mules with a large number of the Isaurians.

[1] The text is probably corrupt. *See PLRE* II, 1074. It was Heraclius and not Theodericus, who held the office of *magister utriusque militiae per Thracias*.

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EI 95 **1** Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον Ζήνωνος φωραθέντες τινὲς ἐπὶ προφάσει τυραννίδος ἀπώλοντο. Οὔπω δὲ τοῦ πρώτου διαγενομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐπανόδου Ζήνωνος, μικροῦ πρὸς διαφορὰν ἤλασαν Ἰλλοῦς τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ κρατηθῆναι Παῦλον, τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκέτην, πρόκωπον ἔχοντα ξίφος, εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν Ἰλλοῦ. Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ὁ Ζήνων ἐθεράπευσε τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδοὺς εἰς τιμωρίαν τὸν παῖδα. Τῷ δὲ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ, ὑπάτου μὲν ἀποδεδειγμένου Ἰλλοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐσπουδακότος στοᾶς, ἑτέρα τις κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ γίνεται ἐπιβουλὴ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Βάρβαρός τις Ἀλανὸς τὸ γένος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου σχολὴν ἐπελθὼν τῷ Ἰλλοῦ ξιφήρης συνέχεται, καὶ βασάνοις ὑποπεσὼν ἐξ ὑποθήκης Ἐπινίκου τὸ πραχθὲν ὡμολόγησεν. Οὗτος δὲ ἦν γένος μὲν Φρύξ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τὰ συμβόλαια τελοῦσι τεταγμένος, Οὐρβικίῳ δὲ τῷ τῶν θείων αὐλῶν προκοίτῳ ἔκ τινος περιπετείας γνωρισθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῷ περιουσίαν διῳκηκώς, καὶ πρός γε τῇ Βηρίνῃ ᾠκειωμένος, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πριβάτων ἀνέδραμεν ἀρχήν, ἐκεῖθέν τε καὶ τῶν βασιλείων θησαυρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχων ἀνέβη θρόνον. Οὗ δὴ διελεγχθέντος, ὁ Ἰλλοῦς, ὡς ἦν πρὸς τὸ θησαυρίζειν τὰς ὀργὰς ἐπιτήδειος, καὶ τοῦτο διαφῆκεν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἁλόντα κρατήσας. **2** Τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Ζήνων τὸν Ἐπίνικον ἐξ αὐτοῦ καθελὼν τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐγύμνωσε, θεραπεῦσαι τὸν Ἰλλοῦν ἐσπουδακώς, καὶ τὸν Θευδέριχον προχειρίζεται τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Στραβόν, δωρεαῖς τε αὐτὸν πολλαῖς σύμμαχον καὶ φίλον ἐποιήσατο. Ὁ δὲ Ἰλλοῦς τὸν μὲν Ἐπίνικον κατὰ τὴν Ἰσαύρων ἔπεμψε φυλάττεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τοῦ τεθνάναι οἱ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀσπάλιον, ἔξοδον αἰτήσας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφωρμήθη. Καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν-

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Fr. 234 = fr. 211 M = fr. 303 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 80-83 | P (f. 144^{v}-f. 146^{v}) S (f. 145^{r}-f. 146^{v})

Fr. 234: Candidus?

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4 Ἰλλοῦς edd. : ἰλλοὺς PS **5** πρόκωπον Cramer 1841 : πρόκοπον P : πρόκοπτον S **9** ἐσπουδακότος Müller 1851 : ἐσπουδακότι PS **11** ξιφήρης edd. : ξιφήρας P : ξιφθήρης S **14** προκοίτῳ Cramer 1841 : προικοίτῳ PS προικοίτῳ – ᾠκειωμένος S : προικοίτῳ περιουσίαν διωκηκὼς καὶ πρός γε τῇ βη ἔκ τινος περιπετείας γνωρισθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῷ περιουσίαν διῳκηκώς, καὶ πρός γε τῇ Βηρίνῃ ᾠκειωμένος P in quo verba καὶ πρός γε τῇ βη expuncta **17** ὑπάρχον Cramer 1841 **21** Ἰλλοῦν edd. : ίλλουν sine sp. S : sine acc. P **23** ἐποιήσατο P : ἐποιήσαντο S Ἰλλοῦς edd. : ἰλλοὺς S : ἰουλλοὺς P τὴν Müller 1851 : τῶν PS

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1 After Zeno's return, some men were exposed on a charge of usurpation and put to death. The first year since Zeno's return had not yet elapsed, when he and Illus almost came into conflict on account of Paulus, a servant of the emperor, who was arrested with his sword drawn in a plot against Illus. On this occasion, however, Zeno averted the danger by surrendering the youth to Illus' vengeance. In the following year, after Illus had received the consulship and shown zeal in the restoration of the *Basilike stoa*, another attempt was made on his life for the following reason. A certain barbarian, an Alan by race, attacked Illus, sword in hand, in the Schola of the Master and was arrested. Upon being put to torture he admitted that the deed had been done at the instigation of Epinicus. This man was a Phrygian by birth, who had been enrolled among those who manage the contracts, but by a change of fortune he came to the notice of the chamberlain Urbicius, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi,* and administered the whole of his wealth. Then, becoming a friend of Verina, he had risen to the position of *comes rerum privatarum,* afterwards became *comes sacrarum largitionum*, and finally had been elevated to the prefect's throne. After the interrogation Illus dismissed the matter (since he was wont to store up his anger) without even detaining the fellow who had been arrested. **2** Thereafter Zeno removed Epinicus from his throne and stripped him of his property and office, for he was eager to appease Illus; then he won over Theoderic, who was dubbed Strabo, making him his ally and friend with many gifts. Illus sent Epinicus to the land of the Isaurians to be guarded, and seizing on the death of his brother Aspalius as a pretext, he asked permission from the emperor to take his leave.

εγκαμένην γενόμενος καὶ τῷ Ἐπινίκῳ ἐντυχὼν καὶ γνοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Βηρίνης συνταγέντα προσεποιήσατο, ἄχρις οὗ Ζήνων μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς συμβάσης ὑπὸ σεισμῶν συμφορᾶς. *** Ὡς δὲ τὸν Παμπρέπιον ἐπαγόμενος Ἰλλοῦς, ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς Πανὸς ὡρμημένον πόλεως Αἰγύπτου, γραμματικὴν δὲ μετιόντα καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων οἰκήσαντα, ἧκεν, πρῶτα μὲν αὐτὸν Ζήνων ἀποδέχεται σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς τέλεσι πρὸ πεντήκοντά που σταδίων τῆς Χαλκηδόνος· ἔπειτα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπινίκου λεχθέντα ἀπαγγείλας καὶ διαλογισάμενος οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐπιβαίνειν τῇ Κωνσταντίνου, ἐξαιτεῖ τὴν Βηρίναν, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἔκδοτον Ματρωνιανῷ κατατίθεται, τῷ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γαμετῆς ἀδελφῷ· ὃς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν σὺν πλήθει πολλῷ ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ταρσὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ καθιεροῖ, ἐκεῖθέν τε ἐς Δαλισανδὸν ἐφρούρει. **3** Καὶ ὁ Ἰλλοῦς ἅμα Ζήνωνι καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν παραγενόμενος παραυτίκα τῷ Ἐπινίκῳ τὴν κάθοδον διεπράξατο τῆς καταμηνύσεως χάριν. Τῷ δὲ Παμπρεπίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν πάσῃ εὐροίᾳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν τιμηθέντι καὶ τῇ τοῦ κοιαίστορος ἀξίᾳ. Συνέστη δὲ καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Ζήνωνος ὑπατείας ὑπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ καὶ Προκοπίου τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ τὴν πρόφασιν Βηρίνης· καὶ πλῆθος ἀθροίσαντες βαρβάρων ἅμα πολλοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὴν Καισαρίου λεγομένην οἰκίαν στρατοπεδεύουσιν, ἐκεῖθέν τε ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κατὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἐπανίσταται, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος κατὰ Ἰλλοῦ ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Οὐαράνου. Ἄρτι τε τῆς ἡμέρας μεσούσης, καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἠρεμούντων, ἐφίσταται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Δέλφακος στοάν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ Δελφικοὶ κίονες ἑστήκασι, ποικίλου χρώματος ὄντες. Καὶ συμπεσόντες τοῖς φρουροῖς πολλοὺς διεχειρίσαντο τῶν ἔνδον, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκράτησαν ἄν, εἰ μὴ μικρὸν ἀποδρὰς διεσώθη. Συνεμάχουν δὲ τούτοις Βουσαλβός τις, ἡγούμενος στρατιωτικοῦ τάγματος, καὶ Νικήτας καὶ ὁ Τριαρίου Θευδέριχος. Καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὅμιλος ἐκ τῶν δωμάτων διὰ πάσης ὕλης ἐχώρει κατὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγωνιζομένων. Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν φῶς ἦν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐνίκων· ἐπιλαβομένης

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4 lacunam indicavit Müller 1851 πανος sine acc. PS **8** τὰ S : om. P **13** Δαλισανδὸν PS de Boor 1905 : Δαλίσανδον Müller 1851 Ἰλλοῦς edd. : ἴλλους S : sine acc. P

When he arrived in his native country and met Epinicus, he learned from him that the plot against him had been concocted by Verina but kept this information to himself until Zeno recalled him on account of the disasters caused by the earth-quake.[1] [. . .] When Illus arrived, bringing with him Pamprepius (a man born in Panopolis in Egypt, who had studied grammar and had been living for a long time among the Greeks), Zeno with all his officials at first welcomed him at about fifty stades distance from Chalcedon; but then, after relating what Epinicus had told him, Illus argued that it was unsafe for him to enter Constantinople and demanded Verina. Having received her from Zeno, he entrusted her to his wife's brother Matronianus, who escorted her to Isauria with a large troop, made her take holy orders in the church at Tarsus and then placed her in custody at Dalisandus. **3** Upon his arrival in Constantinople together with Zeno and the empress, Illus immediately secured the return of Epinicus in recognition of the information he had provided. Thereafter Pamprepius, who was appointed to the office of quaestor, enjoyed complete prosperity in his undertakings. A civil war broke out towards the end of Zeno's consulship initiated by the brothers Marcian and Procopius on account of Verina. They gathered a horde of barbarians and together with many citizens pitched their camp at the so-called house of Caesarius.[2] From there one of them set out against Zeno in the palace and the other against Illus in the so-called [house of] Varanes.[3] Just around midday, while the palace was quiet, [Marcian] attacked the Stoa of the Delphax, where the Delphic pillars of variegated colour are located. Falling upon the guards, they overwhelmed many of those inside and would even have captured the emperor in person, had he not managed to escape a short time before. Fighting on their side were a certain Busalbus, a commander of a military unit, Nicetas and Theoderic, the son of Triarius. The urban mob hurled every kind of object down from the houses on to those fighting for the emperor. While it was still light

1 Müller 1851, 619 n. explains, "Dixisse auctor videtur: Illus ab Epinico de Verinae insidiis edoctus, rem dissimulavit usque ad illud tempus quo Zenon, post terrae motum Constantinopoli Chalcedonem profectus, eum revocavit."

2 Its location is discussed in Tiftixoglu 1973, 60f.

3 Its location and history are discussed in Berger 1988, 422. *See* also Janin 1964, 400, 542 who wrongly considers it to be "un quartier."

δὲ τῆς νυκτός, Ἰλλοῦς διὰ προνοίας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Χαλκηδόνος Ἰσαύρους Πυλιανοῖς διεβίβασε πλοίοις, τῶν ἐκεῖσε διαπορθμευόντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ προκαταλελημμένων, ἅτε καὶ κυρίου ὄντος τοῦ ἐκεῖσε λιμένος. Καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας συναγαγόντος καὶ ἐπισχόντος ἐν ταῖς βασιλείοις αὐλαῖς, εἶτα καὶ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἐπαφέντος χεῖρα, τρέπεται τὸ τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ μέρος καὶ φεύγει, πολλῶν ἐξ ἑκατέρων ἀναιρεθέντων. Ὀλίγοι δέ τινες τῶν φυγάδων καὶ τὴν Ἰλλοῦ ἐπίμπρασαν οἰκίαν. 4 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζήνων, τῆς ἐμφυλίου ταραχῆς πεπαυμένης, τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις πρεσβυτέροις κατατάττει καὶ εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκῶν Καισάρειαν ἐλαύνει· καὶ τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα Λεοντίαν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀκοιμήτοις φυγοῦσαν καταλιμπάνει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πρὸς Θευδέριχον ἀποδράντας ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ ἕτερος Θεοδώριχος ὁ Οὐαλάμερος ἐπὶ τὴν Νέαν Ἤπειρον ἐκδραμὼν ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται πόλεως Δυρραχίου, Ἴσαυροί τε Κώρυκον καὶ Σεβαστὴν τῆς Κιλικίας εἷλον. Καὶ Μαρκιανὸς δὲ ἀποδρὰς τοὺς φρουροῦντας καὶ σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει γεωργικῷ ἐπελθὼν τῇ κατὰ Γαλατίαν Ἀγκύρᾳ ἀπεκρούσθη, Τροκούνδου προκαταλαβόντος ⟨τὸ⟩ χωρίον· καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων κρατηθέντα τοῦτον ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ παισὶν εἴς τι φρούριον τῶν ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ καταστῆσαι ∗∗∗. Ὅθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Θευδέριχον τὸν Τριαρίου παραλύσας τῆς ἀρχῆς Τροκούνδην προχειρίζεται, καὶ Ἀέτιον τῶν ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ τελῶν προκαθίζει. Ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ συνωμοσίαν ποιησάμενοι Ἐπινίκός τε καὶ Διονύσιος, ὕπαρχος τῆς αὐλῆς ὤν, καὶ Θραυστήλας στρατηγικὴν ἀξίωσιν ἔχων, ἁλόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτιμωρήθησαν. Καὶ ἡ τῶν Θεοδωρίχων συζυγία αὖθις τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐτάραττε καὶ τὰς περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην πόλεις ἐξεπόρθει, ὡς ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ζήνωνα τότε πρῶτον τοὺς καλουμένους Βουλγάρους εἰς συμμαχίαν προτρέψασθαι. 5 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θεοδώριχος ὁ Τριαρίου ἐπι-

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1 Ἰλλοῦς edd. : ἰλλοὺς PS **2** πυλιανοῖς PS de Boor 1905 : Πωλιανοῖς Cramer 1841 **3** προκαταλελημμένων edd. : προκαταλελημένων PS **5** ἐπισχόντος P : ἐπεσχόντος S τὴν S : om. P **13** Οὐαλάμερος de Boor 1905 : οὐαλαμέρος PS : Οὐαλιμέρος Cramer 1841 : Οὐαλίμερος Müller 1851 **15** κιλικίας S : ἡλικίας P **18** τὸ add. Müller 1851 **19** lacunam indicavit Müller 1851 **22** Ἐπίνικός Cramer 1841 : ἐπινίκιος PS

Fr. 234.4: 20 παραλύσας – 20 ἀρχῆς cf. *Suda* π 394 Παραλύσας· ἀντὶ τοῦ διαδεξάμενος. παραλύσας αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς.

Marcian and his followers remained victorious, but after night fell Illus, acting with foresight, brought across the Isaurians from Chalcedon in Pylian boats, after annihilating the soldiers who had been ferried there by Marcian, since he was in control of the harbour there. On the next day the emperor gathered together all the magistrates and waited in the imperial palace. Then he sent out his military force; the followers of Marcian gave ground and turned to flight, while many were killed on either side. A few of the fugitives also set fire to the house of Illus. 4 When the civil disturbance ended, Zeno enrolled Marcian among the so-called presbyters and banished him to Caesarea in Cappadocia; he left Marcian's wife Leontia among the so-called Akoimetoi, where she had taken refuge, and confiscated the property of those who had escaped to Theoderic. At the same time the other Theoderic, the son of Valamir, attacked Epirus Nova and made himself master of the city of Dyrrachium, while the Isaurians seized Corycus and Sebaste in Cilicia. Marcian, escaping from his guards, attacked Ancyra in Galatia with a large troop of peasants, but was driven away since Trocundes had occupied the district before him. After Marcian had been overcome with the help of his own bodyguards, Trocundes threw him into one of the fortresses in Isauria, along with his wife and children. [...] For this reason the emperor relieved Theoderic, the son of Triarius, of his command, promoted Trocundes and placed Aetius in charge of the forces in Isauria. At this time Epinicus, Dionysius, who was praetorian prefect, and Thraustila, who held a military command, formed a conspiracy; they were caught by the emperor and punished. And the united forces of the two Theoderics devastated Roman territory again and pillaged the cities in Thrace, so that Zeno was forced for the first time to form an alliance with the so-called Bulgarians. 5 When Theoderic, the son of Triarius, was successful in

τυχὼν πρὸς τοὺς Οὔννους ἔπραξε πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν ὥρμησεν, καὶ ταύτην ῥᾳδίως ἂν ὑπηγάγετο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰλλοῦς προκαταλαβὼν τὰς πύλας ἐφύλαττεν· ἐκεῖθέν τε ἐπὶ τὰς λεγομένας Συκὰς διαδραμὼν αὖθις τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἥμαρτεν, ὡς λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πρὸς Ἑστίαις τόπον καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Λωσθένιν διελθεῖν καὶ διαπορθμεύσασθαι κατὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐγχειρεῖν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ ναυμαχίαν ἡττηθεὶς ᾤχετο πρὸς τὴν Θρᾴκην, ἐκεῖθέν τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφορμηθεὶς σὺν τῷ παιδὶ Ῥεκιτὰχ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς δύω καὶ γαμετῇ Σκυθῶν τε ἀμφὶ τὰς λ' χιλιάδας, γενόμενός τε κατὰ τὸν Διομήδους καλούμενον Στάβλον ἀναιρεῖται, ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ἀναβὰς τὸν ἵππον καὶ καταβληθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δόρατος ὀρθοῦ παρὰ τὸν τῆς σκηνῆς τοῖχον ἱσταμένου. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν πληγὴν αὐτῷ ἐπενεχθῆναι ἰσχυρίσαντο ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς Ῥεκιτὰχ μαστιγωθέντος πρὸς αὐτοῦ. Παροῦσα δὲ ἡ γαμετὴ Σιγίλδα νύκτωρ καταθάπτει τοῦτον. Καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ πλήθους ἐπικράτειαν διαδέχεται Ῥεκιτὰχ Θεοδωρίχου παῖς· παρεδυνάστευόν τε αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς θεῖοι, οὓς ἀνελὼν μικρὸν ὕστερον μόνος τῆς Θρᾳκῶν ἐδυνάστευεν ἀτοπώτερα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπεργαζόμενος.

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EI 96 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος Θεοσέβιός τις Προκοπίῳ τῷ Μαρκιανοῦ ἐμφερὴς πλείστας περινοστήσας τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς πόλεων πολλοὺς τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπατῆσαι δόξῃ.

Fr. 235 = fr. 212 M = fr. 304 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 83 | P (f. 146v) S (f. 144v-f. 145r)

Fr. 235: Candidus?

1 οὔννους S : οὔνους P Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν de Boor 1905 : κωνσταντινουπόλιν PS **2** ὑπηγάγετο S de Boor 1905 : ἠπηγάγετο P : ἐπηγάγετο edd. Ἰλλοῦς de Boor 1905 : ἰλλοὺς PS **4** Πρὸς Ἑστίαις edd. : πρὸσἑστίαις S : προσεστίαις P **5** Λωσθένιν S de Boor 1905 : Λωσθένιον P edd. **7** ἀφορμηθεὶς S : ἀφορμησθεὶς P **13** σιγίλδα S : sine acc. P : Σίγιλδα edd. **14** θεοδωρίχου S : δεοδωρίχου P **15** τε PS : δὲ Müller 1851 **17** ἀπεργαζόμενος P : ἀπεργασμενος (sine acc.) S **21** ἀπατῆσαι PS : ἠπάτησε coni. Müller 1851 in cruces posuit de Boor 1905

waging war against the Huns, he advanced against Constantinople and would easily have taken it if Illus had not occupied the gates first and guarded them. From there Theoderic crossed to the place called Sycae and again failed in his attempt. Finally he went over to the place known as Pros Hestiais and then Losthenium and tried to ferry his men across to Bithynia. But he lost the sea battle and returned to Thrace. From there he marched against Greece with his son, Recitach, his two brothers, his wife and about thirty thousand Scythians, but he was killed at the so-called Stable of Diomedes. While mounting his horse early one morning, he was thrown onto an upright spear standing at the side of his tent. Some contended that the blow had been aimed by his son, Recitach, who had been beaten by him. His wife, Sigilda, who was present, buried him at night. Recitach, his son, became ruler of the tribe; however, his uncles on his father's side shared in his power. A little later he slew them and ruled the land of Thrace alone, committing more outrageous acts than his father.

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In the reign of Zeno, a certain Theosebius, who resembled Procopius, son of Marcianus, went about most of the cities of the East, persuading many of the truth of his claim.

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EI 97 Ὅτι Θεοδώριχον τὸν ἕτερον αὖθις νεωτερίσαντα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ πρόσοικα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ληιζόμενον Ἰωάννην τὸν Σκύθην πέμπει καὶ Μοσχιανὸν στρατηγούς, δολοφονήσας πρότερον Σαβινιανὸν τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἄρχοντα.

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EI 98 **1** Ὅτι Ζήνων τῆς πρὸς Ἰλλοῦν ἔχθρας κατάρχεται, πρῶτα μὲν Λογγῖνον λαβεῖν ἐξαιτούμενος, ἔπειτα Ἰωάννην τὸν Σκύθην διάδοχον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποστείλας. Δημηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὅσα ἐχθρὸς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰλλοῦ, καὶ κελεύει τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀπελαύνεσθαι, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας τούτων δωρεῖται ταῖς Ἰσαύρων πόλεσιν. **2** Ὁ δὲ Ἰλλοῦς ἐς φανερὰν ἀποστασίαν ἐλθὼν τότε Μαρκιανὸν ἀναζώννυσι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ὁδόακρον ἔστελλε, τὸν τῆς ἑσπερίας Ῥώμης τύραννον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Ἀρμενίων ἄρχοντας· παρεσκεύαζεν δὲ καὶ πλοῖα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὁδόακρος τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι συμμαχεῖν ἀπεκρίνατο, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑπέσχοντο, ἐπειδάν τις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἥξει. Ζήνων δὲ Κόνωνα τὸν Φουσκιανοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσι καταλεγόμενον ἀναλαβεῖν αὖθις τὰ ὅπλα παρασκευάζει, καὶ Ἰλλουλίγγην δὲ τὸν νόθον αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναδείκνυσιν. Πρὸς ἅπερ Ἰλλοῦς ἐν Ταρσῷ ἀγαγὼν τὴν Βηρίναν στολῇ χρήσασθαι βασιλικῇ παρεσκεύασε καί, οἷα κυρίαν οὖσαν τῆς βασιλείας, Λεόντιον ἀναγορεῦσαι βασιλέα

Fr. 236 = fr. 213 M = fr. 305 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 83 | P (f. 146v-f. 147r) S (f. 147r)
Fr. 237 = fr. 214 M (in volumine IV ex P et in volumine V ex S) = fr. 306 R; Cramer 1841, ii, 83-86, Mommsen 1872b, 326ff. | 7 Ὅτι – 438.24 ὑπομιμνήσκων αὐτὸν P (f. 147r-f. 148r) et S (f. 147r-f. 148r) his verbis desinit cod. P reliqua in solo S

Fr. 236: Candidus? Fr. 237: Candidus?

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2 ante Θεοδώριχον verbum πρὸς add. Müller 1851 Θευδέριχον Müller 1851 **11** ἀπελαύνεσθαι S : ἐπελαύνεσθαι P **13** Ὀδόακρον Müller 1851 etiam in seqq. **16** δὲ δὴ S de Boor 1905 : δὲ δι P : δὲ Cramer 1841 **18** καὶ Ἰλλουλίγγην δὲ PS de Boor 1905 : κατ' Ἰλλοῦ, Λίγγην δὲ in app. coni. Cramer 1841 probabiliter, ei secutus Müller 1851 **19** Ἰλλοῦς edd. : ἴλλους S : sine acc. P

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When the other Theoderic revolted again and laid waste the Roman domains and the territory adjoining Greece, he [Zeno] sent the generals John the Scythian and Moschianus against him, having first treacherously murdered Sabinianus, the governor of Illyricum.

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1 Zeno began hostilities against Illus by first demanding the restitution of Longinus, and then by dispatching John the Scythian as his successor. He also proclaimed to the people his hostility towards Illus, gave orders to drive Illus' closest associates from the city and donated their property to the Isaurian cities. **2** Illus, passing into open rebellion, then reinstated Marcian and sent messages to Odoacer, the usurper of the Western part of the Roman empire, and to the rulers of Persia and Armenia; and he also made ready some ships. Odoacer replied that he was unable to form an alliance with him; the others, however, promised to join him as his allies if one of his men should come to them. Zeno made Conon, the son of Fuscianus, who had been enrolled in the priesthood, take up arms again and appointed Illulingis, his bastard brother, as *magister*. As a countermeasure, Illus brought Verina to Tarsus, where he made her wear an imperial robe and, inasmuch as she was mistress of the empire, pro-

στᾶσαν ἐν βήματι. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος γονέων τε ἀφανῶν καὶ πόλεως Δαλισάνδου. Ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προῆλθεν, αὐτίκα τὰς ἀρχὰς διῳκήσατο καθ' ὃν ἐδοκίμασε τρόπον, καὶ χρημάτων διανομὰς ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφίκετο. **3** Ὁ δὲ Ζήνων τὸν Ῥεκιτὰχ ἐπειδὴ ᾔσθετο φθόνῳ πρὸς Θεοδώριχον ἀφιστάμενον, ἀναιρεθῆναι διεπράξατο πρὸς τοῦ Οὐαλίμερος παιδός, ἀνεψιοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Ῥεκιτάχ, ἔχοντος καὶ παλαιὰν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν υἷα τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείναντα. Ἔπραττε δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐν προαστείῳ Βονοφατιαναῖς προσαγορευομένῳ, ἡνίκα πρὸς τὴν ἑστίασιν ἐκ βαλανείου ἤει ὁ Ῥεκιτάχ, διελάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν. **4** Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰλλοῦ πόλεμον στέλλει Θεοδώριχον ὕπατον, καὶ γενόμενον κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐπανάγει ἔννοιαν λαβὼν ἀπιστίας· πέμπει δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τινας τῶν καλουμένων Ῥόγων σὺν Ἁρμεναρίχῳ τῷ Ἄσπαρος παιδί. Καὶ στόλον δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ἠφίει ναυάρχους ἐπιστήσας Ἰωάννην τὸν κατὰ Βασιλίσκον καὶ Παῦλον, τὸν ἐκ δούλων γενόμενον αὐτοῦ σακελλάριον. **5** Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραγίνονται ἐκ τῶν Ἰλλοῦ ἀποσταλέντες Ἀρτεμίδωρος, ὁ Τροκούνδου ὑπασπιστής, καὶ Πάπιμος, ὃς ἦν ἵππαρχος τῷ Ἰλλοῦ. Ἐξ ἑκατέρων τοίνυν βασιλέων παρασκευῆς γενομένης, ἐμειονεκτεῖτο τὸ Ἰλλοῦ στράτευμα, ὡς εὐλαβηθὲν σφόδρα ἐπὶ τὸ Χέρρεως ἰδεῖν φρούριον· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τά τε πρὸς ἀποτροφὴν ἀρκοῦντα ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν γαμετὴν Ἀστερίαν καὶ ἄλλους, καὶ Βηρίνην τὴν βασίλισσαν· ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ Λεοντίῳ ἐκλιπόντι τὴν Ἀντιοχέων θᾶττον ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοῦντες αὐτῶν ἔμαθον, ἕκαστος τοῖς πλησιάζουσι φρουρίοις κατέφευγεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰλλοῦς ἅμα Λεοντίῳ διανυκτερεύσας ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Χέρρις φρούριον, τῶν Ἰσαύρων αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολιμπανόντων καὶ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ζήνωνος αἱρουμένων, ξ' καὶ μόνας ἡμέρας τοῦ Λεοντίου ἐν εἰκόνι βασιλείας διαγενομένου. Ἑπομένων δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ μεῖον [.6.] ἢ δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς μάλιστα

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7 υἷα τὸν Kambylis : υἱατὸν PS (sine acc. P) : τὸν υἱέα τὸν in app. de Boor 1905 : οἷα τὸν Müller 1851 post τὸν lacunam falso statuit Müller 1851 ἀποκτείναντα Müller 1851 : ἀποκτείναντος PS **12** ῥόγων corr. ex ῥογῶν S : ῥογων sine acc. P Ἄσπαρος Müller 1851 : ἄσπερος PS **15** σακελλάριον Müller 1851 : σακελάριον PS **19** ἰδεῖν PS : ἐλθεῖν vel φυγεῖν coni. Müller 1851 probabiliter ἀποτροφὴν PS de Boor 1905 : ἀποστροφὴν edd. **20** αὐτῷ P : αὐτὸν S καὶ ἄλλους καὶ Βηρίνην τὴν βασίλισσαν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ καὶ S : καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ Βηρίνῃ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ ἐπέστελλε καὶ P **23** Ἰλλοῦς edd. : ἰλλοὺς PS **25** ἀπολιμπανόντων Müller 1851 : ἀπολιπανόντων S : ἀπολιπαρόντων P **27** [.6.] PS

claim Leontius emperor while standing on a dais. This man was of obscure parentage and a native of the town of Dalisandus. When he came to supreme power, he immediately carried out his duties as he deemed best; he distributed money and came to Antioch. 3 When Zeno learned that Recitach had revolted from Theoderic out of envy, he contrived to have him killed by the son of Valamir, who was his cousin and who also held a grudge against him since he had killed his son. He murdered Recitach in a suburb called Bonophatianae, by striking him in his side while he was going from the baths to a feast. 4 After Zeno had sent the consul Theoderic to the war against Illus, and Theoderic had already reached Nicomedia, Zeno recalled him because he suspected that Theoderic was not loyal to him; in his stead he despatched some of the so-called Rugians under Armenaricus, the son of Aspar. He also sent out an expedition by sea and appointed as admirals John (the one who had been on the staff of Basiliscus)[1] and Paulus, who had risen from slavery to the position of *sacellarius.* 5 Artemidorus, a lieutenant of Trocundes, and Papimus, Illus' cavalry commander, had been sent by Illus and arrived at this time. While both emperors where making preparations, the forces of Illus proved to be inferior and took the extreme precaution of retreating[2] to the fortress of Cherris. Illus had earlier sent to it sufficient supplies, as well as his wife Asteria and some others, and also the empress Verina; he also sent instructions to Leontius, who was leaving Antioch, to join him quickly. But when their generals had learned of these events, each fled to the fortress that was closest on to him; Illus himself spent one night with Leontius and then went to the fortress of Cherris. The Isaurians abandoned them little by little and came over to Zeno's side; Leontius spent only some sixty days in the semblance of imperial power. Not more than two thousand men followed them;[3] they selected the

[1] On this specific meaning of κατά in late Greek *see* Cameron 1978, 89-93. *See* also *PLRE* II, 602 where this passage is discussed.

[2] The Greek text transmitted in PS makes little sense. This translation is a conjecture.

[3] In the mss. there is a lacuna within this phrase. The meaning appears unaffected, however.

αὐτῶν εὔνους ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄντροις ἀπεχώρισαν, ἃ πολλαχοῦ τῇ φύσει τῶν τόπων εἴργαστο. **6** Ἀγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς Ἰλλοῦ καὶ Λεοντίου φυγῆς, ὁ Ζήνων Κοττομένην στρατηγὸν ἑκατέρων ποιεῖται δυνάμεων, Λογγῖνον δὲ τὸν ἐκ Καρδάλων μάγιστρον. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Θεοδωρίχου πλῆθος ἀνεκαλέσατο, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ῥόγων μένειν ⟨ἐν⟩ τῇ χώρᾳ προσέταξεν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ φρουρίου προσεδρίᾳ πολλάκις συμβολαὶ διηγωνίσθησαν. Βηρίνα δὲ μετ' ἐνάτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἐν φρουρίῳ καταφυγῆς παρεθεῖσα ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἐν μολιβδίνῃ ἐταριχεύθη λάρνακι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Μάρσος μετὰ λ′ ἡμέραν ἀποθανὼν τῇ ἴσῃ παρεδόθη ταφῇ. Ὁ δὲ Ἰλλοῦς τὴν τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακὴν ἐπιτρέψας Ἰνδακῷ Κοττούνῃ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσχόλαζεν ἀναγνώσει βιβλίων, καὶ ὁ Λεόντιος ἐν νηστείᾳ τε καὶ θρήνοις διετέλει. Ἐμειονεκτεῖτο δὲ ἐκ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰλλοῦν· καὶ ὁ ἀντικάστελλος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον Ῥωμαίοις προεδόθη, ὡς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰλλοῦν γενέσθαι. 7 Ὑπάτου δὲ τοῦ Λογγίνου κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς ἀποδεδειγμένου χρόνον, ὅ τε Θεοδώριχος πάλιν εἰς ἀπόστασιν εἶδε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην ἐλυμαίνετο χωρία, καὶ ὁ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸν Ὀδόακρον τὸ τῶν Ῥόγων ἐπανέστησε γένος, ὡς ἔγνω τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν Ἰλλοῦ συμμαχίαν παρασκευαζόμενον. Λαμπρὰν δὲ ἀναδησαμένων νίκην τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδόακρον, προσέτι δὲ καὶ πεμψάντων δῶρα τῷ Ζήνωνι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀποπροσποιησάμενος συνήδετο τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν. Οἱ δὲ τῇ Ἰλλοῦ καὶ Λεοντίου προσεδρεύοντες πολιορκίᾳ μετὰ τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν τοῦ ἀντιφρουρίου πολλοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐχρῶντο. Ἀντικαθεζομένων δὲ τῶν στρατευμάτων, καὶ ἐς λόγους φιλίους συνῆλθον Ἰλλοῦς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Σκύθης, καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα διεπέμψατο ὑπομιμνήσκων αὐτὸν τῆς προτέρας εὐνοίας. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν πλέον ἔδρα, αὖθις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένοντο. **8** Τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἔτει Θεοδώριχος ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ Νοβῶν ἐστρατο-

1 ἀπεχώρισαν de Boor 1905 : ἀπεχώρησαν PS : ἀποχωρῆσαι Müller 1851 post ἀποχωρῆσαι verbum ἐκέλευσαν add. Müller 1851 **2** εἴργαστο Müller 1851 : εἰργάσαντο PS **4** Λογγῖνον Cramer 1841 : λογγίνου PS Καρδάλων S : Καρδάμων P μάγιστρον Müller 1851 : μαγίστρον PS **5** Ῥόγων Müller 1851 : ῥοδίων S : ῥωδίων P ἐν add. Müller 1851 **7** τῆς ἐν φρουρίῳ Cramer 1841 : τῆς ἐμφρουρίῳ PS **8** παρεθεῖσα P : παρέθεισᾳ S : παραλυθεῖσα Müller 1851 **9** ἡμέραν PS : ἡμέρας Cramer 1841 **11** ἀναγνώσει S : ἐνάγνώσει P : ἐν ἀναγνώσει Cramer 1841 **15** εἶδε PS : an ἦλθε scribendum, ut Kambylis coni.? sed cf. Proc. *Bella* 2.29.8.1 **19** προσέτι δὲ S : προσήδι P τῶν λαφύρων PS : ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων in app. coni. de Boor 1905 probabiliter **21** προσεδρεύοντες S : προεδρεύοντες P **23** συνῆλθον S : ἀνῆλθον P **24** γράμματα PS de Boor 1905 : γραμμάτιον Cramer 1841 διεπέμψατο coni. de Boor 1905 : διεπέμψαντο PS

most loyal of these and dispersed the rest among the caves, which were formed by nature in the surrounding districts. **6** When the flight of Illus and Leontius was announced, Zeno made Cottomenes *magister utriusque militiae*, and Longinus from Cardala *magister [officiorum]*. He recalled the troops of Theoderic and ordered the Rugians to remain in the region. During the siege of the fortress engagements were often fought. Verina became exhausted and died nine days after her flight to the fortress and was preserved in a lead coffin. Marsus, however, died after thirty days and was given the same kind of burial. Indus turned over the defence of the fortress to Indacus Kottunes and henceforth took his leisure reading books, and Leontius spent his time in fasting and laments. On this account Illus' situation deteriorated, and an outwork was betrayed to the Romans by those inside, which brought Illus and his followers to the point of despair. 7 After Longinus was appointed consul for the following year, Theoderic revolted again and ravaged the lands around Thrace. Zeno turned the Rugians against Odoacer, since he knew that this man was preparing an alliance with Illus. Odoacer and his army gained a glorious victory and in addition sent presents to Zeno out of the booty, who dissembled his true feelings and expressed joy at these events. After their success with the outwork, the besiegers of Illus and Leontius employed many siege engines.[1] While the armies were encamped opposite each other, Illus and John the Scythian came into friendly conversation, and John sent a note to Zeno reminding him of his former good will, but as this accomplished nothing they again took to arms. **8** In the next year

[1] Or: employed many tricks.

πέδευσεν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ ῾Ρηγίῳ καὶ κατέρχεται τὰ πλησίον. ῾Ο δέ γε Ζήνων βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ὑποκλῖναι ἣν εἶχεν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν τῇ βασιλίδι συνδιαιτωμένην ἀπέπεμπεν ἔτι πολεμοῦντι ἅμα πολλῷ πλούτῳ, ὁπότερον ἐθέλοι διδούς· ἐκ τοῦδε νοεῖν ἦν ὡς φιλοποιούμενος ἔτι. **9** Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θεοδωρίχου τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλαγὴν ῎Ανθουσα ἡ τοῦ ᾿Ιλλοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ μετήλλαξεν, ἐξ οὗπερ μάλιστα ὁ ᾿Ιλλοῦς κατωλιγώρει τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν ἔνδον. Καὶ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Περόζης ζ′ βιοὺς χρόνους μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ᾿Ισδιγέρδην βασιλεύσας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοροῦντας Οὔννους πολέμῳ. ῾Ενὸς δὲ διαγενομένου χρόνου, Καβάδης τῆς βασιλείας κρατεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν ἐν τέλει τινῶν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὠσθεὶς ἐν φρουρίῳ καθείρχθη, ἐκεῖθέν τε λάθρα διαφυγὼν πρὸς τοὺς Καδισηνοὺς λεγομένους Οὔννους ἀφικνεῖται καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν αὖθις τὴν βασιλείαν κτησάμενος τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας ἀνεῖλεν. **10** ᾿Επράχθη δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ φρουρίου Χέρρις κατάληψις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ᾿Ινδακὸς ὁ Κοττούνης πάλαι τὴν προδοσίαν μελετῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐπιτετραμμένος, πείθει τὸν ᾿Ιλλοῦν ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν παρασκευάσαι, ὡς δὴ τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιόντων, αὐτόν τε ἅμα Λεοντίῳ ἐν τῷ συνήθει κατευνασθῆναι κοιτῶνι. ῾Ο δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβομένης διὰ τοῦ ἠρεμοῦντος μέρους καλώδιον καθεὶς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀνάγει. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ τῶν πυλῶν φύλακες ἀποσφάττονται, ἔπειτα βοῆς ἀκουσθείσης, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ ῾Ρωμαίοις λέγειν· Ζήνων Αὔγουστε τούμβικας, παραχρῆμα μὲν ᾿Ινδακὸς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ προδόντες ἀναιροῦνται, ᾿Ιλλοῦς δὲ καὶ Λεόντιος εἰς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ μάρτυρος Κόνωνος καταφεύγουσιν. Καὶ τοῦ Λεοντίου βουληθέντος ἀνελεῖν ἑαυτόν, ἐπέσχεν ᾿Ιλλοῦς· ὡς δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἦλθον οἱ ἐναντίοι, πρὸς βίας ἐκβάλλονται καὶ ξυλοπέδαις δεθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄγονται. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾿Ιλλοῦς πολλὰ καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ὀδυράμενος ᾔτησε τοὺς περὶ Παῦλον καὶ ᾿Ιλλοῦν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ γενομένους τὸ μὲν τῆς θυγατρὸς σῶμα ἐν Ταρσῷ ταφῇ δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ γαμετὴν ἀνύβριστον φυλάξαι καὶ τὸν οὕτως εὔνουν γενόμενον Κόνωνα τὸν ἄνδρα φειδοῦς τυχεῖν. **11** Οἱ

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1 κατέρχεται S de Boor 1905 : κατατρέχει Mommsen 1872b **4** ὁπότερον S : ὃ πρότερον in textu emendavit Mommsen 1872b ἦν Müller 1870a : ἢ S **8** ζ′ S : ξ′ coni. Müller 1870a βιοὺς del. Mommsen 1872b **9** ὁμοροῦντας Οὔννους edd. : ὁμοροοῦντας Οὔνους S **11** ὠσθεὶς corr. Mommsen 1872b : ὠθεὶς S **14** Χέρρεως Müller 1851 **15** ᾿Ινδακὸς edd. : ἰνδανκὸς S κοττούνης S^3 ex Κουττούνης S **18** αὐτόν edd. : αὐτός S τε S : δὲ Müller 1851 **20** ἐναντίους edd. : ἐναναντίους S **25** ᾿Ιλλοῦς edd. : ἰλλοὺς S

Theoderic returned from Novae, encamped in the place called Regium and took control of[1] the surrounding districts. As Zeno wanted to win him over, he sent Theoderic's sister, who lived with the empress and was in his power, together with much wealth for Theodoric, even though he was still at war, giving him whatever he wished; it was by such means that he aimed to make him his friend. **9** After the end of Theoderic's siege, Illus' daughter Anthousa perished in the fortress, and for this reason Illus utterly neglected the defence of those inside. And the Persian king Perozes died in a war against the neighbouring Huns, having reigned for seven years after his father Isdegerdes.[2] After one year, Cavades seized the empire, but was also expelled from power as a result of a plot by some government officials and was imprisoned in a fortress; he secretly escaped from there and came to the so-called Cadisenian Huns and, having regained power with their support, he put to death those who had plotted against him. **10** The capture of the fortress of Cherris was accomplished in the following way. Indacus Kottunes for a long time had given thought to its betrayal, and as soon as he was entrusted with the defence of the stronghold he persuaded Illus to post his men outside the fortress so that, should the enemy attack at night, he and Leontius could sleep in their usual bedchamber. When night came, he lowered a rope at a quiet part of the fort and brought up the enemy. First the guards of the gates were killed, then a shout was heard, as is customary for the Romans to say, "Zeno Augustus, may you conquer!" Immediately, Indacus and his fellow traitors were slain, while Illus and Leontius fled to the shrine of the martyr Conon. When Leontius wished to kill himself, Illus restrained him; when the enemy approached them, they were dragged out by force and led away in fetters by the soldiers. Illus, talking a lot and lamenting, asked those around Paulus and Illus, who had been his slaves, to commit the body of his sister to burial in Tarsus, to guard his wife free from insult and to be merciful to Conon[3] since he had been a kindly man. **11** They diligently performed these requests and safely conveyed

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1 The meaning is uncertain.

2 The text of the sentence is probably corrupt.

3 The identity of this Conon is uncertain. *See* Gordon 1960, 154f., "This Conon was neither Zeno's fighting bishop nor the betrayer of Illus mentioned below, nor, of course, the saint to whose shrine Illus had fled. Possibly, he was Illus' son-in-law." Still a fifth Conon was Zeno's brother.

δὲ σπουδαίως ταῦτα ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα σὺν τῇ Ἰλλοῦ γαμετῇ καὶ τῇ παιδὶ Θέκλῃ εἰς τὸ εὐκτήριον τῶν γʹ παίδων ἐν Ταρσῷ ἀπέσωσαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου λαβόντες καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον σὺν δάκρυσιν ἀπειπόντας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντας τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀπέτεμον. Ἀστραπαὶ δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ σὺν χαλάζῃ καὶ ἀνέμῳ κατὰ τῶν παρόντων ἠνέχθησαν, καὶ ὁ ἀνελὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξέστη καὶ ἄναυδος ἐν Ταρσῷ ἐκομίσθη. Ζήνων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς τούτων δεξάμενος ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀνεσκολόπισεν καὶ Κόνωνα θαυμάσας θεραπείας ἀξιοῦσθαι προσέταξεν. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἔφθη τὸν θάνατον Ἰλλοῦ τε καὶ Λεοντίου μαθεῖν καὶ σπαράξας ἑαυτὸν ἀπεβίου. **12** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς δεινῶς ἅπασι τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐπεξῄει, τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρῶν χύδην, τοὺς δὲ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀλλοτριῶν. Τὸ δὲ Βηρίνης σῶμα ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου βασιλικῶς ἐκήδευσεν καὶ πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταθέμενος μνήματι Αὐγούσταν ὀνομάζεσθαι διεκελεύσατο, πλεῖστόν τε τῶν ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ φρουρίων κατέλυσεν, καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἰλλοῦ κεκοινωνηκότες προδοσίας οἰκτίστοις διώλοντο θανάτοις, Κοττούνης τε ὁ δείλαιος καὶ Κόνων ὁ ἀγρεώτης καὶ Λογγῖνος ὁ τοῦ Λογγίνου παῖς καὶ ὁ Τροκούνδου ὑπασπιστὴς Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

3 λαβόντες S : ἀγαγόντες coni. Mommsen 1872b **8** ἀνεσκολόπισεν edd. : ἀπεκολόπισεν S **9** Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν edd. : ἀλλομὲν S : ἄλλο μὲν S^2 **11** ἁλοῦσιν ἐπεξῄει edd. : ἁλῶσιν ἐπεξίει S **14** πλεῖστόντε S : πλεῖστά τε Mommsen 1872b **16** ἀγρεώτης S de Boor 1905 : ἀγροιώτης Müller 1870a Λογγῖνος ὁ τοῦ in textu S. om. in mg. add. S^2

both the body and Illus' wife and his daughter Thecla to the chapel of his three children in Tarsus. They took them [i.e. Illus and others] a short distance outside the fortress and, after they had tearfully addressed many prayers to God and raised their hands to heaven, they cut off their heads. Lightning flashes and thunder, hail and wind afflicted those present, and the executioner was driven out of his senses and taken speechless to Tarsus. When Zeno received the heads of these men he impaled them opposite the city, but, since he admired Conon, he gave orders that he be given a reward. Conon, however, had already learned of the deaths of Illus and Leontius and, having wounded himself, expired. **12** The emperor cruelly persecuted those who had been captured, putting some of them to death indiscriminately, and depriving others of their property. In royal fashion he buried the body of Verina in Constantinople, placing her in her husband's funeral monument and ordering that she be named Augusta. He destroyed most of the fortresses in Isauria. Those who took part in the betrayal of Illus died miserable deaths: the wretched Cottunes, the rustic Conon and Longinus (son of Longinus), and Artemidorus, the lieutenant of Trocundes.

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EI 99 Ὅτι Θεοδώριχος καὶ Ὁδόακρος συνθήκας καὶ ξυμβάσεις ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄμφω ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ λοιπὸν ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ἐντεύξεις παρ' ἀλλήλους φοιτῶσι συχναί. Οὔπω δὲ ἠνύετο ἡμέρα δεκάτη, καί, τοῦ Ὁδοάκρου γενομένου παρὰ τὸν Θεοδώριχον, προσελθόντες τῶν αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες δύω τὰς τοῦ Ὁδοάκρου ἅτε ἱκέται γενόμενοι κατέχουσι χεῖρας, μεθ' ὃ τῶν προλοχισθέντων ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἑκάτερα οἰκίσκοις ἐπελθόντων ἅμα τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θέας καταπλαγέντων καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτιθεμένων τῷ Ὁδοάκρῳ, Θεοδώριχος προσδραμὼν παίει τῷ ξίφει αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν κλεῖδα, εἰπόντα δέ· ποῦ ὁ θεός; ἀμείβεται· τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ καὶ σὺ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔδρασας. Τῆς δὲ πληγῆς καιρίας καὶ μέχρι τῆς ὀσφύος διελθούσης τὸ Ὁδοάκρου σῶμα, εἰπεῖν φασιν Θεοδώριχον ὡς· τάχα οὐδὲ ὀστοῦν ἦν τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ. Καὶ τὸν μὲν πέμψας ἔξω θάπτει εἰς τὰς συνόδους τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐν λιθίνῃ λάρνακι ἔτη βεβιωκότα ξ', ἄρξαντα δὲ ιδ', τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν τούτου ἐν τῷ τεμένει φυγόντα κατετόξευσε. Συνέχων δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁδοάκρου γαμετὴν Σουνιγίλδαν καὶ Ὀκλὰν τὸν παῖδα, ὃν Ὁδόακρος Καίσαρα ἀπέδειξεν, τοῦτον μὲν ἐκπέμπει εἰς Γαλλίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀποδράντα κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαφθείρει, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ φρουρουμένην ἐξήγαγε τοῦ βίου.

Fr. 238 = fr. 214a M = fr. 307 R; Mommsen 1872b, 332 | S (f. 149r)

Fr. 238: fontem non inveni

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4 ἀλλήλους edd. : ἀλλήλοις S **5** Ὁδοάκρου de Boor 1905 : ὀδοάκρου S Mommsen 1872b **6** τῶν αὐτοῦ S : τῶν ἐκειθεν in app. coni. Mommsen 1872b δύω S : δύο Mommsen 1872b **15** κατετόξευε Müller 1851 **16** Ὀκλὰν S : Θήλαν in app. coni. Mommsen 1872b **18** διαφθείρει edd. : διαφθείρεται S

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Theoderic and Odoacer made an agreement with each other to the effect that they both should rule over the Roman empire and they used to meet each other quite often thereafter. The tenth day had not yet passed when, while Odoacer was visiting Theoderic, two of Theoderic's men approached Odoacer as suppliants and grasped both his hands; at once those who were lying in ambush in the small chambers on either side rushed upon him with drawn swords, but, terrified at the sight, they did not attack him, and so Theoderic leaped forward and struck him on the collar bone with his sword, while Odoacer cried out, "Where is God?" Theoderic replied, "This is what you have done to my people." The blow was mortal for it pierced Odoacer's body through to the lower part of the back, and Theoderic is reported to have said, "This scoundrel does not even have a bone in his body." He had him carried outside and buried near a Jewish synagogue in a stone sarcophagus. Odoacer lived for sixty years and ruled for fourteen. Theoderic also shot down Odoacer's brother, who had sought sanctuary on holy ground. He also arrested Odoacer's wife Sunigilda and his son Ocla, whom Odoacer had appointed Caesar; the son he exiled to Gaul, but when he escaped from there to Italy Theoderic had him murdered; the wife he starved to death while she was in confinement.

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EI 100 **1** Ὅτι Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς λύει ⟨τὸν⟩ τῶν δημεύσεων φόβον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ἀπαγορεύει δὲ τοῖς συκοφάνταις τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὸ τῆς καλουμένης δηλατορίας πάθος τιμωρεῖται καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν εἰσφορῶν ὀφειλέτας ἐλευθεροῖ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων. **2** Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὰς θέας ἀτακτοῦσιν ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος διὰ προγράμματος τὰς ἔνδον διατριβὰς ἀπηγόρευσεν, ὑπονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκδόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ τοῖς πλημμελήμασιν ἐνεχόμενοι ἅπαντα διετάραττον. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν θεωμένου, πολὺς ἐντεῦθεν διηγείρετο θόρυβος, ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τῆς βουλῆς ἡγουμένου καταβοᾶν. Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῶν ἐκ παιδείας καὶ λόγων εἰσηγητής. Ἐν ὀργῇ τοίνυν τοῦ βασιλέως ποιησαμένου τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμῶντας καὶ διὰ πλήθους στρατιωτικοῦ ἀνείργειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντος εἰκότως, εἰς ἀπεγνωσμένην ἐτράπησαν πρᾶξιν πῦρ ἐνιέντες τῷ τὰς θύρας τῆς ἱπποδρομίας ἔχοντι τόπῳ, ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ αἱ προσπαρακείμεναι στοαὶ διεφθείραντο ῥᾳδίως· ἐκεῖθέν τε τὰς στήλας τῶν βασιλέων ἐκ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένας τῶν ἱδρυμάτων ὠθήσαντες πᾶν εἶδος ὕβρεως εἰς αὐτὰς ἐπετέλουν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους αἰκιζόμενοι, καίτοι πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρουμένων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἡμιθνήτων γενομένων. Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοίνυν ὁρῶν τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ νίκην οὐ πρέπουσαν εἶναι, ἀποπαύει μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Ἰουλιανόν, ὕπαρχον δὲ προχειρίζεται Σεκουνδῖνον τὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῆς Καισαρίας ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτῳ ληξάσης τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λύττης, οὐ χαλε-

Fr. 239 = fr. 214b M = fr. 308 R; Mommsen 1872b, 338 | S (f. 149r-f. 150v)

Fr. 239: fontem non inveni

2 τὸν add. Mommsen 1872b δημεύσεων S : δημεύσεως Müller 1870a φόβον Mommsen 1872b de Boor 1905 : φόβων S Müller 1870a **4** δηλατορίας S : δηλατωρίας Mommsen 1872b cf. etiam *Suda* δ 397 **5** χρόνων S : χρεῶν in app. coni. de Boor 1905 probabiliter **7** ὑπονοίᾳ τὸ S : ὑπονοίᾳ δὲ τὸ Mommsen 1872b οἱ de Boor 1905 : οἳ S **8** post ἐνεχόμενοι verbum θὲς habet expunctum S **15** διεφθείραντο S de Boor 1905 : διεφθείροντο Mommsen 1872b **17** ὠθήσαντες edd. : ἀθήσαντες S **18** καίτοι S : καὶ Mommsen 1872b **19** τοίνυν del. Mommsen 1872b **20** ἀναπαύει Müller 1851 **22** καὶ τούτῳ S : κἂν τούτῳ in app. coni. de Boor 1905 probabiliter

Fr. 239: 3 τὸ τῆς – 4 τιμωρεῖται *Suda* δ 397 ὅτι Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸ τῆς δηλατωρίας πάθος τιμωρεῖται πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις.

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1 The emperor Anastasius freed his subjects from fear of the confiscation of their property, abolished the right of immunity for the informers, punished incidents of malicious denunciation and released those who owed any taxes from previous times.[1] **2** When the city prefect issued an edict prohibiting those who were unruly during the games from staying inside the hippodrome, the offenders began a full-blown riot out of suspicion that they would have to surrender themselves in the future. And while the emperor was attending the horse races, a great tumult broke out there, so that the clamour was directed even against the *princeps* of the senate. This man was Iulianus, a native of Alexandria and a scholar. The emperor was enraged at those who had dared such things and it seemed likely that he would try to restrain them with military force. The people turned to desperate measures, setting on fire the district where the gates of the hippodrome were located, from where it spread to the neighbouring porticoes which were quickly destroyed. Afterwards they pulled down the bronze statues of the emperors from their pedestals and inflicted upon them every kind of abuse, as if they were insulting them in person, even though in the meantime many were killed and many others left half-dead. Seeing that a victory over his own subjects was not befitting, the emperor relieved Iulianus of his duties and appointed Secundinus, the husband of his sister Caesaria, as prefect of the city; and, after the fury of the soldiers had abated in response to this decision, he

[1] Or, if we follow the tentative conjecture by de Boor (1905), "released the tax-debtors from their previous state of necessity."

πῶς καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνεκτήσατο. **3** Κρίνων δὲ εἰκότως ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐνδημούντων Ἰσαύρων ἐπιβουλῆς διεσκευάσθαι ταῦτα, ἀποχωρεῖν τούτους τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ' ἀξιωμάτων ἀφαιρούμενός τινα αὐτῶν οὐδὲ χρημάτων, καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη ἀγγελθείσης τῆς κατὰ ⟨τὴν⟩ χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποστάσεως. Μελλόντων δὲ καὶ ἐν διατριβῇ ποιουμένων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, συνεῖδεν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκην ἐπιθεῖναι, ἐξ οὗπερ λαμπρότερον ἀπεδείχθησαν δυσμενεῖς τῷ κρατοῦντι πολιτεύματι. Ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν ὁ τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἀδελφὸς Λογγῖνος κατὰ τὴν Θηβαίων ἀφορίζεται χώραν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπεφθάρη λιμῷ μετὰ χρόνους η', ἥ τε οὖσα αὐτῷ γαμετὴ Οὐαλερία τοὔνομα σὺν τῇ παιδὶ Λογγίνᾳ, ἣ καὶ ὡμολόγητο Ζήνωνι τῷ Ἀνθεμίου καὶ Ἡραΐδος υἱῷ, καὶ Λαλὶς ἡ Ζήνωνος καὶ Λογγίνου μήτηρ τὸ ἐν Βροχθοῖς οὕτω προσαγορευομένῳ προαστείῳ τῆς Βιθυνῶν κατέλαβον εὐκτήριον, ἐν ᾧπερ καὶ Ζήνων οὐχ ἥκιστα διεθέριζεν, ἐπιβιώσασαι δὲ χρόνον οὐ μέτριον καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐξ ἐράνου πορίζουσαι ἄλλοσε ἄλλη μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον. Λογγῖνος δὲ ὁ μάγιστρος καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἀνδρείᾳ τε αὐχῶν καὶ πλούτῳ σὺν ἑτέροις συχνοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἰσαύρων ἐξέπεσον χώραν. **4** Ἀποστέρξας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσάπαξ τὰ Ἰσαύρων τήν τε τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Ζήνωνος περιουσίαν προέγραψεν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτή γε ἡ βασίλειος ἐσθὴς ὤνιος προύκειτο, καὶ τὸ Παπειρίου καλούμενον φρούριον πέμψας κατέστρεψεν, ἀναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς διδομένας αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος σιτήσεις τεινούσας εἰς υ' καὶ χιλίας χρυσίου λίτρας ἐτησίας. **5** Ἀρτυσαμένων δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀντίστασιν καὶ ἤδη κινηθέντων ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας ὑπὸ ἡγεμόσι Λιγγινίνῃ καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρῳ, συνόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ Κόνωνος Φουσκιανοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων καὶ Λογγίνου μαγίστρου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ ἑτέρου, πλῆθός τε μαχίμων ἀμφὶ τὰς ρ' χιλιάδας ἐπαγομένων ἔκ τε Ἰσαύρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων, τῶν μὲν ἑκουσίως ἑλομένων τὴν συμμαχίαν, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἑπομένων, καὶ διαδραμόντων τὰς πόλεις καὶ γενομένων ἐν Κοτιαείῳ τῷ ἄστει τῆς Φρυγίας, ὑπαντιάσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στράτευμα *** ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. Ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν στρατηγοὶ β', Ἰωάννης ὁ Σκύθης καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Κυρτός, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ Σιλυβρίας ὁρμώμενος, ὑποστράτηγοι δὲ

3 οὔτ' Mommsen 1872b **4** οὔτε Mommsen 1872b **5** τὴν add. Müller 1851 **9** η' S corr. ex κ' **14** ἐπιβιώσασαι Mommsen 1872b : ἐπιβιώσας S **17** ἐξέπεσον edd. : ἐξέπεσων S : ἐξέπεσεν S[3] **22** ἐτησίως Müller 1851 **29** ὑπαντιάσαν S : ὑπηντίασεν edd. post στράτευμα lacunam statuit de Boor 1905 **30** Ἡγοῦντο edd. : ἡγεῖτο S **31** Σιλυβρίας vel Σελυβρίας S : Σηλυβρίας Müller 1851 : Σηλυβρίων Mommsen 1872b

had no difficulty in restoring the edifices that had suffered in the fire. 3 Believing that these events were probably the result of a conspiracy of the Isaurians residing in the city, he ordered their departure from the capital, but he deprived them of neither their ranks nor their property; and he did this in spite of the fact that he had already received news of a rebellion in their home territory. Since they tarried and postponed their departure, he realised that he had to use force against them, after which they more openly displayed their hostility to the ruling government. On account of this Zeno's brother Longinus was thereafter exiled to Thebais and died there of starvation eight years later; his wife Valeria and his daughter Longina, who had been betrothed to Zeno, son of Anthemius and Herais, and also Lallis, mother of Longinus and Zeno, found asylum in Brochthi, which is a suburb in Bithynia and a place where Zeno quite frequently used to spend the summer; they lived much longer, depending on donations to survive, each dying at a different time. Longinus, the *magister officiorum,* and Athenodorus, who was outstanding in courage and wealth, were exiled to the land of the Isaurians with numerous others. 4 Hardening his heart, on a single occasion the emperor sold by auction the property of the Isaurians and the possessions acquired by Zeno during his reign, even to the extent that the imperial garments were offered for sale; he also sent out orders that the Fort of Papirius be razed to the ground and abolished the *annonae* which Zeno had granted them, which had amounted to one thousand four hundred pounds of gold per year. 5 Having prepared everything for the insurrection, they departed from their home territory under the leadership of Linginines and Athenodorus together with Conon, son of Fuscianus, an ex-bishop, and the *magister* Longinus and the other Athenodorus; they brought with them a body of soldiers amounting to one hundred thousand men, which consisted of Isaurians and Romans, some of whom willingly entered the alliance while others were drawn by force. They marched through several cities and came to Cotyaeum, a place in Phrygia, where they were met by the army of the emperor … about two thousand men. These men were commanded by two generals, John the Scythian and John Kyrtos, who had himself set out from Selymbria; the subordinate commanders

Ἰουστῖνος ἐκ Βεδεριανῆς φρουρίου πλησιάζοντος Ναισσῷ τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι καὶ Ἀψικὰλ βάρβαρος γένους τῶν καλουμένων Γότθων, ἔτι τε Σιγίζαν καὶ Ζόλβων Οὔννων ἄγοντες πλῆθος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἦλθον συρράξαντες περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐναντίων διέφθειραν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνελόντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἰσαύρων Λιγγινίνην, ὡς τοὺς περιλειφθέντας δρομαίως διαφυγεῖν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἐπιδιώξας ἕως καὶ τῆς τοῦ Ταύρου ὑπερβολῆς διέμεινεν τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν.

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EI 101 Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου ὁ τὴν ὕπαρχον ἀνύων τῆς πόλεως Ἡλίας τοὔνομα τὴν τῶν καλουμένων Βρυτῶν ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελῶν, ὡς οὔπω πρότερον γέγονεν, ὑπό τινος βασκανίας αἴτιος πολλῶν ἐγένετο φόνων. Τῶν γὰρ ἀθροισθέντων ἐς δείλην τοῦ δήμου ἅμα ξίφεσι κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ὡρμηκότων, πολὺς ἦν τῶν ὀλλυμένων ὁ τρόπος. Ὁμοίως καὶ Κωνστάντιος ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν τῶν Βρυτῶν πανήγυριν βουλευσάμενος ὀλίγου διώλεσε τὸν ἅπαντα δῆμον ποικίλοις διαφθαρέντα τρόποις, ὡς τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ λοιποῦ χηρῶσαι τῆς καλλίστης ὀρχήσεως τὰς πόλεις.

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EI 102 Ὅτι καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Ἀναστασίου γαμβρὸς Σεκουνδῖνος τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παρειλήφει, ἐκινήθη τὰ περὶ τὴν Παφλαγονίαν.

Fr. 240 = fr. 214c M = fr. 309 R; Mommsen 1872b, 343 | S (f. 150v) Fr. 241 = fr. 214d M = fr. 310 R; Mommsen 1872b, 344 | S (f. 150v)

Fr. 240: fontem non inveni Fr. 241: fontem non inveni

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1 Βεδεριανῆς Müller 1870a de Boor 1905 cum Procop. *De aed.* 4.1.17 : Βεδεριανοῦ Mommsen 1872b : βεδεριανος sine acc. S **2** Ἀψικὰλ edd. : αψικὰλ sine sp. S **13** τοῦ δήμου del. Mommsen 1872b

were Justin, from the fort of Bederiana near Naissus in Illyria, and Apsical, a barbarian from the race of the so-called Goths,[1] and also Sigizan and Zolbon, who brought a force of Huns with them. The two armies approached each other and joined battle in the early evening; the Romans slew many enemies and also killed Linginines himself, the commander of the Isaurians, so that the remaining troops speedily retreated to their home territory. The army of the emperor pursued them as far as the pass of the Taurus, where it spent the winter.

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In the reign of Anastasius, a man called Helias, who held the office of prefect of the city, celebrated the festival of the Brytae,[2] which had never taken place before,[3] and out of malice became responsible of the deaths of many people. For, coming together in the afternoon, people attacked each other with swords, loosing their lives in a great variety of ways. Likewise Constantius, the prefect of the city, decided to celebrate the same festival of the Brytae and almost destroyed the entire population, who perished in many different ways, so that in future the emperor banned the most beautiful dances from the cities.

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At the time when Secundinus, Anastasius' brother-in-law, became consul, there was a revolt in Paphlagonia.

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[1] The atticizing source John of Antioch used was reluctant to use a non-attic word in a historical narrative, hence the addition "so-called."

[2] A summary of the evidence about this festival, which puzzled scholars at the end of the 19th century (*see* Mommsen 1872b, 344: "Die Bedeutung desselben ist dunkel."), is offered by Greatrex and Watt 1999. *See* also Cameron 1973, 231; Cameron 1969, 109.

[3] This clause may also be understood as referring to the deaths of many people; however, its position in the sentence makes this interpretation less probable.

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EI 103 **1** Ὅτι συνεκύκα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θρᾴκην Βιταλιανός, ἀνθρωπίσκος βραχὺς καὶ τραυλὸς τὴν φωνὴν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας τοῖν βλεφάροιν ὑποκεκαυμένος, υἱὸς ὢν Πατρικιόλου πατρίδα ἐσχηκότος Ζάλδαβα τῆς κάτω Μυσίας πόλισμα βραχύ. Οὗτος ἐπειδὴ τὰ πολλὰ συνδιατρίβων τοῖς Οὔννοις ἑτοιμότερος πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ἠγγέλθη τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἀφαιρεθεὶς γὰρ σιτήσεως δημοσίας τῶν καλουμένων φοιδερατικῶν ἀνώνων εἰσηγεῖται τοῖς τὰ περὶ Σκυθίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην πληροῦσι τάγματα, δυσχεραίνουσι μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπασχον πρὸς τοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχοντος Ὑπατίου, καὶ δὴ πείθει ῥᾳδίως τῷ πρῶτος ἄρξαι τῶν παρανομωτάτων καὶ ἐπέκεινα τόλμης. Τοὺς γὰρ τῷ στρατηγῷ παρεδρεύοντας Κωνσταντῖνόν τινα ἐκ Λυδίας καὶ Κελεαρῖνον φονεύσας, ἔτι καὶ Μαξέντιον τὸν τοῦ καλουμένου δουκὸς τὴν Μυσῶν ἐπιτετραμμένον ἀρχήν, διαφθείρει, καὶ ⟨τὸν⟩ τῷ στρατηγῷ σύμπνουν καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα κεχαρισμένον Καρῖνον συσχὼν τῆς τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν χάριτος κομίζεται δῶρον τὸ συμπρᾶξαί οἱ πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ὀδύσσου καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἐξουσίαν καταφημίσαντα ὡς εἴη αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιτετραμμένα, παραδοῦναι δὲ καὶ ὁπόσον ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ χρυσίον. Πείσας οὖν ἐκ τούτων ἅπαντας βλέπειν εἰς αὐτόν, συναθροίσας ἀμφὶ τὰς ν' χιλιάδας πολεμικῶν τε καὶ ἀγροίκων ἀνδρῶν, τῇ Κωνσταντίνου προσάγειν ἤγγελτο. **2** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔναγχος ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς δειλίαν κατενεχθεὶς καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῶν περιστάντων αὐτῷ δυσχεραίνων, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀκούειν τοὺς ἐπιόντας τὴν ὁμοίαν τῆς θρησκείας προβάλλεσθαι μέμψιν, σταυροὺς μὲν ἐκ χαλκοῦ παγῆναι ὑπὲρ τὰς πύλας τῶν τειχῶν παρακελεύεται γράμμασι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ συστάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν θορύβου προκα-

Fr. 242 = fr. 214e M = fr. 311 R; Mommsen 1872b, 344-349 | S (f. 150v-f. 153r)

Fr. 242: fontem non inveni

5 ἐπειδὴ del. Mommsen 1872b **6** ἑτοιμότερος S : ἑτοιμόρροπος Mommsen 1872b **7** γὰρ in app. del. de Boor 1905 probabiliter **8** εἰσηγεῖτο Müller 1851 τάγματα edd. : τάματα S **10** τῷ Mommsen 1872b : τὸ S **11** παρανομωτάτων de Boor 1905 : παρανομάτων S : παρανομημάτων Mommsen 1872b **12** κελεαρίνον S : Κελερῖνον Mommsen 1872b **14** τὸν add. Müller 1851 **15** τῆς edd. : τὴν S **16** Ὀδυσσοῦ Müller 1851 : ὀδύσσου S **18** ὁπόσον edd. : ὁπόσοσον S **20** ἤγγελτο de Boor 1905 : ἤγγελστο S : ἠγγέλλετο S³ corr. **25** παρακαθιστῶντας Mommsen 1872b

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1 At this time the region of Thrace was thrown into utter confusion by Vitalian, who was a man of short stature, with a stammering voice and inflamed eyelids; he was a son of Patriciolus from Zaldaba, an obscure town in Lower Moesia. Since he had spent much time among the Huns, it was reported to the emperor that he was becoming more inclined towards rebellion. After he had been deprived of the state rations known as *annonae foederaticae*, he put forward a plan to the men of the units stationed in Scythia and Thrace, who were already annoyed on their own account at the abuse they had been suffering from their *magister* Hypatius, and so he easily convinced them to set about this utterly unlawful venture. Having murdered the subordinate officers of the *magister*, a certain Constantine from Lydia and Celearinus, he also put to death Maxentius, who exercised the office of *dux Moesiae.* After detaining Carinus, who was a close associate of the *magister* and everybody's favourite, he requested of him – as a gift in return for the fact that he had not put him to death – that he assist him in his operation against the city of Odessus by proclaiming that he had been entrusted with military command and by surrendering to him all the money at his disposal. After convincing everybody to accept him as their superior, he gathered about fifty thousand soldiers and rural inhabitants and announced his march on Constantinople. **2** The emperor was consumed with fear on account of the recent misfortunes, and vexed by the unexpected circumstances and by having heard in addition that the attackers censured him for his religious beliefs. He ordered that bronze crosses bearing an inscription that explained the reasons for the rebellion against him be put up above

θιστῶντας, τῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ζώων εἰσφορᾶς τετάρτην περιελὼν μοῖραν τοῦ Βιθυνῶν τε καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ἔθνους τὸν ταῦτα δηλοῦντα χάρτην τῇ κατὰ τὴν πρωτεύουσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ φέρων κατέθηκε καὶ τῆς πόλεως φρουρὰν ἐποιεῖτο διὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τέλεσιν. **3** Ἤδη δὲ τοῦ Βιταλιανοῦ προσβαλόντος τοῖς τῆς πόλεως προαστείοις καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἐληλακότος, στέλλεται πρὸς αὐτὸν Πατρίκιος ὁ στρατηγός, ἅμα μὲν ὡς προσήκοντός οἱ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ τοιοῦδε λόγου, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὡς γέρασι προύχων καὶ ἀξιώσεσιν, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Βιταλιανῷ μέρος οὐ μικρὸν τῆς εὐπραγίας γενόμενος. Ὅς, ἐπειδὴ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθε καὶ τῇ ἐκ τῆς εὐεργεσίας παρρησίᾳ καθήψατο, τὰ εἰκότα ἤκουεν, ὡς οἷα πολλὰ προηνέχθη ἔκ τε τῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσχηκότων, καὶ νῦν ἥκειν αὐτοὺς δεομένους ἐπανορθωθῆναι μὲν τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοῦ τῆς Θρᾳκῶν στρατηγοῦ, κυρωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὀρθῶς ἔχουσαν τοῦ θείου δόξαν. **4** Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰσκληθέντων καὶ παραγενομένων Βιταλιανοῦ χωρίς (τοῦτον γὰρ οὐδὲ εἴσω τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι ἔπεισε), τὰ μὲν ἐπεγκαλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὡς μηδὲν ὀλιγωρηθέντας διελέγξας, τὰ δὲ ἐκθεραπεύσας δώροις τε καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἐπαγγελίᾳ, ἄξειν τε ὑποσχόμενος τοὺς τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης τὰ περὶ τῆς δόξης τῶν ἱερῶν καταστήσοντας, ἀπέπεμψεν ὅρκους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐνοίας αὐτῶν ἀποδεξάμενος. Οἱ δὲ τῷ Βιταλιανῷ συγγενόμενοι ἀναλαβόντες αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ᾤχοντο. **5** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος τὴν τῶν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ τελῶν στρατηγίαν Κυρίλλῳ παραδίδωσιν οὐκ ἀσυνέτῳ οὐδὲ πολεμικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀμαθεῖ. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Κύριλλος κατὰ Μυσίαν καὶ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι σπουδάζων τῷ Βιταλιανῷ αὐτὸς ἐπεβουλεύθη πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς οἴκοις διαφθαρεὶς ξίφει. **6** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὰ συμβάντα δόγματι τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας ἀλλότριον τὸν Βιταλιανὸν ψηφίζεται καὶ στρατιὰν μεγίστην ἀγείρας ἀμφὶ τὰς π' χιλιάδας αὐτοκράτορά τε τοῦ πολέμου ἀποδείξας Ὑπάτιον τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, Ἄλαθαρ δὲ γένος Σκυθικὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατ-

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1 ante τετάρτην verbum τὴν add. Mommsen 1872b περιελὼν edd. : περιελθὼν S **2** ἐν τῇ Mommsen 1872b **8** γέρασι προύχων de Boor 1905 : γεραπρούχον S : γέρᾳ προύχων Müller 1870a : γήρᾳ προύχων Mommsen 1872b **10** ὡς S : εἰς Mommsen 1872b **12** τὰ ἀδικήματα Müller 1851 **22** τελῶν de Boor 1905 coll. p. 416.13 : στέλων S[3] ut vid. in στέλλων mut. : στόλων edd. ἀσυνέτῳ S[3] corr. ex ἀσυνέστῳ S **28** αὐτοκράτορά τε de Boor 1905 : αὐτοκρατοράτες S, sed ς postea expuncta **29** Ἄλαθαρ de Boor 1905 : ἀλλαθαρ sine acc. S, ἄλαθαρ manu correctoris : Ἀλαθὰρ edd.

the gates of the walls; he reduced by one fourth the *capitatio humana et animalium*[1] in the provinces of Bithynia and Asia, and brought the document testifying to this to the main church and deposited it on the altar, and he had the magistrates make provisions for the defence of the city. **3** When Vitalian had already advanced to the outskirts of the city and assaulted the city-walls, the *magister* Patricius was sent to him, because on the one hand negotiating was part of his official duties and on the other he was distinguished on account of his old age and merits and had played not a small part in Vitalian' success. When Patricius met Vitalian and engaged him in frank conversation owing to the benefactions he had bestowed on him, he heard in all likelihood that, since many proclamations had been made by the ruling emperors, he [Vitalian] and his followers had now come to demand the reversal of the injustices caused by the *magister militum per Thracias* and also adherence to the orthodox creed. **4** On the next day the leaders of the rebels, who had been invited to an audience with the emperor, arrived without Vitalian (for Patricius had not been able to convince him to come into the city), and the emperor on the one hand reproached them, saying that he had never treated them with contempt in any respect, and on the other hand he tried to win them over with presents and by giving his word to repay what he owed them; he also promised to invite people from the older Rome to settle the matters of faith, and dismissed them after receiving their oath of allegiance for the future. They returned to Vitalian and withdrew with him and the troops. **5** The emperor Anastasius appointed Cyril, who was quite an intelligent person and possessed military experience, as *magister militum per Thracias*. Cyril went to Moesia and, while organising a plot against Vitalian, fell victim to an attempt on his own life, being killed with a sword at his headquarters. **6** When the emperor heard the news, he declared Vitalian a public enemy of Rome by a decree of the senate, gathered a large military force of about eighty thousand men and put his nephew Hypatius in charge of the campaign; he also ordered Alathar, a

[1] *See* Mommsen 1872b, 351 n. 3.

ηγοῦ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν προσηγορίᾳ ἕπεσθαί οἱ προστάξας, καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν ταμίαν· οἳ συμμίξαντες αὐτῷ καὶ διαφόροις ἐλασθέντες τύχαις καί ποτε καὶ νίκην ἄραντες μετρίαν ἐγνώρισαν τῷ βασιλεύοντι, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ προελθεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις καὶ θέας ἐπιτελέσαι δημοτελεῖς. **7** Οὐ μακρὰν δὲ Ὑπάτιος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ὁρμήσας Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέβαλε ζωγρηθέντα, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τῶν λεγομένων μεμοριαλίων, τολμήσαντα ὅλως καὶ θεάσασθαι πόλεμον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν κλωβῷ βληθεὶς καὶ περιαχθεὶς ἀφέθη χρυσίῳ. Ἀναστήσας τοίνυν ὁ Ὑπάτιος ἐκ τῶνδε τὸν στρατόν, ἄρτι τε καὶ Τιμοθέου τινὸς τῶν ἐν τοῖς σωματοφύλαξιν τεταγμένων τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκρίδος στρατοπεδεύεται τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν χαράκωμα προβαλόμενος. **8** Τότε δὲ τῶν Οὔννων ἁπάντων συναθροισθέντων καὶ εἰς ἅμα ἐφορμησάντων, ἐπέσχε μέν τις εἰς βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντίπαλος τοξεία, ὡς δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς τῶν ἁμαξῶν βόας ἔβαλλον συσκευασθέντας ἤδη πρὸς μετάστασιν, διαλύεται μὲν ἡ τοῦ χαρακώματος σύνταξις, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δὲ ἴασιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲ ἀντᾶραι σφίσιν τὰς χεῖρας τολμῶντας. Ὑπὸ δὲ μιᾶς τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀποδρᾶναι σπουδῆς πιεζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὑπό τινος μαγείας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιγενομένης ἀχλύος ἐπισκοτισάσης αὐτοῖς τὰς ὄψεις, οὐ προϊδόντες ἐν οἷς τὴν φυγὴν ἐποιοῦντο τόποις, ἐς κρημνοὺς καὶ φάραγγας καταφερόμενοι διεφθείροντο. **9** Ἀπώλοντο μὲν οὖν τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ πλεῖον ἢ ξ′ χιλιάδες, καὶ ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις τὸ τῆς φάραγγος προσισώθη βάθος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐμπεσόντων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων. Ἥλωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν λοχαγῶν τὴν τάξιν πληροῦντες· αὐτὸς δὲ Ὑπάτιος ἐς τὴν θάλατταν καταδὺς καὶ οἷα τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁλὶ τρεφομένων ὀρνέων ἐκ μόνης ἀνεχούσης τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιγνωσθεὶς συνελήφθη. **10** Πληρῶν δὲ Βιταλιανὸς τοῖς Οὔννοις ὃν ὑπέσχετο πορισμὸν τῶν χρημάτων, ἀποδίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἁλόντας ἐφῆκεν καὶ τόν τε Ἄλαθαρ ἀπελυτρώσατο καὶ Εὐσίγνιον ἄλλους τε συχνούς. Τὸν δὲ Ὑπάτιον ὁ Βιταλιανὸς κομιδῆς ἠξίου τῆς δεούσης, ὡς ἐπὶ ὠνίῳ μεγάλῳ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιθέμενος λόγον. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν συνεσκεύαστο μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Μυσοῖς φρούριά τε καὶ πόλεις, πάντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδεδίεσαν καὶ βασιλέα προσεδό-

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6 τὸν ἐκ edd. : τῶν ἐκ S **9** τῶν – τεταγμένων Müller 1870a : τὸν – τεταγμένου S : {τὸν} – τεταγμένου Mommsen 1872b **11** ἁμαξῶν edd. : ἀμαζῶν S **14** ἁμαξῶν edd. : ἀμαζῶν S **18** πιεζόμενοι Mommsen 1872b **27** ἀποδίδοσθαι edd. : ἀποδιδόσθαι S **28** ἀφῆκεν Mommsen 1872b ἄλαθαρ hic S **29** Ἀσίγνιον Mommsen 1872b

Scythian by race, to follow him [Hypatius] as *magister militum per Thracias* together with the imperial treasurer Theodoros. They joined battle with the enemy with varied success; once they won a moderate victory and reported it to the emperor, and so he started to appear in church and to stage public spectacles. 7 A short time later Hypatius attacked the usurper again and lost Julianus (an officer of the *scrinium* of the *memoriales,* who had the courage to be a spectator of war), who was taken prisoner. He was thrown into an iron cage and carried around in it until he was ransomed with gold. Because of these events Hypatius moved up the army, just after a certain Timotheus, a member of the imperial bodyguard, had been killed by the barbarians, and he took up a position at Akris, surrounding the camp with a barricade made of wagons. **8** Then all the Huns banded together and attacked as one body. A mutual exchange of archery lasted for a short time, but then the barbarians hit the oxen which were yoked to the wagons ready to move off, and thus the framework of the barricade was breached and the barbarians rushed in upon the Romans who did not even find courage to raise a hand against them. Driven by a single urge to escape they trampled upon one another; in addition the fog which had been raised by some sorcery of the barbarians dimmed their sight and prevented them from seeing where they were fleeing, so that they were destroyed by falling into ravines and gorges. **9** More than sixty thousand perished in this way, filling the ravines up to their brows with the masses of men and draught animals that had fallen into them. The commanding officers were captured as well; Hypatius in person, who jumped into the sea and, like many birds that find nourishment in the sea, was recognised only by his head sticking up, and was taken prisoner. **10** Vitalian paid the Huns in full the amount of money that he had promised them, allowed them to sell the prisoners and ransomed Alathar, Eusignius and many others. Vitalian considered Hypatius worthy of appropriate treatment, counting him as an important commodity. After that he made ready all the fortresses in Scythia and Moesia; everybody was afraid of him and expected that he would beco-

κων. **11** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προνοούμενος τοῦ συμβάντος στέλλει τινὰ Οὐράνιον τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου καγκελλαρίου τάξιν πληροῦντα τῷ τῶν ὀφφικίων μαγίστρῳ ἅμα Πολυχρονίῳ τε καὶ Μαρτυρίῳ τοῖς τὰς τῶν Οὔννων πρεσβείας ἐπιτετραμμένοις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ δέκα χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἑκατοντάδας. Οὓς δὴ κατὰ τὴν Σωζόπολιν ὁ τύραννος λοχίσας αὐτήν τε τὴν πόλιν ἐξεῖλε μηχανήματι δολίῳ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀφαιρεῖται πρὸς βίαν. **12** Ἐν δὲ τῇ Κωνσταντίνου κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἱππικῆς θέαν τοῦ δήμου πρὸς στάσιν διαναστάντος, τήν τε τῆς δείλης πανήγυριν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠρνήσατο, καὶ φόνος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγεγόνει, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως νυκτεπάρχου τοῦ καλουμένου Γέτα ἀναιρεθέντος κατὰ τὴν μάχην. **13** Ἤδη δὲ μικροῦ διαδραμόντος χρόνου, Βιταλιανὸς αὖθις ἄρας νηῶν ὡς σ’ στόλον καὶ στρατὸν πεζικόν τε καὶ ἱππικὸν πολὺν παραπορευθεὶς τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον ἀθρόως ἐπιὼν ὤφθη τῇ Κωνσταντίνου. Μετεώρου δὲ τῆς πόλεως οὔσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπιζομένης γενέσθαι, στέλλεται παρ’ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης τὴν τῶν στρατηλατῶν καὶ ὑπάτων ἀξίωσιν ἔχων, ἐκ τοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπωνύμου Βαλεριανῆς γνωριζόμενος. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπαντήσας τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης προσβολῆς διηγωνίζετο κίνδυνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ λεγομένῳ Λαοσθενίῳ ἱκέτευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανῄει δρομάδην παρὰ τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀγγέλλων τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου ἐπιζητούμενα. **14** Ὡς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τε τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνάγκῃ καὶ τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ συγγενοῦς ἐποχῇ πάντα ποιεῖν ὡμολόγει, ἐφέρετο μὲν ἡ τοῦ χρυσίου ποσότης εἰς πεντακισχιλίας τείνουσα λίτρας, ἐδίδοτο δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς Θρᾳκίας ἀρχῆς σύμβολα παραχρῆμα, ὅρκοι τε περὶ φιλίας παρείχοντο καὶ τὸ τῆς θρησκείας ἀνενεοῦτο κήρυγμα. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προεθυμεῖτο, ἀπεχώρει. **15** Ἀνθεμίου δὲ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου, Βιταλιανὸς αὖθις ἐξογκούμενος δεινῶς τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἐπίεζεν· καὶ οἱ τῶν λεγομένων Οὔννων Σαβὴρ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας παροτρυνθέντες πείρας πολλαπλασίονες τῷ πλήθει ταῖς πάσαις σχεδὸν ἐπεχέθησαν ἐπαρχίαις τῆς καλουμένης Ποντικῆς, δράσαντες δὲ φόνον μυρίον καὶ ἀγέλας αἰχμαλώτων ἀπήγαγον. **16** Αὖθίς τε κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν τῆς Γαστρῆς συνέβη θόρυβον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι. **17** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἅτε οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης πεπραχὼς τὰς πρὸς τὸν τύραν-

8 πρὸς στάσιν de Boor 1905 : πρόστασιν S^2 vel S^3 ex προστάσιν διαναστάντος edd. : διαναστάντες S **9** ἐγέγονεν [*sic*] Müller 1851 **18** Λεωσθενίῳ scripsit Roberto 2005 **24** τὸ edd. : τότε S **27** ἐπίεζεν Mommsen 1872b : ἔπαιζεν S σειβήρ S : corr. Müller 1851 **30** καὶ del. Mommsen 1872b

me emperor. **11** Taking precautions for what might happen, the emperor dispatched a certain Uranius, a *cancellarius* to the so-called *magister officiorum,* in company with Polychronius and Martyrius, the officials responsible for embassies with the Huns, together with ten hundreds pounds of gold. The usurper lay in ambush for them at the city of Sozopolis, captured the city itself by a stratagem and took away the gold by force. **12** During the horse races in Constantinople the people rose up in a riot, and the emperor cancelled the celebrations in the afternoon, which led to much slaughter: the *praefectus vigilum* named Geta was killed in the fight.[1] **13** After a short time, Vitalian got a fleet of about two hundred ships under sail and marched a force of infantry and cavalry along the coast of the Black Sea, suddenly coming into view of Constantinople. While the city was in great danger and expecting to be captured by the enemy, John (*magister militum* and consul, known by the name of his mother as the son of Valeriana) was sent to him. He went out to meet the enemy, confronting the danger of the first encounter, and presented his petition in the vicinity of a place called Laosthenion and then he quickly returned to Anastasius to communicate the requests of the usurper. **14** Since the emperor promised to fulfil all the requests, compelled by the the siege and the detention of his *magister* and relative, the amount of five thousand pounds in gold was paid, the insignia of the *magister militum per Thracias* were immediately granted, oaths of friendship were exchanged and the proclamation of faith was renewed. Vitalian then departed, because even under these circumstances he was not willing to challenge the emperor. **15** When Anthemius became consul, Vitalian again became swollen with pride and heavily oppressed Anastasius. The so-called Sabir Huns, encouraged by their previous enterprise, ransacked and plundered the Pontic provinces with greatly enlarged forces, murdering countless people and leading away masses of prisoners. **16** Again during the celebration of the *Gastra* there was a disturbance among the populace. **17** Given that the

[1] This event is mentioned in Cameron 1973, 234.

νον συμβάσεις ἐμηχανᾶτο εἴ τι δυνηθείη δρᾶσαι κατ' ἐκείνου δολίως. Ὁ δὲ παραχρῆμα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πυθόμενος γνώμην αὖθις τὴν προτέραν μετέρχεται πεῖραν καὶ σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει διαπεραιωθεὶς τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον ἐς τὸ Λαοσθένιον ἧκεν. Πρὸς αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις Συκαῖς (μοῖρα δὲ αὕτη τῆς πόλεως ἐσχάτη) τῶν βαρβάρων προσελασάντων πεζομαχία τε συνεκροτήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ φυλάττειν ἔκ τε Ἰσαύρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαχόντας (ἑώρα γὰρ ἐς τὰς τῶν προδιδόντων ὑποσχέσεις ὁ τύραννος), καὶ νηῶν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς Χρυσοπόλεως γενομένων, ὑπαντήσασα ναῦς ταχυδρόμος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἧς Ἰουστῖνος ἦν τῶν καλουμένων ἐξσκουβιτόρων ἄρχων, συμπλακεὶς μιᾷ τῶν νηῶν καὶ ζωγρήσας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψεν. Ἀθροισθέντων δὲ τῶν πεζῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀνάπλουν νύκτωρ, αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπέδρα, οἵ τε σὺν αὐτῷ ἄφαντοι ἅπαντες ἐν ἀκαρεῖ ἐγένοντο χρόνῳ τοὺς τρωθέντας ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων πῇ μὲν ἡμιθνῆτας πῇ δὲ καὶ νεκροὺς καταλείψαντες. **18** Μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον ὁ τῶν Βιταλιανῷ συναραμένων Οὔννων ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα κράτιστος, ὃς καὶ τὸν Κυρίλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φόνον αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἔπραξε, Ταρρὰχ τὴν προσηγορίαν, περιελθόντος αὐτὸν ἀπάτῃ Τουργοῦν Οὔννου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ χρημάτων ἀποδομένου τὴν τοιαύτην πρᾶξιν, συνδεθεὶς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παραδοθεὶς ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἤχθη. Καὶ βασάνους πρότερον ὑποστὰς μετὰ τοῦτο ζῶν ἔτι πυρὶ διεφθάρη κατὰ τὸν Χαλκηδόνος ἐπέκεινα τόπον, ὃν Παντείχιον ὀνομάζουσιν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ῥουφῖνος ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀναστάσιόν τε καὶ Δομνίκον τοὺς ⟨τοῦ⟩ τυράννου σωματοφύλακας ζωγρίᾳ λαβὼν ἐκπέμπει τῷ βασιλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ παραγενομένους ὡς πολλῶν θανάτων αἰτίους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ διαφθαρῆναι κρίνας τοῖς τῶν νυκτῶν φύλαξι παραδίδωσιν. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως λόφον τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐκτεμόντες ἐπὶ ξυλίνων ἐπέθηκαν κιόνων.

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4 Λεωσθένιον scripsit Roberto 2005 **16** ὡς Mommsen 1872b : ὃς S sed o ex altera littera corr. : ὡς uncis incl. Müller 1870a **17** τὸν de Boor 1905 : τοῦ S : τὸν τοῦ Müller 1870a ταρραχ sine acc. S **19** σὺνδεθεὶς S, τε S^2 vel S^3 sup. δε sprscr. πρὸς Müller 1851 : πρὸ S **21** πυρὶ corr. Müller 1851 : περι S **22** Παντείχιον Mommsen 1872b : παντηχῖον S **23** Δόμνικον Mommsen 1872b **24** τοῦ add. de Boor 1905 ζωγρίᾳ λαβὼν edd. : ζωγρίαλακὼν S

emperor had made an agreement with the usurper against his will, he tried to devise some way of bringing him down by treachery. Vitalian learned of the emperor's intentions and repeated his previous attempt, and passing along the coast of the Black Sea with a large force he came to Laosthenion. The barbarians went as far as the place known as Sycae, one of the outer districts of the city, and joined battle on foot with the Isaurians and other soldiers who were stationed there as guards (the usurper had counted on the promises of some traitors). When his ships had reached the midway point to Chrysopolis, they encountered a fast warship of the emperor, which was carrying Justin, the commander of the so-called *excubitores*; it engaged one of Vitalian's ships, captured its crew and forced the other ships to retreat. When the infantry gathered near Anaplus by night, Vitalian learned of an attempt on his life and escaped; all his followers disappeared in a short time, leaving behind those of the barbarians who were casualties, both the severely wounded and the dead. **18** After some time, the strongest among the Huns who had been fighting on the side of Vitalian, Tarrach by name, who had with his own hands killed the *magister* Cyril, was deceived and bound by his fellow-Hun Turgun (who had been hired for this deed), after which he was handed over to the emperor's men and brought to Constantinople. He was first tortured and then burned alive in a place in Chalcedon named Panteichion. After that the *magister* Rufinus captured Anastasius and Domnicus, the bodyguards of the usurper, and sent them to the emperor, who sentenced them to death on account of the many deaths they had caused and handed them to the night watch. They cut off their heads on a hill opposite Constantinople and stuck them on wooden pillars.

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EV 73 Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τραπεὶς πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν τῆς πολιτείας ἀριστοκρατίαν μετέστησεν, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας ἀπεμπολῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι συγχωρῶν καὶ πρός γε χρημάτων ἀκόρεστον ἐπιθυμίαν τραπείς, ὡς κενὰς ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι καταλόγων τὰς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄηθες καὶ ξένον καταπεπλῆχθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅπλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας βαρβάρους ἠμύνετο, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξωνούμενος διετέλει. Πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις καὶ τὰς τῶν τελευτώντων οὐσίας ἐπολυπραγμόνει, κοινὴν ἅπασι δωρούμενος τὴν πενίαν. Ὧν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανε τὰς οὐσίας, τούτοις μετ᾽ ὀλίγον διεδίδου τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρόπῳ· καὶ ὧν ἐγύμνου πόλεων τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, τὰς οἰκοδομὰς ἀνενέου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην ⟨ἐπιμελῶς⟩ κοσμῆσαι καὶ τρισὶ περιβαλεῖν στεφάνοις.

Fr. 243 = fr. 215 M = fr. 312 R; Valois 1634, 853 | T (f. 102v)

Fr. 243: fontem non inveni

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5 κενὰς ex *Suda* corr. Valois 1634 : καινὰς T **12** ἐπιμελῶς e *Suda* add. Müller 1851

Fr. 243: *Suda* α 2077, 187.8-19 Ἀναστάσιος, Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς. οὗτος ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τραπεὶς πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν μετέστησε, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας ἀπεμπολῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι συγχωρῶν καὶ πρός γε χρημάτων ἀκόρεστον ἐπιθυμίαν τραπείς, ὡς κενὰς ἐντεῦθεν γενέσθαι καταλόγων τὰς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄηθες καὶ ξένον καταπεπλῆχθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅπλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας βαρβάρους ἠμύνετο, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξωνούμενος διετέλει. πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις καὶ τὰς τῶν τελευτώντων οὐσίας ἐπολυπραγμόνει, κοινὴν ἅπασι δωρούμενος τὴν πενίαν. ὧν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανε τὰς οὐσίας, τούτοις μετ᾽ ὀλίγον διεδίδου τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας τρόπῳ· καὶ ὧν ἐγύμνου πόλεων τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, τὰς οἰκοδομὰς ἀνενέου, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐνεγκαμένην ἐπιμελῶς κοσμῆσαι καὶ τρισὶ περιβαλεῖν στεφάνοις.

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The emperor Anastasius changed for the worse, altering at once all the good practices of government. He offered for sale all the magistracies, associated with wrong-doers and developed an insatiable desire for money, emptying the provinces of their accounts and intimidating people in unusual and strange ways. In fact he did not repel invading barbarians with arms, but attained peace by buying it with money. In addition he also inquired into the property of the deceased, bestowing his own deficit on everyone in common. In the guise of piety he would make donations to those he had deprived of property a short time before and would rebuild houses in the cities which he had stripped of their inhabitants, so as to adorn meticulously his native town and to surround it with three circles of walls.

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EV 74 Ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βασιλέως δειναὶ ταῖς κατὰ Λιβύην πόλεσιν ἐπέσκηψαν θλίψεις ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων Μαζικῶν. Ἐδέδοντο γὰρ θυγατριδῷ Μαρίνου εἰς ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ πολὺ τὸ κοῦφον κεκτημένῳ· καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον αὖθις Βασιανῷ τῷ παιδί. Ὁ δὲ οἷς ἔπραξε παντοίως τὰς τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄρξαντος ὑπερβαλόμενος ἀσελγείας ἔδωκε Λίβυσιν αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν πενίας, τοῖς δὲ θανάτου μνήμην καταλείψαντα. Οὕτως, εἰ δέοι εἰπεῖν, οἵ τε ἀφ᾽ αἵματος καὶ ἁπλῶς τὴν Μαρίνου παρευτυχήσαντες εὔνοιαν τοῖς Λιβύων διαφερόντως καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ἐνεφορήθησαν κτήμασιν.

Fr. 244 = fr. 216 M = fr. 313 R; Valois 1634, 853 | T (f. 102v)

Fr. 244: fontem non inveni

9 post ἁπλῶς verbum οἱ add. Müller 1851

Fr. 244: *Suda* α 2077, 187.19-27 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου δειναὶ ταῖς κατὰ Λιβύην πόλεσιν ἐπέσκηψαν θλίψεις ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων Μαζικῶν. ἐδέδοντο γὰρ θυγατριδῷ Μαρίνου ἐς ἡγεμονίαν ἀνδρὶ νέῳ καὶ πολὺ τὸ κοῦφον κεκτημένῳ· καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον αὖθις Βασιανῷ τῷ παιδί. ὁ δὲ οἷς ἔπραξε παντοίως τὰς τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἄρξαντος ὑπερβαλόμενος ἀσελγείας ἔδωκε Λίβυσιν αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν πενίας, τοῖς δὲ θανάτου μνήμην καταλείψαντα. οὕτως, εἰ δέοι εἰπεῖν, οἵ τε ἀφ᾽ αἵματος τὴν Μαρίνου παρευτυχήσαντες εὔνοιαν τοῖς Λιβύων διαφερόντως καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ἐνεφορήθησαν κτήμασιν.

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In the reign of the emperor Anastasius terrible calamities befell the cities in Libya on account of the so-called Mazicae. They had been placed under the power of the grandson of Marinus, a very young and frivolous man, and after him in turn under his son Basianus. Acting outrageously towards them, he surpassed the licentiousness of the one who had ruled before him, making the Libyans prefer the former state of affairs, which for some had left the memory of poverty and for others the memory of death. Thus, if it is necessary to mention, the relatives of Marinus and those who had gained his favour glutted themselves on the possessions of the Libyans above all and the Egyptians.

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numeri in hoc indice adhibiti ut puta 225.412.5 lectorem ad fragmentum 225, paginam 412 et lineam 5 referunt

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Θεοδώριχος Epirum Novam oppugnavit et Dyrrachium cepit 234.430.13; iterum rebellavit 236.434.2; Recitach invidia eius ductus contra Zenonem rebellavit 237.436.5; contra illum a Zenone missus est 237.436.10; copias eius reduxit Zenon 237.438.4; iterum rebellavit 237.438.15; Novis revertit 237.438.26; postquam ab oppugnatione destitit, Anthusa mortua est 237.440.5; Theodericus et Odovacer pacti sunt inter se ut ambo imperio Romano praeessent 238.444.2; Odovacer ad eum venit 238.444.5; Odovacrum ictu transfixit 238.444.9; sententia eius post necem Odovacri 238.444.12

Θεόδωρος [Flavius Mallius Theodorus, *PLRE* I, n. 27, 900sqq.] nomen Eutropii ex fastis consularibus erasum est, solius Theodori collegae nomine retento

imperatore Leone Iordanes se in magnum periculum commisit 231.420.2; cubicularii Misael et Cosmas passi sunt ut regiam exploraret 231.420.5

Ἰουγούρθας [rex Numidiae] adversus eum bellum motum est 95.102.10; filius Mastanabalis fratris ex concubina natus erat 95.102.18; Adherbalem ex insidiis interfecit 95.102.20; Calpurnius Bestia pecunia eius corruptus pacem flagitiosissimam fecit 95.104.5; Q. Caecilius Metellus eum variis proeliis vicit 95.104.16; regem Mauritaniae, qui auxilium ei ferre coeperat, C. Marius superavit 95.104.21; a Boccho Sullae traditus est 95.104.28; Sulla bonum belli contra eum exitum sibi attribuit 95.106.3; Bocchus Iugurtham tradens et Sulla accipiens in anulo Sullae depicti erant 95.106.6; ante bellum contra eum in Numidia gestum Romani victi sunt iuxta flumen Rhodanum magnamque partem exercitus perdiderunt 98.112.2; Q. Caecilius Metellus, filius Metelli, qui bellum contra Iugurtham in Numidia optime gesserat, adversus Sertorium missus est 98.148.23

Ἰουγούρθας [Iugurtha = Hiarbas, *PW* VIII.2 1388, n. 2] Pompeius cum eo pugnavit 98.134.18

Ἰουδαῖοι (Ἰουδαῖος) vir Iudaeus quidam celerius dorcade erat 1.10.15; Iudaeorum rex Saulus daemone correptus est 3.12.11; Iudaeorum rex Salomon prudentia, potentia et opibus eminebat 5.14.8; Iesus filius Sirach plenum omni virtute librum sapientiae Iudaeis composuit 80.86.4; Iudaeis bellum intulit, urbem eorum cepit omniaque sacra polluit Antiochus 90.94.13; Hyrcanus et Aristobulus, duces Iudaeorum, seditionem commoverunt 98.148.5; in summo discrimine fuit civitas Iudaeorum 98.148.11; Iudaeos ad deditionem Pompeius compulit 101.154.11; cum plurimi Iudaei Romam confluxissent, plerosque Tiberius urbe submovit 110.182.9; Iudaei sub Vitellio rebellaverunt 125.218.12

Ἰουλία filios imperium divisuros stitit 156.278.23; Maesae soror fuit 159.290.3; sororem eius Iuliam Maesam pecunias exercitui distribuisse Macrinus certior factus est 159.292.1

Ἰουλιανός imperium emit 146.262.24; imperium adeptus deliciis statim et crapulae se dedit 147.264.2; Severum iam moenia cepisse ignorabat 150.268.21; populus ignaviam Iuliani improbavit 150.268.24; Severo proposuit, ut collega imperii fieret 150.268.26; senatus Iuliani mortem decrevit 150.268.28; missus est tribunus militum qui eum occideret 150.270.5; Iuliano occiso in rostra escendit Severus qui statim imperator Augustus a Romanis acclamatus est 150.270.8

Ἰουλιανός ad rebellionem comprimendam missus est 159.292.9; caput eius praeciderunt milites et Macrino miserunt 159.292.13

Ἰουλιανός tumultus eius causa fac-

158.286.13; ei Antoninus litteras dedit 158.286.15; Martialio persuasit ut Antoninum occideret 158.286.21; se mortem Antonini lugere simulavit 158.288.6; eum contra Antoninum coniuravisse nemo suspicatus est 158.288.9; corpus Antonini cremavit et cinerem matri misit 158.288.10; Antiochiae permanebat barbam curans 159.288.16; milites consuetudinem victusque eius spernebant 159.288.19; occasionem eum necandi quaerebant milites 159.288.21; imperium eius unius anni fuit 159.288.23; Iuliam Maesam in patriam abire ordinavit 159.290.5; Antiochiae certior factus est filium Antonini repertum esse 159.290.26; odium eius milites ad rebellionem excitavit 159.292.4; praefectum ad rebellionem comprimendam misit 159.292.6; ei caput Iuliani miserunt milites 159.292.14; de morte Iuliani certior factus exercitu in unum coacto profectus est 159.292.16; proelio superatus fugit 159.292.19; simulatque fuga eius nota fuit, proelium cessavit 159.292.21; Chalcedone in Bithynia deprehensus et occisus est 159.292.24; unum annum regnavit 159.292.26

Μάλλιος [T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, *PW* XIV.1 1179sqq., n. 57] regem Gallorum ad singulare certamen provocavit 45.56.3; filium, qui cum Pontio Latino singulare certamen certaverat, ut victorem coronavit simulac securi eundem percussit quia edictum ipsius violavit 46.56.13

Μάλλιος [C. Manlius, *PW* XIV.1 1156sq. n. 18] ad eum L. Catilina fugam capessivit 102.158.9

Μαμαία filia Iuliae Maesae minor fuit 159.290.9; filium Alexandrum a foedis indignisque operibus avocabat 161.296.4; milites Romani propensiore ad filium eius animo erant 162.298.3; filius eius Alexander cuncta ad praescriptum eius egit 163.300.4; filio eius Alexandro nuntiatum est Germanos Rhenum et Histrum transiisse 164.302.2

Μαμήλιος magnam mercennariorum manum coegit 32.42.9

Μανασσῆς a via Dei aberravit 7.16.12

Μανιχαῖοι iis conventicula Gratianus ademit 210.376.8

Μανωέ filius eius Sampson iudex Hebraeorum et vir fortissimus fuit 2.12.2

Μαξέντιος [usurpator] ut finem potestatis eius faceret missus est Severus Caesar 195.354.5; Romae a Severo obsessus est 195.354.7; opes eius auctae sunt imperiumque confirmatum 195.354.9

Μαξέντιος [Maxentius, *PLRE* II, 738] dux Moesiae fuit et a Vitaliano occisus est 242.452.13

Μαξιμιανός [Maximianus, *PLRE* II, n. 5, 739sq.] alii milites Maximum, alii eum imperatorem facere in animo habuerunt 224.410.11

Μαξιμιανός (Ἑρκούλιος) Carausius, quem se occidere iussit, iusso neglecto purpuram sumpsit et Britanniam occupavit 190.346.16;

propalam ferus fuit 192.350.2; postquam imperio se abdicavit, vitam privatam egit 193.350.8; Maximianum desiderium imperii subiit 193.350.10; Galli crudelitatem eius animo reputaverunt 194.352.18; a praetorianis Augustus nuncupatus est 195.354.4; filium suum purpura nudare conatus est 195.354.10; filia eius Fausta insidias contra Constantinum positas detexit 195.354.22; profugit Massaliaeque oppressus poena affectus est 195.354.23

Μαξιμῖνος [Imp. Caes. C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Aug., *PIR*[2] I 619] Thrax genere fuit 164.302.21; tirones eum admirabantur 164.304.1; milites eum imperatorem et Augustum facere in animo habuerunt 164.304.9; milites eum purpura velaverunt 164.304.10; Alexander eum infidelitatis accusavit 164.304.16; cum appropinquaret, Alexander milites obsecravit ut ipsi subvenirent 164.304.18; cum exercitus eius appropinquaret, tirones a commilitonibus petiverunt ut Alexandrum desererent 164.306.1; tirones in exercitu Alexandri a commilitonibus postulaverunt ut se ei adiungerent 164.306.6; a militibus Augustus acclamatus est 164.306.9; socios Alexandri interfecit 164.306.14; rerum potitus cum omni acerbitate ac terrore potestatem exercere coepit 165.308.2; eo regnante rebellio Osrhoenorum (sc. Osdreoenorum) fuit 166.308.13; ut gratiam eius sibi conciliaret, Quartinum occidit vir quidam 166.310.2; defectiones dum imperat factae sunt 167.310.4; defectiones animum eius immitem ac ferum magis exasperaverunt 167.310.5; eo imperante omni acerbitate atque innumeris caedibus vexati sunt cives 168.310.9; multas illustres familias ad incitas redegit 168.310.17; omnium indignatio eo imperante valde aucta est 168.312.5; omnes contra se excitavit 169.312.8; ut gratiam ab eo iniret, praefectus Carthaginiensibus saevissime imperabat 169.312.12; etsi ad rebellionem omnes spectabant, tamen metu eius retinebantur 169.314.6; ei fidelis fuit Capellianus 169.314.22; quia sciebat neminem in Africa contra eum repugnare posse, Gordianus in desperatione se suspendit 169.316.3; laetus fuit, quia hostes Italicos in fugam coniecit 169.316.22; ad Aquileiam venit 169.318.5; ducibus suis iratus est 169.318.7; legatos misit qui Aquileienses persuaderent ut ei se darent 169.318.13; Aquileiam oppugnare de proximo incepit 169.318.18; non putabat se Romam sine dedecore intrare posse, nisi primum Aquileiam expugnaret 169.318.25; ei milites irati sunt 169.320.8; eum Aquileienses conviciis insectati sunt 169.320.10; milites eum et filium eius in tentorio occiderunt 169.320.21; milites eum occiderunt, ut oppugnandi finem facerent neque Italiam longius devastarent 169.320.25; hic finis Maximinorum fuit 169.322.1;

equites caput eius ferentes Maximo obviam venerunt inter Altinum et Ravennam 169.322.6; ad Maximum, milites dum comparat, equites caput eius ferentes advenerunt 169.322.10

Μαξιμῖνος [Maximinus, *PLRE* I, 575 n. 1] Tacitus eum Syriae praeposuit 184.340.5; per coniurationem interfectus est 184.340.9

Μαξιμῖνος [Maximinus, *PLRE* II, 743, n. 11] Isauropolim venit 223.402.20

Μάξιμος [Magnus Maximus, *PLRE* I, n. 39, 588] rebellionem in Britannia paravit 211.376.10; qua de causa adversus Gratianum rebellaverit 211.378.1; Gratiano occiso Romam venit 211.378.8; adversus eum bellum gesturus Arcadium Constantinopoli reliquit Theodosius 211.378.11; Mediolani bellum parabat 211.378.16; sui eum in catenis Theodosio attulerunt 211.378.19; oratione laudavit eum Symmachus 211.380.1; eo tempore, quo eum vicit, Theodosius Gallam uxorem habebat 212.380.15; mentio eius loco corrupto fit 212.382.23

Μάξιμος [Petronius Maximus, *PLRE* II, n. 22, 749sqq.] cum Aetio rixatus est 224.404.23; consilium eius et Heraclii approbavit Valentinianus et Aetium occidere constituit 224.406.7; post caedem Aetii ad Valentinianum venit consulatum poscens 224.408.9; Heraclius timebat ne Maximus potestatem suam compensaret 224.408.13; iratus est 224.408.16; diadema et equum Valentiniani ad eum attulerunt Optila et Thraustila 224.410.3; alii milites eum, alii Maximinum imperatorem facere in animo habuerunt 224.410.10; rerum potitus est 224.410.15; quo modo rerum Romanarum potitus sit 224.410.17; ex urbe fugere conatus, sed occisus est 224.410.26

Μάξιμος [M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, *PIR*^{2} C 1179] a senatu imperator electus est 169.316.21; ei obviam venerunt equites caput Maximini ferentes 169.322.7; equites Romam misit qui capita Maximinorum contis praefixa demonstrarent 169.322.11; receptus est ab oppidanis Aquileiae 169.322.19; discessum suum annuntiavit 169.322.25; cum praetorianos advenire certior factus esset, auxilia Germanorum arcessere voluit 169.324.16; ei fideles auxiliares Germani fuerunt 169.324.19; Balbinus putabat auxiliares Germanos adventuros esse ut eum imperatorum unicum appellarent 169.324.20

Μαριανός, -ή Lamponius et Carinates duces partis Marianae fuerunt 98.134.2; Marianae partis dux, Domitius nomine, a Pompeio occisus est 98.134.17; Sertorius, timens fortunam ceterorum, qui partium Marianarum fuerant et interempti erant, Hispaniam commovit 98.148.19

Μαρῖνος ei civitates Africae commissae erant 244.464.4; amici ac familiares eius Afrorum atque Ae-

Theodericus et Odovacer pacti sunt inter se ut simul imperio Romano praeessent 238.444.3; copiae Isaurorum et Romanorum a Lilingi, Athenodoro, Conone et ceteris contra Anastasium ductae sunt 239.448.26; Romani ducem Isaurorum Lilingim ceperunt 239.450.5; Anastasius Vitalianum hostem imperii Romani proclamavit 242.454.26; Hunni Romanos proelio fuderunt 242.456.16

῾Ρωμαῖος in hunc modum mensem e nomine suo Commodus vocavit 144.254.6

῾Ρωμανός eum incantationis convictum supplicio affecit Anthemius 230.418.15

῾Ρώμη Ostia XVI milliariis a Roma distat 14.24.8; rex Romae Priscus Tarquinius duodequadragesimo imperii anno per Anci Marcii filios occisus est 15.24.11; Romae rex ante Priscum Tarquinium Ancus Marcius fuit 15.24.13; ab urbe Roma ad duodevicesimum milliarium posita est Ardea 19.28.6; ad urbem Romam Tarquinius venit 19.28.20; Romae consule Q. Servilio terra ingenti hiatu in medio foro se aperuit 22.32.12; Roma capta reversus Camillus barbaros quorum dux erat Brennus profligavit 41.52.16; a Tiberis ostiis usque ad Romam navigatio stadiorum XVIII est 55.64.13; Romam missus est a Pyrrho Cineas rhetor 59.68.8; de Romanae urbis ornatu aliisque rebus a Pyrrho rogatus Cineas patriam se vidisse multorum regum dixit 59.68.9; Romam cum Carthaginiensium legatis Regulus profectus est 64.74.7; anno urbis conditae CXXXV Olympias CLXIV agebatur 89.94.2; bellum servile e Sicilia ad Romam perventurum erat 92.100.16; post cladem iuxta flumen Rhodanum acceptam timor Romanorum maior fuit, quam antea 98.112.9; timor Romae fuit, ne iterum Galli Romam venirent 98.112.12; Romae commutatio rerum fuit 98.114.22; aliis omnibus bellis in imperio Romano cessantibus, in Italia gravissimum bellum commotum est 98.116.1; a Mario subornatus Sulpius (sc. Sulpicius) Romam confudit 98.122.5; Roma Metella pulsa est a Marianis 98.126.4; Marius, qui Roma fugatus erat, bellum in Italia reparavit 98.130.15; Romae mutati consules sunt 98.132.16; Sulla Romam ingressus est 98.132.22; postquam Africam composuit, Romam profectus est Pompeius 98.136.1; Cn. Pompeius, iuvenis et equestris, triumphavit, quod antea nemini Romanorum tributum erat 98.138.2; clam civibus Romanis Sulla signum Italicis dedit, iussitque ut pugionibus accincti praestituta die Romam venirent 98.144.14; undique ex provinciis nuntii de barbarorum incursionibus Romam allati sunt 98.146.8; quia contra Romam coniuraverant, socii Catilinae in custodiam coniecti sunt 102.158.11; Caesar Romam ingressus dictatorem se ipsum fecit 103.160.14; Roma Thessalonicam senatus tran-

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numeri in hoc indice adhibiti ut puta 169.324.9 lectorem ad fragmentum 169, paginam 324 et lineam 9 referunt

INDEX GRAECITATIS

numeri in hoc indice adhibiti lectorem ad paginam et lineam referunt

Phonetica

Vocales

α pro ο: haud scio an error scriptoris: Ἀρεστίλλης 158.2

ε pro ι: Δομετιανός 228.6. Δομέτιος 134.17. sed: Δομιτία 232.3. Καπιτώλιον e.g. 54.7

ι pro ου: Βριττήσιον 160.18

ο pro ου: Βροντήσιον 130.12

ου omissum: βερνάκλοι 54.3

Consonantes

β et ου variantur: ᾿Οκταούιος 42.19, 170.21 et ᾿Οκτάβιος 178.2. Βαλεντινιανός e.g. 406.5, etc. cf. indicem nominum propriorum et Οὐαλεντινιανός 380.7, etc. cf. indicem nominum propriorum. Βεσπασιανός 222.13 et Οὐεσπασιανός 218.9. Βαλίμερος 418.10 et Οὐαλίμερος 436.6.

λλ pro λ: Καλλίγουλας 200.8

ν omittitur in terminatione nominum: Οὐάλης 364.20. Κώνστας 358.2.

ρ vel ρρ pro ρσ: Χερρόνησος 424.3. Χερόνησος 394.16

τζ: Τζάνοι 418.7

Morphologia

Verba

augmentum omissum: ἀπολέλειπτο 114.5

forma periphrastica: εἴησαν ἀποκτείναντες 326.3

Adiectivum

adiectivo καίριος, -α, -ον tamquam duarum terminationum utitur: καιρίου δὲ τῆς πληγῆς pro καιρίας δὲ τῆς πληγῆς 288.3

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ellipsis nominis substantivi: τὴν ἀνθύπατον (sc. ἀρχὴν) λαχών 314.8

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fr. 163	spurium	fr. 199	Fr. 141

fr. 200	spurium	fr. 235	Fr. 180
fr. 201	Fr. 142	fr. 236	Fr. 181
fr. 202	spurium	fr. 237	Fr. 182
fr. 203	Fr. 143	fr. 238	Fr. 183
fr. 204	Fr. 145	fr. 239	Fr. 184
fr. 205	Fr. 146	fr. 240	Fr. 185
fr. 206.1-7	Fr. 147	fr. 241	Fr. 185
fr. 206.7-18	Fr. 148	fr. 242	spurium
fr. 206.18-20	Fr. 149	fr. 243	Fr. 187
fr. 206.20-60	Fr. 150	fr. 244	spurium
fr. 207	spurium	fr. 245	spurium
fr. 208	Fr. 151	fr. 246	Fr. 188
fr. 209.1	spurium	fr. 247	Fr. 190
fr. 209.2	spurium	fr. 248	Fr. 191
fr. 209.3	spurium	fr. 249	Fr. 192
fr. 210	Fr. 152	fr. 250	spurium
fr. 211	Fr. 153	fr. 251.1	Fr. 193
fr. 212	Fr. 154	fr. 251.2	spurium
fr. 213	Fr. 155	fr. 252	Fr. 194
fr. 214	Fr. 157	fr. 253	Fr. 195
fr. 215.1	Fr. 158	fr. 254	Fr. 196
fr. 215.2	spurium	fr. 255	spurium
fr. 216	Fr. 159	fr. 256	spurium
fr. 217	Fr. 160	fr. 257	Fr. 197
fr. 218	Fr. 161	fr. 258	Fr. 198
fr. 219	Fr. 163	fr. 259	Fr. 199
fr. 220	Fr. 164	fr. 260	Fr. 200
fr. 221	Fr. 165	fr. 261	Fr. 201
fr. 222	Fr. 166	fr. 262	Fr. 202
fr. 223	Fr. 167	fr. 263	spurium
fr. 224	Fr. 168	fr. 264	Fr. 203
fr. 225	Fr. 171	fr. 265	spurium
fr. 226	Fr. 172	fr. 266	spurium
fr. 227	Fr. 173	fr. 267	spurium
fr. 228	spurium	fr. 268	spurium
fr. 229	Fr. 174	fr. 269	spurium
fr. 230	Fr. 175	fr. 270	spurium
fr. 231	Fr. 176	fr. 271	Fr. 204
fr. 232	Fr. 177	fr. 272	Fr. 205
fr. 233	Fr. 178	fr. 273.1	Fr. 206
fr. 234	Fr. 179	fr. 273.2	Fr. 206*

fr. 274	Fr. 207	fr. 298	Fr. 229
fr. 275	spurium	fr. 299	Fr. 230
fr. 276	Fr. 208	fr. 300	Fr. 231
fr. 277	Fr. 209	fr. 301	Fr. 232
fr. 278	Fr. 210	fr. 302	Fr. 233
fr. 279	Fr. 211	fr. 303	Fr. 234
fr. 280	Fr. 212	fr. 304	Fr. 235
fr. 281	Fr. 213	fr. 305	Fr. 236
fr. 282	Fr. 215	fr. 306	Fr. 237
fr. 283	Fr. 214	fr. 307	Fr. 238
fr. 284	Fr. 216	fr. 308	Fr. 239
fr. 285	Fr. 217	fr. 309	Fr. 240
fr. 286	Fr. 218	fr. 310	Fr. 241
fr. 287	Fr. 219	fr. 311	Fr. 242
fr. 288	Fr. 220	fr. 312	Fr. 243
fr. 289	Fr. 221	fr. 313	Fr. 244
fr. 290	spurium	fr. 314	spurium
fr. 291	Fr. 222	fr. 315	spurium
fr. 292	Fr. 223	fr. 316	spurium
fr. 293.1	Fr. 224	fr. 317	spurium
fr. 293.2	spurium	fr. 318	spurium
fr. 294	Fr. 225	fr. 319	spurium
fr. 295	Fr. 226	fr. 320	spurium
fr. 296	Fr. 227	fr. 321	spurium
fr. 297	Fr. 228		